THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE STRUCTURE AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRICKSTER-TRANSFORMER-CULTURE HERO IN THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

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PREFACE

A much shorter dissertation might have been written had I chosen to present the material thematically rather than geographically, as I have done. However, it has seemed to me worthwhile to demonstrate just how the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero has been regarded in each tribe and cultural subdivision of Indian America north of the Rio Grande. Only in this way is it possible to show certain stages in the development of this figure in relationship to different types of religio-cultural environments. I hope it may be of some value to students of primitive religion and mythology to have the rather large body of myth texts summarized for each region, as I have done.

I have tried to include as many myths as possible within the body of the paper in order to provide specific data upon which to establish my hypothesis about the Trickster-Hero, and in order to allow readers of what I have written to make their own judgments without themselves having to resort to many primary sources. For the same reasons I have tried to include for each chapter and region pertinent notes concerning language, culture, religious beliefs and practices, and the mythology in general, as well as information about the myths which are the special concern of this study.

In order to report as many myths as possible, I have in most cases abridged and condensed the narratives from the forms in which I found them. The style of the literature thus has been lost; but since the goal of this study is to determine the meaning of the myths, I believe my procedure in this regard is justified. I have at all times endeavored not to distort the central point of the tales in my abridgments, but rather to state in the fewest possible words the gist of the stories. Quite often the primary sources, in fact, do not record the narratives in the fullsome style of the narrators, but present the myths only in summary form. For practical purposes in a work of this kind, I could not do otherwise.

Something should be said at the outset about the use of the terms "myth" and "tale" or "folk tale" in this paper. The first definition of myth, of course, is that it is a sacred story, a story having religious value and therefore, to the native mind, true. A folk tale, on the other hand, is any story handed down among the common people. I have made no attempt, however, in dealing with most oral traditions of the Indians to distinguish between these two, and frequently I employ the terms interchangeably. Similarly, I may refer to these myths or tales as "stories" or "narratives." I might have used the term myth exclusively, but I have substituted the other terms mainly for variety. I do not apologize for this lack of precision, since I believe it is unavoidable in the case of the material with which we are dealing. Some few myths we shall find are esoteric, the product and property of a particular group of religious specialists; but in the great majority of instances our myths are also folk tales.

Stith Thompson, whose life has been devoted to the study and classification of myths and folk tales, says:[1]

> The (North American Indian) tribes themselves have a tendency to differentiate ordinary tales from those about an ancient world preceding the present. But in this respect there is the greatest difference between individual tribes, and a strict classification of these tales into myths and non-myths is quite impossible. . . . With such a group as the North American Indians it is often possible to speak of certain tales as mythological because they deal with origins and with higher powers. But in

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[1] Thomas A. Sebeok, Myth, A Symposium (Bibliographic and Special Series of the American Folklore Society, Vol. V, 1955; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), pp. 106-107.

the study of a particular tale, as it spreads across the continent, it is often impossible to know whether the native teller thinks of it as a myth or an ordinary story. Mostly the question never occurs to him.

The Indians themselves group their stories most usually according to whether they have to do with "myth times," the age or ages before the present world, or with happenings in the present world age. In the former times, the world was in a "fluid" state; that is, people were neither precisely anthropomorphic or theriomorphic, and they could change from one form to another at will. (This condition still prevails in the spirit world, but in the world of men, fixed forms are the rule.) The things in nature which we regard as inanimate were then endowed with life and could speak, and all things spoke the same language. In this world the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero went about, arranging the topography, killing monsters or transforming them into harmless things, changing the first beings into animals, trees, mountains, and the like whose names they bore; acquiring light, fire, fish, game, favorable weather and tides for men and instituting customs; and in general preparing the way for mankind, whom he often creates. When the "Trickster-Fixer" has finished, the world is established as it is now, with sex and mortality as the prime facts of life, and with man firmly in charge on the earth. When the Trickster-Hero departs, the myth times come to an end.

The stories about these times are regarded as sacred. In this category are found, usually, many "animal tales" and all the trickster stories which appear to an outsider to be mere "fables" devoid of religious significance. However, the fact that they are included by the Indians in their tales from myth times means that we cannot dismiss them as inconsequential. All such stories I have taken to be "myths," that is, stories with religious significance. I refer to them also as "tales" or "folk Tales" because they are a part of folk tradition.

The other main kind of narratives, according to native classification, are the tales of modern times, what we should designate as legends, fiction, and even "history." These include war tales, novelistic adventure stories, romances, and usually the shamanistic stories of encounters of real men with the supernatural. This last kind of story sometimes is grouped with the sacred stories from myth times, for obvious reasons. With these narratives we are not concerned in this paper.

Clan origin legends, where they occur, while really constituting a separate category, often are classed as sacred, and indeed they concern the time of beginnings. However, they also blend into "history" and are a mixed type, partaking of both the other categories. In some instances we shall refer to traditions of this type, inasmuch as they are built up partially of folklore.

In some tribes the gross and foolish stories of the trickster are separated from the others and are held to be less sacred. Thus the Haida of the Northwest Coast make a distinction between the stories of Raven in which he accomplishes truly creative feats, and those which portray him as a creature of insatiable appetites and no principles. The former division is called the "old man's story," and chiefs will not permit young men to laugh during the recital of these episodes. The second is called the "young man's story," during the telling of which laughter is permissible.[1] Similarly, in the Southwest, Coyote tales are regarded as less sacred--even profane--in comparison with the long emergence and migration narratives. (See chapter xviii.) This same differentiation occurs here and there elsewhere, but it is not typical and may be explained, I believe, as due to increasing religious sophistication and the opposition of the shamans and priests to the point of view represented by the trickster myths. The older opinion knows no such embarrassment concerning the trickster-hero: if the story is funny, the people laugh when it is told; if it is of a serious nature, they listen quietly. Neither attitude is regarded as disrespectful, because it is appropriate. As some Indians say, "When we laugh, Trickster laughs too!"

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[1] John R. Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths (Bulletin 29, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1905), pp. 131, 149.

I have said that myths are defined as sacred stories, but what is meant by "sacred" or "religious"? The sacred is that which is ultimately _real_ and _true_. A sacred story is a certain kind of symbolic formulation of an insight into reality, disclosing man's relationship to that reality. It is a way or mode of expressing a truth which has "grasped" or "seized" man at a particular moment in history. As an independent mode of cognition, it is ultimately irreducible to another mode, though its truth may be explained to some degree in other terms. It employs the symbols which are meaningful at that historical moment, cast in narrative form. A myth must be _true_; it must answer to something in reality. For this reason a myth has paradigmatic value. It provides the model for human conduct at all subsequent times. By living according to his myths, man is enabled to participate in reality; and since the real is the sacred, he lives a sacred life by following the patterns laid down _in illo tempore_ by the one or ones who established things for all time.[1]

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness, not only to those scholars and field workers whose writings and researches constitute the source material for this paper and whose names and works appear in the Bibliography, but also to my teachers at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago who have guided and stimulated my thinking over the past five years in the study of the religions of mankind. Especially am I under obligation to Mircea Eliade, whose unique insights into the forms and patterns of religious expression have led me into paths of thought upon which otherwise I should not have ventured; to Charles H. Long, whose patient criticisms and encouragements have helped me to clarify my own vague thinking and kept me from being satisfied too soon with facile solutions to problems in the study of religions; and to Joseph Kitagawa, for his expert instruction and kind counsel over the past several years without which I should never have come to this moment. To these three of the History of Religions Department, and to the whole community of senior scholars and students in the Department, the school, and the University, who surrounded me with an environment of exciting and genuine scholarship in which ideas might be conceived and engendered, I am forever indebted.

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[1] Cf. Mircea Eliade, _Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries_ (London: Harvill Press, 1960), pp. 14-16; and Adolf E. Jensen, _Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples_ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 66-68.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA, n.s., American Anthropologist, New Series

AA, o.s., American Anthropologist, Old Series

APAM, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History

BBAE, Bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology

CUCA, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology

JAFL, Journal of American Folk-Lore

JNPE, Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition

MAAA, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association

MAFS, Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society

RBAE, Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology

UC-PAAE, University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology

YUPA, Yale University Publications in Anthropology

INTRODUCTION

One of the most perplexing problems confronting those who would understand the myths and oral traditions of the North American Indians is the figure of the "Trickster," who is also the creative Transformer of the world and the heroic bringer of culture. This "Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero," or "Trickster-Fixer" for short, is a problem because he combines in one personage no less than two and sometimes three or more seemingly different roles: oftentimes he is the maker of the earth and/or he is the one who changes the chaotic myth-world into the ordered creation we know today; he is the slayer of monsters, the thief of daylight, fire, water, etc., for man; he is the giver of cultural skills and the ordainer of customs; but he is also a prankster who is grossly erotic, insatiably hungry, inordinately vain, deceitful and cunning toward friends as well as foes; a restless wanderer upon the face of the earth, and a blunderer who is often the victim of his own tricks and follies. What kind of logic combines all these disparate elements into one mythical personality?

This figure who embraces all these traits of character is, throughout non-agricultural North America (with the exception of the Eskimo) the most prominent mythical person in every tribe. Over much of the Great Plains, the Great Basin, the Plateau, the Southwest, and California he is Coyote; on the Northwest Coast he is Raven or Mink; in a small area of Washington State he is Bluejay; in the Southeast, and probably among the ancient Algonkians, the figure was the Hare. Among modern Algonkians, Siouans, and others he appears usually as an anthropomorphic being with a proper name, such as Gluskabe, Iktomi, Wisaka, Wakdajunkaga, Old Man, Widower-from-across-the-Ocean, and so on. Generally speaking, the more strongly the tribe has been influenced by an agricultural manner of living, the less important is the place of the Trickster-Fixer in the total mythology of the tribe, and the more he tends to be known only as a trickster. However, in no region of North America has this personage been eliminated entirely from the traditions of the Indians. Why he is more important to non-agriculturalists, and why he nevertheless persists in some form among those tribes whose mythology is centered in other figures, I hope to be able to show in the chapters which follow.

A number of theories have been proposed as to the reason for the combination of clownish, heroic, and sometimes even divine elements in one figure. Daniel Brinton, a nineteenth-century student of American Indian folklore, believed that the trickster elements in the character of the Algonkian Manabozho/Wisaka were late and foreign accretions to the character of an originally high and noble deity of light:

> He is full of pranks and wiles, but often at a loss for a meal of vituals; ever itching to try his arts of magic on great beasts and often meeting ludicrous failures therein; envious of the powers of others, and constantly striving to outdo them in what they do best; in short, little more than a malicious buffoon delighting in practical jokes, and abusing his superhuman powers for selfish and ignoble ends. But this is a low, modern, and corrupt version of the character of Michabo, bearing no more resemblance to his real and ancient one than the language and acts of our Savior and the Apostles in the coarse Mystery Plays of the Middle Ages do to those recorded by the Evangelists.[1]

Influenced, no doubt, by Max Muller's theories about the development of Indo-European Gods, Brinton postulated a "disease of language" type of theory to account for the degeneration of the Great God of Light (as Brinton conceived the original figure) into the ignoble Trickster, the Great Hare. The words for "light" and for "white rabbit" are similar in Algonkian languages, and Brinton believed that the latter had come to be mistaken for the former with the passage of time, and thus gave rise to the confusion of two separate figures.[1]

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[1] Daniel G. Brinton, Myths of the New World (3rd rev. ed.; Philadelphia: David McKay, 1896), p. 194.

It will become abundantly manifest in the main body of the paper, I trust, that the trickster elements in the character of Manabozho and the others cannot be regarded as "modern," but on the contrary are older than the divine attributes, and at least as old as the heroic characteristics.

Brinton's view was called into question in 1891[2] by Franz Boas, Dean of American Anthropologists, and it is the latter's view, sometimes augmented by psychologically-informed modifications, which is generally accepted today by American Folklorists. In his criticism of Brinton, Boas asked why all the higher beings of the North American Indians should have suffered the same fate that Brinton had said had happened to "Michabo." It did not seem to him logical that the Culture Hero should have become debased in all the mythologies; rather, it appeared to him more likely that the trickster nature was the most primitive aspect of the character. It was Boas' opinion that the complex figure evolved from an earlier character who was basically self-centered, amoral, and motivated by no higher impulses than his own desires. Out of this Trickster, whose egotistical acts sometimes incidentally benefitted mankind, there evolved with the progress of human thought the idea of a Culture Hero who brings good things to men intentionally. In the higher developments of the idea, the Culture Hero becomes a separate figure from the Trickster;

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 197-198.

[2] Introduction to James Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians* (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. VI; New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1898), pp. 4-10 (also published as "Mythology and Folk-Tales of the North American Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* [1947], 394-395).

but in many instances the complete separation has not taken place. Thus we find trickster and heroic elements mingled inconsistently in one personage. The core of Boas' argument is contained in the following quotation:[1]

> It seems quite intelligible that with the progress of society there should develop a tendency of substituting for the coarse motives of the primitive transformer higher ones. With the consciousness that the changes effected by the transformer were useful to man may have developed the idea that they were made with the view of benefiting mankind. . . . Hence we find that wherever this idea is brought out most clearly, the tales of the trickster are ascribed to a different being. The personage of the transformer is split in two or more parts; the one representing the true culture hero, the other retaining the features of the trickster.

Boas' argument is founded more upon a theory of progress than it is upon factual data, however. No where do we find a trickster who is not also a culture hero, except in the more advanced Indian cultures, where the two obviously have become separated. In other words, Boas is right in saying that the Trickster and Culture Hero become split into two characters in some cultures, but his "original," purely-egotistical Trickster is entirely hypothetical. In the most archaic hunting cultures of North America trickster and culture hero roles are combined in one figure. While this does not prove that Boas' theory is absolutely wrong, it does throw the hypothesis into question. A theory better supported by the evidence is that the Trickster and Culture Hero are from earliest times combined in one figure; and this is, in fact, the hypothesis upon which I have worked in making this study.

Paul Radin, the distinguished anthropologist, was a close student of the American Indians and was much interested in primitive religion.[2] Over the years of his studies he tended to view religion as arising out of the economic and psychological needs of human beings. The shaman in the more primitive societies and the priest-philosopher of higher cultures are the systematizers and organizers of religious sentiments which remain vague among the common people. With these religious specialists true religion developed, Radin believes.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[2] Cf. Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion, Its Nature and Origin* (New York: Dover Publications, 1957; 1st edition, 1937), pp. 5-7, 23, 40-58.

In an article written early in his career[1] Radin contrasts the popular folklore Trickster-Hero with the spirits and gods of the shamans. Without attempting to account for the mingling of heroic traits with buffoonery in such figures as Raven and Coyote, Radin explains that the divine attributes sometimes ascribed to these personages are due to the shaman who "works with the general folklorist material on hand."[2] Radin makes a perceptive distinction between the world view of the common man as evidenced by his folklore, and that of the shaman:

> The granting of power to man is popularly believed to have been the work of the early culture heroes. True, man never prayed to them for power; but then it had been given them for all time when they transformed this world and made it habitable. . . . It is interesting to note that the same attitude, the main feature of which seems to be a lack of direct relation to man's needs, is characteristic of the tricksters and transformers of North American mythology.
>
> The shaman's viewpoint is characteristically different. . . . The emphasis on the association of the power to grant man all his socio-economic needs with the realization of the direct relationship between the maintenance of these needs and the spirits, is almost exclusively the work of the shaman. . . . The creative animal heroes had to give way to these newcomers [spirits] as the original source of power, unless they themselves were elevated to the dignity of spirits.[3]

The important point here is that for the common man, all the powers needed for life were granted "in the beginning" by the Culture Heroes (who also, oftentimes, were Tricksters). The common man does not pray to them--and this fact, for Radin, apparently, means that apart from the shamans (or prior to them) there is no religion. Most people, Radin says, are spontaneously religious only at the crises of life, while those who are religious at all times are always few in number.[1] It is these latter who produce religious rites, i.e., what is usually called religion, and for them the spirits and gods are a real and necessary adjunct to life. The shaman takes the position that the world as given, including man's powers, are inadequate and must be augmented by transcendent experience and supernatural graces.[2] Out of the shamanistic world view there developed the guardian spirit quest, belief in the animal master, concepts of gods of the sun, moon, stars, etc., communal ceremonies, secret societies, and the like. The shaman teaches the common man that he must gain the favor and help of the beings of the spirit world if he would live successfully on earth; while the popular view, expressed in the myths of the Culture Hero-Trickster-Transformer, is that man needs only to use what has been given him and follow in the paths laid out for him by those who traveled before.

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[1] Paul Radin, "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XXVII (1914).

[2] Ibid., p. 352.

[3] Ibid., pp. 358-359.

Radin continues to explain how the popular theriomorphic beings of folklore sometimes are elevated by the shamans to the status of spirits and divine beings. For Radin, the "Trickster-Deity," such as Raven on the Northwest Coast and Coyote in California,

> . . . represents the shaman's acknowledgement of the power of popular beliefs, and likewise an admission that he too shares many of them. His reconstructed trickster is generally more consistent as a creator, more directly and consciously benevolent, but his origin is indicated in a number of features. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, for the shaman's reinterpretation is never thorough and complete, and no matter how clarified his conception may be, the people as such have never lost their conception of the trickster.[3]

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[1] Radin, Primitive Religion . . ., pp. 9-11.

[2] Radin, "Religion of the North American Indians," p. 343.

[3] Ibid., p. 359.

Wherever the Trickster-Heroes have retained more of their "primeval character," it has been due to the development by the shaman of "another deity in which he was more interested" (the high god). The Tricksters become deified for a second reason also, Radin says: in order to provide founders for the rituals. Since the Trickster-Culture Heroes already are known as "Founders," it is natural that they should become the mythical prima causa of the rituals which really are recent shamanistic introductions.[1]

All of these opinions agree closely with my own, which will be fully explicated in the final section of this paper. However, to anticipate briefly what is to be stated later, I think Radin errs in failing to recognize that the world view of the "common people" (as he sees it) is also a religious stance in the world, a religious way of life parallel to that of the shamans.

Adolf E. Jensen, German ethnologist, in his book Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples,[2] says nothing about the Trickster, but he shows persuasively that the Culture Hero must be regarded as a religious figure, even when he lacks a cult. Jensen includes the Culture Hero within a class of mythic beings which he designates "Dema deities." These are the beings who lived in the myth times, who transformed the earlier world into the world as we know it, and then, their work finished, they ceased to exist.

> A deity such as this is not "present," and it would be senseless to address prayers to it, for it does not control fate. Man's religious attitude consists of continued awareness of the divine order which the deity engendered.[3]

Jensen writes principally concerning the "Dema deities" of the archaic planters, and he admits to little knowledge of the more primitive hunters and gatherers;[1] but what he says about the Culture Heroes of the planters has application to the Trickster-Heroes of the older hunters. I object to the term "god" or deity for the Trickster-Culture Hero, but as Jensen defines it,[2] it is not improper. I prefer, however, to retain the term Trickster-Culture Hero, or some similar designation, for the figure at least as he appears in the myths of the hunting peoples, and reserve the name "god" for transcendent, living, spiritual beings of shamanistic or priestly provenance.

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[1] Ibid., p. 360.

[2] Adolf E. Jensen, Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

[3] Ibid., p. 92.

My view, then, partakes of the insights of both Radin and Jensen. The Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero is an ancient and popular ("of the people") myth figure who has established for all time the form of the world and has given man the ways by which he is to live. His only cult is the repetition of his stories, by which the sacredness of the cosmic and social order is "celebrated" and affirmed by being reiterated. This figure has been, from the beginning, not only heroic and in a certain sense admirable, but also deceitful, foolish, and ludicrous. This figure stands over against the spirits and gods of the shamans and priests who represent a different world view, which is, that only by resorting to transcendent experience can life be lived "religiously" and fully.

In a book written much later in life,[3] Radin developed a theory about the Trickster which is largely psychological in orientation. Radin assumes here that the Trickster is the most ancient figure in Indian mythology and "probably in all mythologies."[4] Originally, his cycle "began with an account of a nondescript person obsessed by hunger, by an uncontrollable urge to wander, and by sexuality."[1] Often he is described as old; this means, says Radin, "ageless, existing from all time." This Trickster cycle was separate, Radin thinks, from Culture Hero cycles,[2] and where the two are found together in one personage we have a "mixed" myth cycle.[3] These last are very common. Why they should be so prevalent, Radin does not attempt to explain. (He has earlier reiterated his view that the divine attributes given to the Trickster were the work of the shamanistic formulator.)[4] The Trickster, in his primal purity, Radin concludes, represents human mentality in the primordial past. He is the symbol of an "undifferentiated" psychic state in the process of attaining differentiation and orientation:

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[1] Cf. ibid., pp. 135-136.

[2] Ibid., p. 91.

[3] Paul Radin, The Trickster, A Study in American Indian Mythology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956).

[4] Ibid., p. 164.

> The symbol which Trickster embodies is not a static one. It contains within itself the promise of differentiation, the promise of God and man. For this reason every generation occupies itself with interpreting Trickster anew. No generation understands him fully, but no generation can do without him. Each had to include him in all its theologies, in all its cosmogonies, despite the fact that it realized he did not fit properly into any of them, for he represents not only the undifferentiated and distant past, but likewise the undifferentiated present within every individual.[5]

This view closely parallels that of the psychologist Carl Jung, who contributed a chapter to Radin's book.[6] Jung says:

> He is obviously a "psychologem," an archetypal psychic structure of extreme antiquity. In his clearest manifestations he is a faithful copy of an absolutely undifferentiated human consciousness, corresponding to a psyche that has hardly left the animal level.[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-164.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 168, emphasis added.

[6] "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," *ibid.*, pp. 193-211.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

The Trickster is the objectified memory of the primal mental state, or the collective projection of a part of the unconscious which is known and welcomed by the individual because it answers to something inside himself.[1]

> The Trickster is a collective shadow figure, an epitome of all the inferior traits of character in individuals. And since the individual shadow is never absent as a component of personality, the collective figure can construct itself out of it continually.[2]

For this reason the Trickster has persisted for ages in mythology, and crops up again and again in higher cultures, as in the Fool's Feast, the Festum Asinarium, and the like of Medieval carnival times.[3]

The psychological interpretations depend largely upon the "world view" and terminology of Jungian psychology which I am not willing to accept as my own "handle" for taking hold of this problem. However, apart from the psychology, both Radin and Jung are to be criticized, I believe, for basing their interpretation of the Trickster in American Indian mythology too heavily upon the Wakda-Junkaga cycle of the Winnebago, which Radin admits is a unique literary creation.[4] Radin takes this cycle as the best example of a cycle of trickster stories, and traces in it a "psychological pilgrimage," as it were, which he then claims to be one of the essential ingredients of the Trickster cycle (although he fails to illustrate this psychological progression in cycles from other tribes). Jung, seizing eagerly upon the Winnebago cycle because it lends itself so admirably to his interpretation, states that it "preserves the shadow in its pristine mythological form."[5] All this despite the fact that it is, in several respects, unique as compared with numerous Trickster cycles from surrounding Plains tribes (see chapter vii below).

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[1] Ibid., p. 201. [2] Ibid., p. 209. [3] Ibid., pp. 195-199.

[4] Cf. Paul Radin, "Winnebago Hero Cycles: A Study in Aboriginal Literature" (Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 1 of the International Journal of Linguistics, Baltimore: 1948), where he states: "Our four cycles are composite prose epics which show inmistakable evidence of long growth" (p. 15). Cf. also, Radin, The Trickster . . . , pp. 122-124, 146.

[5] Ibid., p. 202.

Radin, it seems to me, errs (as did Boas) in separating the Trickster cycle absolutely from all myths of heroic theft, regulation of destructive forces in nature, killing of monsters, the origin of death, and in general the establishment of the world as it is.[1] There is simply too much evidence that all these deeds belong to the Trickster in his roles of Culture Hero and Transformer. However, these errors do not entirely invalidate Radin's further statements about Trickster as representing the coming to consciousness of man, and I shall, in the final section, have occasion to allude to these views again, as a part of my own constructive statement.

Certain other interpretations of the Trickster should be mentioned briefly. Norman Brown, Freudian, says, "The Trickster [and Culture Hero] is a projection of the psychological forces sustaining the economic activities of primitive peoples. . . ."[2] Brown emphasises the Trickster's frequent associations with excrement, which for Freudians is a symbol of money and a fixation on economic activity and material wealth.[3] Such an interpretation, like that of Jung, depends upon a particular set of presuppositions which I am prepared neither to accept nor to refute.

R. Pettazzoni considers Coyote (especially in Central California) as a degraded Lord of Animals who has "fallen from the sacred into the profane sphere,"[4] but the evidence seems to me to point to quite different origins for Coyote and the animal masters. I have found no data suggesting that

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[1] Ibid., p. 166.

[2] Norman O. Brown, Life against Death, the Psychoanalytical Meaning of History (New York: Random House Modern Library, 1959), p. 200.

[3] Ibid., pp. 301-302.

[4] Raffaelle Pettazzoni, The All-Knowing God (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1956), p. 370.

Coyote or any other Trickster-Hero was ever a Lord of Animals; on the contrary, the Trickster in a number of instances steals from the owner of the animals, releasing the game or fish for mankind. The Lord of Animals is, in structure, a transcendent being; Coyote and the others are worldly.

Ugo Bianchi[1] sees the Trickster, where he comes into conflict with the High God, as an example of primitive dualism, an early apprehension of an opposition between good and evil in creation. It is true that the Trickster and High God often appear as rivals, but we have not to do with a dualism of good and evil, except only secondarily, but with two conflicting world views, one immanent, the other transcendent. The topic of "dualism" will be considered in the chapters having to do with mythologies where the supposed dualism occurs.

Joseph Campbell, contemporary American student of mythology, connects the Trickster with the shaman, and sets these two in opposition to what he terms "priestly religion." Campbell draws a valid distinction between shaman and priest:

> The priest is the socially initiated, ceremonially inducted member of a religious organization . . . while the shaman is one who, as a consequence of a personal psychological crisis, has gained a certain power of his own.[2]

Campbell uses for his chief illustration of the conflict between priestly and shamanistic religion, material from the Jicarilla Apache, a semi-agricultural people located within the sphere of influence of the Pueblo.[3] The Jicarilla priests have subordinated groups of shamans, have "lined them up and fitted them into uniforms," as part of their public ceremonials. But this example of the relationship between priests and shamans is by no means typical for North America. Much more frequently, shamans are the priests, the one type of leadership blending into the other. The individual shamans form societies, and the societies regulate the initiation and training of new shamans. It seems much sounder to regard the shamans as the fore-runners of the priests, despite the real distinction in the source of their charisma (in extreme examples). Shamans are specialists in the spirits, and out of these spirits the gods are evolved, with whom the priests have to deal. Both priests and shamans are mediators between the common men and the realm of the supernatural. The fact that priests and shamans clash in the Jicarilla tribe is more likely due to the collision of two cultures in fairly recent times--that of the very recent Athabascans (Apache) and that of the agriculturalists among whom they settled after migrating from the north, probably within the past millennium. (See below, chapter xviii.)

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[1] Ugo Bianchi, Il Dualismo Religioso (Saggio Storico ed Etnologico, Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1958), pp. 69-72.

[2] Joseph Campbell, The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology (New York: Viking Press, 1959), p. 231.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 231-238.

While shamans and the type of religious experience which they represent do often clash with priests and their ceremonial, institutional religion, I believe that Campbell is in error in drawing such an absolute distinction between the two types of religious forms. The second error Campbell makes is in linking the Tricksters of mythology with the shaman. Campbell makes too much of an observation of a certain investigator of Alaskan Eskimo, that a particular shaman there was "a solitary man accustomed to hold his own against many and therefore had to have his little tricks."[1] Next Campbell makes a completely unfounded statement: "In every society in which they have been known, the shamans have been the particular guardians and reciters of the chants and traditions of the people."[2] This simply is not true for the North American Indians. The story-tellers are not the shamans, but the old people--common people, ordinarily--who happen to be gifted in the art of narration. Shamans have their stories and chants and "formulas" too, but they are of an entirely different cast from those of the myths wherein the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero is found. It is true, that in tribes where there are secret societies or rituals with esoteric myths, these are in the keeping of the shamans or shaman-priests. But the myths of the Trickster are common property, and are by no means the possession of shamans.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

Campbell also makes too much of the "independence" and self-reliance of the shaman. The shaman may, indeed, live apart from the group, but he is not powerful because of inner resources of his own: precisely the opposite! He is a man of power because he can summon to his aid the spirits with whom he is familiar. This error of calling the shamans "self-reliant" leads Campbell into making a false equation of the Culture Hero of mythology and the shaman. Comparing the hero's daring theft of fire with the transcendent journeys of the shaman (to rescue a soul, for example), Campbell sees the Trickster-Hero as the super-shaman.[1] But the hero who goes after the fire goes in his own strength, while the shaman can assault the hostile spirits only with the aid of his helping spirits.[2] There is, indeed, I believe, a contrast between Titanic, heroic, humanistic religion and the religion of gods and priests and prayer,[3] but the shaman stands on the side of the latter, not the former. The best example of the former is the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero of mythology.

It is with him, and the type of religion which he represents, that this study is concerned.

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[1] Ibid., p. 275.

[2] For a fuller explication of this point, see the Conclusion of this paper.

[3] Cf. Campbell, p. 279.

CHAPTER I

EASTERN SIBERIA

General Remarks

On the northwest coast of North America the principal myth figure is the Raven, who is the culture hero, trickster, and usually the creator and ordainer of things in all the tribes from Alaska to northern Vancouver Island. Among the tribes of the extreme eastern part of Siberia, the Raven plays also this complex role. Before entering upon our exploration of the myths of North America it should be instructive to examine the mythology of the Eastern Siberians for purposes of comparison, inasmuch as North America undoubtedly was populated by waves of migrations from, or at least through, this Asiatic region.

Four linguistic groups are included in this chapter, all of which are closely related: Kamchadal, Koryak, Chuckchee, and Yukaghir (the first three of which are of chief importance). The first three live in territories bordering on the Bering Sea (consult Figure 1), while the Yukaghir dwell mainly to the west of the Chuckchee along the Arctic coast, several hundred miles removed from the Bering Strait. The Yukaghirs long have been Christianized and have even forgotten their native language. Nevertheless, they have retained some of their ancient lore, though the material as a whole obviously is in a state of decay.[1] Still, it is valuable. The Kamcahdal, likewise, were Christianized at an early date, and were able to supply only fragmentary mythological texts to investigators.[1] The Koryak and Chuckchee were less influenced by their contacts with Russians before systematic ethnological work could be undertaken among them.

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[1] Waldemar Jochelson, The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. IX; Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1926), p. 298; and idem, The Koryak (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. IV; Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1908) p. 344.

The only scientific investigations made of these peoples were done by Waldemar Bogoras and Waldemar Jochelson around 1900, mostly in connection with the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, a pioneering ethnological venture conducted all around the North Pacific coast. A few reports of travelers a century or so earlier contain some mythological material, but its value is chiefly to corroborate later findings.

The Koryak and Chuckchee each may be divided into two groups on the basis of their means of subsistance. The "Reindeer" bands who dwell inland live chiefly on the products of their reindeer herds, while the "Maritime" communities live on sea mammals and fish which they take from the sea. Their material culture is extremely primitive, as is also their social structure and other non-material aspects of their life. The family group is the only stable social unit, although the Yukaghir seem to have had a fairly well-developed clan system at the time of the coming of the Russians.[2] The Reindeer peoples live in camps and travel with their herds, while the Maritime groups occupy villages along the coast.

The general world-view of these "Paleo-Siberians" is very much like that of the Indians of the North Pacific coast of America, with elements resembling certain Eskimo beliefs.[1] All natural things, animate and inanimate, are believed endowed with anthropomorphic spirits. In the myth times these beings appeared and acted very much as human beings, and could transform themselves at will. But since those times, only shamans are able to perceive the "spiritual forms," and only they can transform themselves as people did of old.[2] In common with the Eskomo and American Indians and other North Asian tribes, the Paleo-Siberians believe each animal species and each class of natural phenomena has an "owner" or master: a "super being" of the species.[3] Some of the owners are more important than others, because their species of animal or phenomena is more important in every-day life. The Reindeer Koryak, Kamchadal, and Chuckchee, for example, greatly respect Picvucin, the "Reindeer Being, who watches over the herds and other animals.[4] The Maritime Chuckchee especially venerate the owner of sea animals, Keretkun, to whom, in the form of an image, they offer sacrifices in the autumn festival.[5]

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[1] Waldemar Bogoras, "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia as Compared with that of Northwestern America," American Anthropologist, New Series, IV (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1902), 579; cf. Dean Stoddard Worth, Kamchadal Texts Collected by W. Jochelson (The Hague: Moulton and Co., 1961), pp. 9f.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, Aboriginal Siberia, A Study in Social Anthropology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), pp. 23, 32, 38.

Spiritual beings in great numbers are believed in, and are classed in two categories, benevolent and malevolent, although these probably should not be separated too strictly. The Chuckchee refer to the good spirits as váirgit, "beings." The Koryak use a similar term, vahiynit.[6] Sacrifices are made to the most important of these "beings," those of the twenty-two directions. Of supreme importance is the "Crown Being (Vairgin, "something-existing") of the zenith. Mid-day, the pole star, and the sun sometimes are identified with this "high god."[7] The Koryak are equally vague about a supreme sky being, to whom they refer by many names: "Something-existing," "Universe," "World," "The One on High," Master, Dawn, Supervisor, the Outer One, etc. Some persons identify him with the sun. He is conceived as a weather god, and has a wife "Rain-Woman" and a son and daughter who are clouds. Sometimes his wife is said to be Sea-Woman. As long as he looks down upon earth, food is abundant (from the sea, wild animals, and herds). But if he turns away, or if the sacrifices which he expects regularly are neglected, famine and disaster follow. Jochelson[1] insists that the people do not fear this high god, but sacrifice to him in gratitude or in atonement in order that his blessings may continue. The-One-on-High rarely figures in the collected myths.

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[1] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 115.

[2] Ibid., pp. 115-117.

[3] Ibid., pp. 30, 118.

[4] Ibid., p. 118.

[5] Czaplicka, p. 257.

[6] Bogoras, p. 588.

[7] Czaplicka, p. 256.

The Yukaghir also had a vaguely-conceived high god, known by terms meaning "Something." This being was believed to control all visible phenomena of nature. No prayers or cult to this being have survived in memory, if they ever existed.[2] Probably the Kamchadal conceived of their "high god" Nenekicex in much the same way as did their neighbors.[3]

Evil spirits are known by the term kalau (singular, kala) by the Koryak,[4] kele (singular kelet) by the Chuckchee,[5] kalupe (kakul) by the Yukaghir,[6] and kamuli by the Kamchadal.[7] The Koryak also refer to these beings as kalaks or kamaks, and use the same term for the "guardian posts" set up at the edge of villages, on the coast (to "watch for whales"), and elsewhere.[8] Offerings are made to these posts which sometimes are partially carved or otherwise adorned.

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[1] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 25.

[2] Jochelson, The Yukaghir, pp. 140, 235.

[3] Ibid., p. 234.

[4] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 27.

[5] Bogoras, p. 582.

[6] Jochelson, Yukaghir, p. 152.

[7] Czaplicka, p. 270.

[8] Jochelson, The Koryak, pp. 36-38.

The evil spirits are the cause of disease, and only shamans can combat them.

Shamanism is extremely important among these eastern Siberians. It is found in a simpler form here than among the tribes to the west (Central Siberia), and occurs more commonly as a non-professional practice.[1] This does not mean that professional shamanism is unknown, but it appears to be in an early stage of development as compared with the institution in central Asia. The earliest travelers' reports of the Kamchadal indicate that in the late eighteenth (Steller) and early nineteenth (Krasheninnikoff) centuries anyone could be a shaman and there were no professionals. At that time shamanism was practiced especially by women, while male shamans often dressed as women.[2] Even today female Koryak shamans and men who have "become women" are considered more powerful than male shamans.[3] In almost every Koryak family one woman, usually elderly, becomes expert in magic formulas and incantations (dramatic narratives, closely akin to myths). Big Raven, the leading myth personage, and his wife, Miti appear as the main actors in all incantations. The formulas, which enable the shamans to overcome the evil spirits, are believed all to have been given in the beginning by Big Raven, who is always called "Creator" in these stories.[4]

The following examples will illustrate this type of oral literature:

> The Creator began to worry, saying, "My son will probably be carried away by a kala . . . while he is sleeping alone in the wilderness." Therefore the Creator transformed his son into excrement, for the kala does not like the smell of it. Thus the son of the Creator fell asleep well, and woke up without harm.
>
> Creator and Miti's son said, "My arm is swelling!" Then Creator said to his wife, "Miti, fetch my raven's coat and my raven's staff!" She brought them. Creator dressed himself and went out to the sea,

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[1] Czaplicka, p. 167.

[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 234f.

[3] Jochelson, The Koryak, pp. 48-53.

[4] Ibid., pp. 59f.

> looked upon it, and went to thelimit of it. There he met a little hare and a gull. Both were crying, and their crying regulated the tides. Creator asked them, "For what are you used?" They answered, "For swollen men, for a bandage on swelling. When we cry together, the swelling ceases." . . . Then he carried them both home and used both for a bandage on his son's swelling. . . . Creator's son recovered.[1]

Incantations are recited also by the Koryak at their festivals. The Maritime Koryak observe a whale festival annually in the fall, and a similar ceremony in miniature each time a whale is captured. Like the widespread bear ceremonial, the rationale of this rite is to treat the animal with respect as visitor to the community so that it will want to return, and so that it will carry a good report to its fellows when it gets back to them which will move them also to want to come. During the ceremony pieces of meat are offered to the Being-on-High and the following incantation (or a similar one) is recited:

> The Creator [i.e. Big Raven] said, "I shall go get a white whale for my children as food." He went and got it. Then he said, "I shall go for an alder branch." He brought the branch for the whale. Later he again procured the same white whale: again he brought a branch. Thus he always did, and thus he always hunted.[2]

Sacrifices are offered also to the Master of the Sea. At the end of the four or five day festival the whale's head is "sent home" (thrown back into the sea).[3]

A number of other festivals are observed in which offerings are made to the Supreme Being, as master of animals and as weather god. These include a bear festival, a wolf ceremony, several reindeer ceremonials, a winter solstice festival, ceremonies to drive out evil spirits, etc. When the Koryak go into their winter houses in the late fall, masked dancers enter first to drive out the kalau. Young men are disguised in male and female masks to represent Big Raven and Miti. After dancing, the performers are given presents for their service. The Chuckchee have similar rites, but do not use masks.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 60, 63. [2] Ibid., p. 70.

[3] Ibid., pp. 71-76.

The human being is believed to consist of several souls. One soul is born again and again, and between incarnations the Koryak believe it to hang on the cross beam in the house of the Supreme Being in heaven.[2] This belief probably prevails among all these peoples.[3] Another soul or shadow goes to an underworld, the world of the ancients. Here the "people" live in villages as in life, and can help or harm their living relatives. Gifts or offerings are made, therefore, at the funeral service: reindeer are slaughtered so the deceased one will have them in the next world, and other food gifts are offered. Relatives may send gifts to their dead ancestors at the time of any funeral service. Only shamans are able to go to the land of the dead. Precautions are taken to prevent the dead from returning to the earth: at the funeral pyre sticks are thrown down to represent a dense forest and a line is traced around it to represent a great river.[4] These symbolic acts remind us of a widespread myth motif of objects thrown over the shoulder in flight from a dangerous being.

The Chuckchee conceive of the universe as composed of several levels, up to as many as nine, alternately populated by men and spirits. The Koryak speak of five,[5] but the exact numbers of levels differs among informants. There is a world, or worlds, both above and below this one, and today only shamans are able to transcend the limits of this plane, to go to these worlds where spirit powers reside, and to return to tell the tale.[6]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 79-82. [2] Ibid., p. 100.

[3] Cf. Jochelson, The Yukaghir, pp. 156f.

[4] Jochelson, The Koryak, pp. 102-112.

[5] Ibid, p. 121. [6] Cf. Bogoras, pp. 590f.

Mythology

With these facts as background, we are ready to examine the mythology of the Paleo-Siberians.

The mythology and folklore of eastern Siberia is decidedly different from the Uro-Altaic and belongs to an area which includes both Asiatic and American coasts. Instead of the fantastic monstrosities that fight with knights, which abound in Central Asiatic Lore, the Paleo-Siberians tell of an age of animal creatures who easily metamorphize into anthropomorphic beings, and vice-versa.[1]

The oral traditions of these people fall into several categories. The Chuckchee usually classify their tales into three groups, according to Bogoras:[2] (1) "Tidings from the time of the first creation," which are cosmogonic narratives and creation stories. The Chuckchee material is particularly rich in these myths, while that of the Koryak is deficient at this point, probably due to the fact that their culture is in a state of decline.[3] (2) "Genuine tales," a term which really covers two kinds of stories: narratives about the relations between human beings and spitits, such a shamanistic adventures; and animal tales, which, while usually classed in this group, also are known by separate names, and really might be considered another category. (3) "Hostile tidings," or war stories. These last are what we should call "historical" accounts or legendary materials.

Our interest is in the creation stories and the animal tales, especially those which deal with the Raven. Raven is known as K!utz or Kutq (Raven) among the Kamchadal, and is also referred to as Kusklnequ (creator) in myths.[1] The Koryak call him Quikinnaqu or Kutkinnaku, meaning "Big-Raven." (The raven bird is called by an entirely different word, valve.) Other epithets commonly applied to Big-Raven include Big-Grandfather (Acicenaqu) and Creator (Tenantomwan).[2] The Chuckchee, however, make a distinction between Raven (Kurkil) and Creator (Tenantomri), at least in some myths, and the name Creator is used of the Supreme Being.[3]

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 579. [2] *Ibid*., pp. 581f.

[3] Jochelson, *The Koryak*, pp. 15f, 121, and 342.

Among the remembered myths of the Yukaghir, the Raven plays no exalted role, but his ancient name, Commodi, "Great Bird," suggests that at one time he was a distinguished personage. Only the most important one of a class is referred to as "great." The only Yukaghir myths of Raven which survived to be recorded depict him as a contemptible trickster.[4] The folklore of this tribe was in an advanced state of decay when studied, and no story of creation was remembered. The best informant said, "The ancient people knew it [creation myth], but the present people know it not."[5] The following tales will serve as examples of Yukaghir Raven myths:

> Raven and Ptarmigan go to the Sun in search of wives. The Sun opens his door, and the suitors see many beautiful daughters inside. But Raven notices some dung in the yard and begins to peck at it, and Sun slams the door in disgust. "Why should I abstain from it?" Raven says to his companion. "Is it not my food?" They go in sequence to the house of Moon, Ursa Major, Morning Star, Northern Lights, Lednum, Rhodadendron, Alder, Larch, and Grasses. At each place Raven eats excrement, and the two are turned away. Finally, at Steep Bank's place, Raven restrains himself and they get wives.[6]
>
> Raven and Ptarmigan are neighbors. Raven boasts that he is well-provided with food. Each day he feasts on "marrow of wild reindeer" (he means dung), and he pecks till his head is deep in it. Each morning he makes the rounds of hunters' traps and steals their hares. "You see what a brave hunter I am!" he brags. Ptarmigan scolds him, and Raven leaves angrily. Later, when the neighbor is out, Raven returns and kills her children and steals her belongings. A trial is called, with

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[1] Worth, p. 10.

[2] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 17.

[3] Ibid., p. 17.

[4] Jochelson, The Yukaghir, p. 299.

[5] Ibid., p. 298.

[6] Ibid.

> Eagle as judge. Raven's guilt is obvious, but he denies it stoutly. He is severely beaten, and thus he became black.[1]

The Kamchadal material should be regarded as the most important, according to Bogoras,[2] because the Kamchadal language "must be considered the oldest branch of this group of languages."[3] Unfortunately, only a fragmentary representation of myths could be gathered by the time trained investigators came on the scene. The Kamchadal are quite thoroughly Christianized, and they consider the very name Kutq shameful and unbecoming on their lips.[4] However, enough material could be collected to show that Raven occupied the same position in Kamchadal traditions as he does among the Koryak, where he is creator and transformer, culture hero, ancestor, and lecherous, dirty trickster.

An eighteenth-century explorer and visitor to the Kamchatka Peninsula, Steller, was dumbfounded by the obscene stories which the people told about their "god" Kutq. To him it appeared that the people were "_geborene Gotteslasterer_," born blasphemers.[5] A few examples of their ribald tales have survived:

> Raven meets fox-women at his fish trap, and gives her the heads off his fish. He takes home the mutilated remainders to his wife, Miti, telling her that bears are spoiling his fish. That night and every night he goes to watch his traps--and have secret rendevoux with his Fox girl friend. Eventually, Miti becomes suspicious and catches them. She thrusts a stick up the Fox-woman's anus, and leads her wayward husband home again.[6]
>
> Raven asks his family to prepare a burial pithouse for him, because he is going to die. They stock it with food, as is customary, and furnish it with wood for heat, an oil lamp, etc. Miti insists that Raven is lying, but when all is ready, Raven falls down, apparently dead. While Miti and the children are carrying him to the burial house, the wife

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 247f.

[2] Bogoras, p. 578.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 637.

[4] _Ibid._, p. 578.

[5] From _Reise von Kamtschatka nach Amerika_, p. 253, cited in Czaplicka, p. 269.

[6] Worth, pp. 88ff., cf. p. 243.

breaks wind and Raven cannot help smiling, which the children notice. During the night Raven eats all the food and enjoys himself immensely. The family see the lamp burning, and know he is trying to fool them. In the morning he reappears at the door, swearing he has come back to life. The family, obligingly, pretend to be frightened, and treat him kindly.[1]

Raven wants to have intercourse all the time. He inserts his penis in a shell on the beach, and gets his organ cut off. Miti has to help him fix it again.[2]

Quite regularly Raven appears as a family man in the Siberian myths, while his wife, Miti, is depicted as a trickster in her own right, often more clever than her husband. For example, the Kamchadal tell that Raven once obtained some food by entering into a vomiting contest with a wolf who had just eaten well, Taking the warm dinner home to Miti, Raven told her he had gotten it "over there," and said he would take her to get some more the next day. She soon learned she had been fooled, and she turned herself into a house on the path ahead of her husband. He entered it (her anus), and she squeezed him till he cried out in pain. He emerged minus his hair. They went home together, and Raven was punished for a week, like a naughty child; then the couple "made up" once again.[3]

Often, Raven is cast in the role of a fool and buffoon. In one Kamchadal story, Raven has a shaman-like experience of being transported to another world, but upon being asked about it some time later, he has completely forgotten the incident. "I never go anywhere," he complains. "I just carry out the chamber pot."[4] Another time he sees some berries growing on the opposite bank of the river. Unable to cross, he cuts off his head and throws it to the other side.[5]

Despite these Kamchadal stories which depict Raven as a deceiver and fool, we understand from the reports of early travelers that Kutq was believed to have founded the settlements on all the rivers on the peninsula, traveling from place to place as a cultural hero. After he finished his work he either went away (as Steller says, to the lands of the Koryak and Chuckchee) or else was transformed into stone, together with his house, boat, and family.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 153ff.

[2] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 341.

[3] Ibid., pp. 207f.

[4] Ibid., pp. 42ff, 247ff.

[5] Ibid., p. 341.

But Raven was more even than this to the Kamchadal: he was also their Creator. According to one myth, he made the land out of his son Simskalin. In another, he brought it down from the sky with the help of his sister and established it immovable on the sea.[2]

Although the Koryak were in a state of cultural decline when their myths were collected, many good texts were obtained. Big-Raven greatly overshadows all other figures in the traditions. "He is connected with almost every tale, and even when it treats of a subject without any relation to the Raven myth, his name at least is mentioned at the beginning. . . . He is the transformer of the world, the teacher of various pursuits, who, after making mankind fit to support themselves, goes away to another country or else turns into stone."[3]

Not only is he important in myths and folklore, but He figures also in religious observances, in public ceremonies and shamanistic functions. In this respect he has a place not assigned him elsewhere in Siberia and rarely in North America. As a participant in cultic activities he must be considered as a real deity among these people. His name figures in all incantations, examples of which have been given above. These incantations are either prayers to him or, in cases of treating the sick, dramatic representations of myths relating how Big-Raven treated his own children. Deer are slaughtered and given to him at shamanistic ceremonies. He is considered present at these functions and is always addressed as Creator.[1] As elsewhere in Siberia, Raven's long-suffering wife is known as Miti, and she is a more clever trickster than her husband. They have several sons and daughters, and the adventures of these younger people are often the real subjects of the narratives. Especially prominent are the son Emenqut and the daughter Yineaneut, who are both shamans and are engaged always in combatting the Kalau (evil spirits).[2]

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[1] Bogoras, p. 639.

[2] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 121.

[3] Bogoras, pp. 637f.

Big-Raven's origin is reported in several divergent traditions among the Koryak. Many Koryak say they simply do not know where he came from. Some insist he descended from the Supreme Being. Another myth has it that he was abandoned as a child by his father, "Self-Created," and just grew up alone.[3] Miti's origin is likewise obscure. She is said by some to have been thrown down from the sky, or just discovered somewhere all alone by Big-Raven. Other traditions link her with the sea, saying she is White Whale Woman, once the wife of Crab (a Maritime tradition); or that she was the daughter of Crab, Master of the Sea.[4] The Koryak are equally indefinite about the departure from the earth of Big Raven and Miti. Several traditions tell of Raven's ordering a burial house, and that when he entered it, both he and the house turned to stone. Others say he just wandered away.[5] The Koryak have been more interested in what Big-Raven did than in speculating about his origin or manner of his leaving the world.

The stories as a whole present many contradictions, and the multi-sidedness of the character of this figure is not the least of these. He is presented as the first man, the ancestor of the Koryak, through his children who are born to Miti; or as creator of the first people by an act of magic. He lives in a world of animal people, some of whom he created. He appears to be a man who "becomes a raven" by putting on a coat.[1] He transforms things, ordains patterns for the people in the world to come, and sets the world in order. He brings arts and skills to mankind, but he is also the bringer of death.[2] But throughout it all he remains a ribald comic, an indecent and treacherous fool.

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[1] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 18.

[2] Ibid., p. 20.

[3] Ibid., p. 19.

[4] Ibid., pp. 20, 159f.

[5] Ibid., p. 22.

As a transformer, Big-Raven found some sea-mammals sitting on a promontory by the sea. He kicked them into the water, saying, "This is what to do with you!" Coming upon a Sea Crab (the Master of the Sea?) he mounted its back, and rode down under the waters, singing, till he came to the world of the sea creatures. They were hospitable to him, but in the night he became thirsty and discovered that they had dried up all the water. He offered the men his daughters, and they brought him a drink. He drank up a whole river, then returned to earth and vomited up the water, making the rivers.[3] A similar story, minus the creation motif at the end, was collected from the Kamchadal.[4] The story sounds also very much like the magic incantations, and no doubt was used to end droughts or to increase fish in the rivers.

Another myth which resembles an incantation is the one which says Big-Raven went to Universe, the Sky God, to get aid in hunting and fishing. He returned, pulled up a post to which dogs ordinarily are tethered, and out of the hole a herd of reindeer emerged. (This last occurrence is common in Koryak mythology.) Then he made a sacrifice to Universe, in thanksgiving.[5] The following likewise sounds like a shamanistic formula: Creator turns into a raven and drives the kalau out of a house, conficating it for himself and his family. He makes the houseposts swear that they have never belonged to anyone but him.[1] This narrative may well have been used during the ceremony for cleansing a house before reoccupying it after an absence, as mentioned above.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 311f.

[4] Worth, pp. 93ff.

[5] Jochelson, *The Koryak*, pp. 142f.

The following myth must not be told in fine weather, but only to put a stop to a rain or snow storm:

> A bad rain was afflicting a village. Big-Raven flew to heaven and found that Universe was beating with his penis on a drum made of Rain-Woman's vulva. The moisture squirting from the "drum-stick" was the rain. Big-Raven contrived to get hold of the two sex organs and roasted them to a crisp. This stopped the rain.[2]

This text is interesting also because of the light it sheds on the nature of the Supreme Being of the Koryak, and his relationship to Big-Raven. Big-Raven appears as man's champion and representative before the highest power in the universe: in other words, he is in the role of a shaman. Big-Raven is in the same role in the tale cited above in which he goes to heaven to get reindeer for the people. He is the intercessor, the mediator, between man and the spiritual powers of the universe.

A myth which is found in six dialects, including Kamchadal and Chuckchee as well as Koryak, tells of Big-Raven's obtaining a Fish-Woman from the sea as a wife. Previously he and his family have been starving, but the new wife casts forth spawn, and they are fed. Miti is jealous, however, and during her husband's absence she kills the Fish Wife and prepares her body for Big-Raven's supper. But when he comes home, Fish-Woman revives and feeds him again. Miti repeats her actions the next day, and again the second wife revives. This time, however, she returns to the sea, and Big-Raven goes hungry.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 164f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 142f.

[3] Waldemar Bogoras, Koryak Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. V; New York and Leiden: J. E. Stechert and E. J. Brill, 1917), pp. 94ff.

This story probably is a ritual text also, with an ending warning of the danger of offending the fish. We shall find a similar motif in some stories of Raven in America. Big-Raven is here a taboo-giver, one who sets patterns for all time, a culture hero.

The most widely-known of all the Raven tales in Siberia is that of Raven and the Mouse-Girls. In this myth Raven is the tricked trickster:

> Raven steals a seal from some little Mouse-Girls on the beach. (They had tried to conceal it from him, knowing what he would do, but he found where they had hid it, and kicked them aside scornfully.) While he is sleeping, the girls come to his house and find the stolen meat in a pot. They eat it, and fill the pot with their excrements. When morning comes and Raven finds he has been tricked, he sets out to get revenge. But the Mouse-Girls call him grandfather and treat him to berry cakes, and he forgets his anger. While they are delousing his head, he falls asleep in their laps. They sew red tassels to his eyebrows. When he gets home he thinks his house is on fire, and makes a fool of himself. Next day, he goes to them in anger, but they pacify him easily, and when he is asleep they sew a bladder bag on his anus. On the way home he defecates, and can't understand where his excrements have gone.[1]

In another version the girls paint his face, and seeing his reflection in the river he thinks there is a beautiful girl in the water. He drowns trying to embrace her.[2]

Some of the most bizarre stories involve the mutual trickery of husband and wife:

> Creator is lazy and cuts off his penis and testicles and makes them into slaves to do his work. His wife moves with her daughters and leaves Big-Raven and his sons alone. He goes to her house and asks her for food, and she serves him her vulva which he trustingly eats for whale's lip. When he realizes his blunder he tries to fool her by serving up his penis, but she is not deceived. Then they agree to stop fooling and live normally.[3]

On another occasion Miti and Creator quarrel, and she cuts off her breasts, buttocks, and vulva and turns them into four men who deceive Creator.[4]

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[1] Bogoras, "Folklore of Northeastern Asia," pp. 646f.

[2] Bogoras, Koryak Texts, pp. 23ff.

[3] Jochelson, The Koryak, pp. 178ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 158f.

Another time Big-Raven and his family are starving. He tells them to pack their travelling bags, because they are going on a journey. Then he orders them all to stick their heads up their anuses. They can somehow see one another in this posture, and they think they are eating fish when they eat their own excrement.[1] Again, Big-Raven goes to another village and makes himself into a woman. He turns his sex organs into a needle case and other sewing implements. Miti finds out, and transforms herself into a man, and goes and marries him. Since both are playing roles opposite to their proper natures, they don't know how to consummate the marriage. Therefore, they call off their foolishness and return to normal.[2]

> Big-Raven defecates in the woods and thinks his excrement is a beautiful woman. He brings her home, kissing her, for a second wife. In the house she begins to stink, and Creator complains about the smell, never suspecting its source. He sleeps with her and in the morning there is one big mess in the bed.

In two stories Big-Raven contrives to be eaten by a wolf in order to kill it from inside. In one version he drops himself piece by piece along the wolf's trail, so that the beast gobbles him up. When he is entirely consumed he becomes whole, rides inside to the door of his house, then kills the wolf from inside, and Miti opens the carcass and releases him. When the other wolves come to see what has happened to their leader, he shuts them up inside the house and suffocates them.[3]

There appears to be a curious doubling of the figure of the Raven in Koryak mythology. Besides Big-Raven (Creator), a character called Raven-Man sometimes appears in the stories. His name is the same as that of the raven bird, Valve. Ordinarily, he is a man, but becomes a raven when he puts on a raven cloak. He is almost always a trickster, and sometimes he appears opposite Big-Raven who then is cast in an exalted role. Valve is a thoroughly contemptible figure, eating dog-carcasses and excrement (as ravens do), and having nothing to do with the cult (in contrast to Big-Raven). Yet in one myth he is a shaman who brings back to life Big-Raven's son.[1] The Reindeer Koryak say that once a snowstorm was raging and Big-Raven wanted to send Raven-Man to the source of the storm to stop it. He gave Raven-Man traveling provisions, but the latter just went out and hid in a dog kennel and ate the food. Another animal had to be sent to stop the storm. Later Raven-Man became intoxicated, was struck on the head, and his brains fell out. Upon awakening, he ate his own gray matter, thinking it was a pudding.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 190.

[2] Ibid., p. 323: A Bering Sea Koryak version. In a Chuckchee version, Miti pretends to be a man on the way to court Raven's wife, and in jealousy Raven comes back home. Waldemir Bogoras, Chuckchee Mythology (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VIII, Part 1; Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill and J. E. Stechert, 1913), p. 78.

[3] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 309; cf., also pp. 322f.

A Maritime Koryak story says that Raven-Man and his wife are starving, and he tells her to go out and get some food (which, of course, is his job). He stays and attends the baby. She flies around and finds a slaughtered dog at Big-Raven's place. When she returns, her husband pounces on the meat without waiting for her. She scolds him, and he goes away in a pout. He flies also to Big-Raven's place, and steals a piece of reindeer meat. He flies out to the tundra, assumes human form, and eats the meat. Despite his crime, Big-Raven invites him and his family to come live with him. Because he proves to be a good worker (sic!) Big-Raven gives him part of his herd.[3]

Raven-Man, of course, does nothing worse than Big-Raven does in many stories. Perhaps we have here evidence that some narrators were trying to separate the unsavory characteristics of Big-Raven from his more admirable traits, and make Big-Raven into a noble high god. As we shall see in the case of the Chuckchee, the relationship of Raven to the high god-creator is very much confused when different myths are set side by side. One of the major problems of this entire study is the question of the relationship of the Trickster to the High God. The problem will confront us not only in Siberia, but also all over North America.

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[1] Ibid., p. 19. [2] Ibid., pp. 143f.

[3] Ibid., pp. 267f.

The fact that the Koryak have made the Raven (Big-Raven) a part of their cultic observances may account for the tendency to exalt him to a high god character--if this indeed is what has taken place.

One other tale about Raven-Man should be cited, inasmuch as it may be a faint echo of the most famous Raven story of the North American coast, the stealing of the sun. Big-Raven's daughter, in whom Raven-Man is interested, goes to him and pretends to have missed him. But he is keeping the sun in his mouth, and her real motive is to get him to release it. She tickles him, and he laughs, and the sun flies to its place in the sky. Then she kills Raven-Man.[1]

Jochelson[2] says that the Raven myths have no connection with ritual among the Chuckchee. However, Raven (Kurkil, the mythical hero) is invoked in shamanistic incantations as a powerful spirit in much the same way as among the Koryak, it would seem.[3] Bogoras cites a very interesting example of a shamanic magic-narrative treatment:[4]

> The shaman is summoned to treat a man for pains in the abdomen. The shaman "makes the stomach into a bay," which is "frozen" because of the illness. He calls upon Kurkil to come help him. "You, Kurkil,

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[1] Bogoras, Koryak Texts, pp. 12ff; and Jochelson, The Koryak, pp. 251ff.

[2] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 18.

[3] Bogoras, Chuckchee Mythology, p. 133.

[4] Ibid.

> you travel around from very remote times. I want your assistance. What are you going to do with this bay? It is frozen. Mischievous persons made it freeze. You have a very strong beak. What are you going to do? Then the Raven "breaks through the ice."

The Chuckchee also make a distinction in their traditions between the Great Raven and the Raven-Man, whose name is the common one for the bird, Valviyni. However, the same kind of stories are told of Valviyni as are told of Kurkil: forexample, the widespread myth of Raven and the Mouse-Girls.[1]

Kurkil is never called "creator" by the Chuckchee as he is by the Koryak. The name creator (Tenanto-mri) is reserved for another personage who seems to be equivalent to the Supreme Being (literally God, or God-being) in most of the myths. However, in one story recounted by Bogoras[2] the Creator turns into a raven and flies to the Supreme Being to get reindeer for men. Jochelson[3] thinks this story is an adaptation from a Koryak tale cited above; the story is suspect also in that it begins with a contest between the Russian Creator who makes white people, and the Chuckchee Creator (the one who later flies away as Raven).

The distinction between "Creator" and "Raven" appears to me to be a secondary development, inasmuch as the Creator never appears alone in the myths, but is always in company with Kurkil, and in some stories Raven alone is the creator, although he is not called by his name. What we see taking place in Chuckchee mythology is a transference of the creative functions from Raven to the high god who is the overseer of the world, who dwells in the highest heaven and whose proper attribute is first of all omniscience.[4] Among the Koryak the high god was considered the giver of food animals and, of course, the weather. With the Chuckchee he has begun to take on the creative work of the Raven. The result is an extremely inconsistent body of myths about the beginning of the world.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 73ff.

[2] Waldemar Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLI, No. 161 (1928), 308ff.

[3] Jochelson, The Koryak, p. 17.

[4] Cf. Pettazzoni, The All-Knowing God, pp. 24f.

One story, which may be a fragment or the product of a poor memory, tells of the creation of people and reindeer by no other beings than the first couple, who themselves appear to have been self-created.[1] In other stories Raven is the only creator. The best example is the one which follows, said to be found, with variable incidents, all over Chuckchee territory:

> Raven, the first one, the self-created, lived with his wife on a spot of ground just big enough for their needs. There were no people and no animals: they were all alone. His wife told him he had better go and try to make the earth. He said he could not do it, although she insisted that he could. His wife then said she would make a person, and she fell asleep. While Raven watched, his raven-wife began to change form. She began to have hands and feet and white, featherless skin like a human being. Raven became alarmed. He tried desperately to change his own body, pulling at his feathers, but he could do nothing. Frightened, he turned away his face, afraid to watch the transformation of his wife. While Raven was looking the other way in fear, she became pregnant, and gave birth to male twins. The woman awakened and the sons laughed at Raven. She told them Raven was their father, but they kept laughing and kicking at him. They stopped when she scolded them. Raven said, "There, you have created men! Now I shall go and try to create the earth. If I do not come back you may say, 'He has been drowned in the water; let him stay there.' I am going to make an attempt."
>
> He flew to each of the Benevolent Beings[2] in turn, but none would give him any advice. Neither would Dawn or Sunset, Evening, Mid-Day or Zenith. They would not even answer him. At last he came to a hollow place where the sky and earth meet, and found there a tent. He peeped in, and saw many men, making a great noise. He jumped back, frightened. One of the men realized someone was outside, and he went out and found Raven. Raven identified himself as the self-created one, and said he was going to create the world. The man said that he and his brothers were formed from the friction dust of the sky rubbing against the earth. "We are going to multiply and become the seed of all the peoples. But there is no earth. Could not someone make the earth for us?" Raven exclaimed that he would try.
>
> The Raven and the man flew off together. As Raven flew, he defecated.

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[1] Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," pp. 317f.

[2] See above p. 17.

> Every piece of excrement that fell upon the water became land and grew in size. Thus islands and continents were formed. Raven asked the man if he had made enough. The man said that fresh water and mountains still were needed. Raven urinated to make lakes and rivers, and defecated hard substances for the mountains. The man was afraid there was still not enough land, and that the water might some day cover the earth, so Raven strained himself to produce higher ground. He exhausted himself.
>
> The man then asked what people were going to eat. The good Raven flew off and found trees of many kinds. He chopped at them, and threw the chips in the water. Some became walrus, some seals, some polar bears, whales, fish, crabs, and worms. Other chips became the land animals. "Now you have food!" Raven said; and the men spread abroad over the land.
>
> But there were no women, so the people could not multiply. Raven pondered the problem. A small spider-woman came down and presented herself to Raven. She said she had come to produce females; and she became pregnant and gave birth to four daughters. One of the men married her. Next day Raven went to visit the couple, and he peeked into their tent. "Oh, they are sleeping separately in opposite corners! Oh, that is bad!" Raven called the man out, and entered the tent himself. He had intercourse with the woman two times. He called the man back, and the woman said she would like to do it again. She showed her husband how (this is why girls know about these things earlier today). Thus the earth was populated.[1]

The first part of the preceding story obviously is separate from the latter part, since we hear nothing more about Miti's twin sons after Raven flies away. It should be noticed that Raven, like a shaman, flies to the spirit powers; but unlike a shaman, he gets no help from them. What he creates, he makes by his own power, literally from his own "inner resources."

In another account of the creation, the Creator (not Raven) and his wife are living on a tiny island in darkness, the only beings in creation. They dig a ditch and drain off the waters, then make men and animals. They forget to create the Raven, but when the Creator departs from the earth, he leaves behind his coat. From under the coat Raven emerges. At first Raven declares he is self-created, but under the influence of an intoxicating drug he admits he came from under the Creator's coat. Creator then exclaims, "Ah, indeed! And I believed you were self-created! Now it appears you are one of my creations after all, you liar!"[1] This story may account for allusions to Raven made in shamanistic incantations as "the outer garment of the Creator."[2] The myth indicates the difficulty felt by the author of the story in attributing to the liar, Raven, the work of the creation. Instead, he assigns this work to "Creator," a high-god type. Even so, Raven cannot be ignored, because everyone knows he was here from the beginning.

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[1] Bogoras, Chuckchee Mythology, pp. 151ff.

In still another creation myth, Creator makes Raven, and sends him to get daylight, which is imprisoned behind rocks and must be pecked free. However, Raven fails, and Creator must send another bird. Raven is heard from no more, and Creator himself plays the role of culture hero in this myth.[3] But in several other versions, Raven himself obtains the dawn, pecking until the rocks burst open. In these stories Raven often sends other birds first, and goes himself only after the others have failed.[4]

The motif of the liberation of the light by pecking it free from a stone is Siberian, and is in contrast to the American Pacific coast saga of the "stealing of the sun" and other luminaries from the house of a malevolent being. The American motif appears also in some Chuckchee tales, presumably due to diffusion by way of the Eskimo of Bering Strait.

> The world is in darkness and Raven flies away with a diaper which was hanging on a clothes line. A woman complains, "Why doesn't Raven arrange the world, instead of just stealing things, the scoundrel!" Raven goes and pecks free the dawn, then journeys to the house of a kele (evil spirit) and steals four balls from the child who is playing with them. These are the sun, two moons, and the stars.[5]

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 154ff.

[2] Cf. Bogoras, "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia," p. 640.

[3] Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," pp. 297-300.

[4] _Ibid._, pp. 301-304 and Bogoras, "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia,"pp.640f.

[5] Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," pp. 303f.

In another version he steals one ball from a kele girl, and when he unwraps it, light bursts forth and the evil spirits flee.[1] Still another version says that Creator flew to the sky and stole the sun from the Supreme Being.[2] One of these myths goes on to have a curious ending: Wolf, Raven's neighbor, offends the latter by chiding him about his eating habits. Piqued, Raven hides the lights, and when Wolf comes to him to beg for their release, Raven hides the lights, and when Wolf comes to him to beg for their release, Raven says, "What do you want of light? You are rich. All of these worlds are of my creation, yet you humiliated me." Raven is finally persuaded to release the luminaries in exchange for Wolf's sisters as wives.[3]

The confused relationship between a high creator and Raven is brought out also in stories about the making of people. Creator and Raven appear often as co-creators. In one version Raven orders Creator to make a man, and he makes a wild creature who runs about on all fours, is hairy, and catches animals with his teeth. Raven is afraid such a being will be too destructive, and modifies him. Then at Raven's command, Creator makes the animals.[4] In other myths, Raven and Creator, or Raven alone, find a wild creature, half man and half reindeer, and separate him into a hunts man and his herd.[5] They come upon another wild man, a Lamut (considered an inferior people by the Chuckchee). Creator and Raven accuse each other of having made the man,but both deny it. When they meet a dele (evil spirit) a little later, the godly Creator says to Raven, "That man is probably your creation," and Raven does not deny it.[6] In still another account, Raven and Creator both make men, and Raven's creations are better.[7]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 304f. [2] Ibid., pp. 308-311.

[3] Ibid., pp. 301-303. [4] Ibid., p. 305.

[5] Bogoras, "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia," pp. 642-643, and Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," pp. 307f.

[6] Ibid., pp. 307f. [7] Bogoras, "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia," p. 642.

In a similar way, the creation of rivers, lakes, reindeer, fish, etc., and the perfection of human beings (teaching them to eat, drink, defecate, copulate, etc.) are attributed in different myths either to Raven or to Creator, or to both working together. In one version in which Raven alone is mentioned, he is said to have gone up above when his work was finished, becoming the awesome thunder.[1] This would indicate a belief in his continued activity and ability to influence events in the present. It also shows how closely Raven has been assimilated to the structure of the high god.

The Chuckchee tell numerous trickster stories about Kurkil. A widely-known cycle begins with Raven's giving his daughter in marriage to the winner of a contest which he holds. The winner, Hare, takes his bride home and provides well for her. Later they return to visit the old folks. Raven sends his son out to get game for their guests, and he returns with the carcass of a pup that died of a disease. The son-in-law cannot bear to eat it, so Raven goes hunting for something better. He returns with some diarrhea excrement. "Now, here! This is more slippery for swallowing!" he says. Hare takes his wife and goes home. Later, Raven pays a visit to his daughter and son-in-law. Hare has killed a deer, and Raven insists on butchering it in the woods, where it fell. Alone, he eats it all and drops white excrement over the bones. Hare returns and is disgusted, but Raven seems non-plussed. He tells his wife, "It is simply white with fat!" (Following this come the episodes of Raven's burial in which he feigns death in order to get more food, and Raven's change of sex and sojourn in another village: see above, pages 25 and 31.)[2]

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[1] Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," pp. 304ff.

[2] Bogoras, Chuckchee Mythology, pp. 77ff.

Certain other tales seem to be shamans' incantations. In one, Raven goes to Morning Dawn who is making a great snowstorm, and by trickery he gets a boatload of meat and pelts to bring back to his people who have been starving.[1] Raven sometimes is described as a shaman who can cure, and can command spirits to bring back "lost souls." But even as a shaman he also sometimes acts the fool, as when he dances and sings (for a shamanistic song): "I have fallen on my buttocks! I have fallen on my buttocks!"[2]

Conclusions

The character of Raven, as we shall see when we have dealt with the North American Raven stories, is the same basically on both coasts, although the eroticism is more pronounced in Siberia than in America. He is the creator of the earth and the creatures on it, he is the hero and teacher of mankind, and yet he is also a vain, stupid, lecherous, greedy, deceitful, voracious, and filthy trickster. All these traits we shall find duplicated, with greater or lesser emphasis locally, in the leading characters of American Indian mythology all across the Northern continent. A few episodes in the Siberian Raven's career bear comparison with episodes in the American Raven cycle: the release of light, the abuse of a fish-wife, and the change of sex and marriage while in this disguise. However, there is no close relationship in the details of these or other stories. This fact suggests that the two Ravens have a common but very ancient origin, and have developed for a long time in mutual isolation. The story of Raven's pretended death in order to obtain a big meal is nearly duplicated in a tale of Mink found among the Kwakuitl (chapter iv) and in a Koyukon tale of Raven (chapter iii), and is strongly reminiscent of a story found all over North America, "Trickster pretends to die in order to marry his daughter." In the Indian versions, trickster feigns mortal illness, gives instructions for the disposal of his body, and is suspected of treachery by one of his children. The purpose of the deceit, however, is not to get food (except in the two stories cited above), but to return disguised and marry his daughter.

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[1] Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," pp. 446ff, and Bogoras, "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia," p. 649.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 656.

The Alaskan Eskimo, who have many Raven stories, appear to have acquired them after moving into the area, as they are unknown to Eskimo groups farther east. We may postulate that the Eskimo have helped to separate the Indians and the Siberians for many centuries, and only in relatively recent times have they begun to be a bridge, rather than a barrier, to the transmission of folklore. Thus the story of the stealing of the sun by Raven has passed to the Chuckchee, apparently, by way of the Eskimo of Alaska. Except for this one myth, the two Raven cycles as they now stand are quite independent, although the characters and structures of the two Ravens are parallel.

Basically, as I see it, the Siberian Raven is a tricky culture hero, the maker and ordainer of "things-as-they-are." In the case of the Chuckchee, as we have seen, Raven sometimes is held also to be a high god-creator, and sometimes is distinguished from the creator. The Koryak generally have tended to deify him, so that he has become the object of cultic worship. In structure, however, Raven properly is a culture hero who "fixes" the world as it is and then retires from the scene, never to be heard from again.

For the shamans, Raven has become something more than a culture hero, thus introducing confusion and inconsistencies into his character. Shamans have made him sometimes a spirit, a helper of shamans; and even more often, in their shamanistic "incantations," they have made him one of themselves. He has become a super-shaman, going to the regions of the spirits and/or gods to obtain boons for mankind, as a prototype of shamans today.

The true character of Raven, as trickster-culture hero, is quite opposed to this shamanistic version. This is borne out in the majority of myths about Raven, in which he is depicted as a caricature, rather than an ideal portrait, of a shaman. He pretends to die and return from the dead, but it is a deception for the purpose of getting food (page 24); he has a shaman-like experience but forgets about it or discounts it as nothing (page 25); he "disintegrates" in order to be eaten by a wolf--so he can get an easy meal (page 31); when his brains are knocked out he revives and eats them (page 32); in creating the world, he gets no help from the spirits or gods, but must make it out of his own excrement (page 35); and when he plays the role of a curing shaman, he sings like a fool, "I have fallen on my buttocks!" (page 40). As we shall have occasion to point out again and again, the trickster-culture hero is not a shaman, nor does he subscribe to the basic assumption of the shaman, that this life needs to be enhanced by help from the spirits beyond. The trickster-hero is not very clever, oftentimes, but he manages to "blunder through" somehow, quite without the assistance of any supernatural agencies. Though he is a disorganized, chaotic personality, he establishes the world in the end; and even though he seems to lack any design or purpose, when he is finished the world is created and fixed for all time.

Raven is not the only trickster known to these eastern Siberian tribes. The Chuckchee, Koryak, and Kamchadal all tell stories about a tricky fox, sometimes pictured as male, sometimes female. For example: Fox goes to a house in the dark, pretends to be two people (a man and wife), and eats much food. Then he scares the hospitable occupants of the house, and runs away.[1]

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[1] Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," p. 414.

> Raven finds Fox apparently frozen to death, and puts him on his sledge, which is loaded with fish, to take him home for dinner. Fox revives as he rides along, steals some fish, and runs away. Then he tries his trick again: He lies by the trail as though frozen, and Raven picks him up. This time he ties him securely to the sled, but again he contrives to escape, stealing more fish. Wolf meets Fox a little later, and asks him how he has caught so many fish in winter. He says he put his tail through a hole in the ice. Wolf tries this plan, and gets his tail frozen fast. When he at last frees himself, Wolf pursues Fox to his lair. He puts his head into the hole--and get his face eaten off! Finally, with the help of another wolf, Wolf kills the sly Fox.[1]

The first part of the preceding story was recorded also among the Chuckchee.[2] In this version, Fox-Woman subsequently volunteers to guard the reindeer for some people, and soon she has killed the whole herd. When pursued, she hides and pretends to be a different fox. Then she tricks a bear into going to fight the people. The bear returns wounded, and Fox puts hot rocks into the wound to "cure" it, and kills Bear. She runs away laughing at the people she has tricked.

The Koryak tell of Fox's stupidity, always a trait of the cleverest tricksters, paradoxically. Fox-woman was fishing in a river. She fell in, and was carried out to sea. With great difficulty she managed to reach the shore, where she crawled up, exhausted. She hung up her coat to dry, and wishing to sleep, she took out her eyes to stand guard and warn her when the tide rises. The tide came in and the eyes failed to waken her. Once again she was carried out to sea. Being blind and naked, she nearly froze to death before finding the shore again. When she reached the beach, she punished her eyes by smashing them. Then she tried various things for substitute eyes: berries, stones, and finally ice, which was satisfactory although it tickled her when it melted (hence watery eyes).[3]

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[1] Worth, pp. 160ff. (A Kamchadal tale.)

[2] Bogoras, "Chuckchee Tales," pp. 414ff.

[3] Jochelson, The Koryak, pp. 320f.

While Fox is not prominent in eastern Siberian folklore, these stories may be of great significance for comparison with North American Indian mythology, for, as we shall observe later, practically all the episodes of the Siberian Fox stories can be duplicated in the tales of a fox-like figure in North America, the Coyote!

CHAPTER II

THE NORTHWESTERN COAST OF NORTH AMERICA: THE CENTRAL ZONE

The pre-eminent myth figure of the northwest coast of North America from Vancouver Island to the Bering Strait is the Raven. In all the mythologies of this area Raven is the principal Maker and Ordainer of the present world, the giver of man's culture, and the great trickster and fool. Among some groups, especially to the south of this region, Raven shares his work as culture hero and transformer with others, and in some places a high god out ranks him in his role as creator. Nevertheless, Raven is indisputably the dominating personage in the myths of the northwest coastal region.

The coastal strip and adjacent inland territories in which Raven stories abound includes tribes of several linguistic stocks. On the western coast of Alaska Eskimo and Aleuts are found, who are grouped with other Eskimo in one linguistic, racial, and cultural unit. The Alaskan Eskimo, however, have been influenced by contacts with Siberia and with the Indians,[1] and their mythology belongs to that of the North Pacific coast. Their Raven stories, as we shall observe, have been learned from their neighbors and are not typically "Eskimo." The Eskimo are regarded as "newcomers" to Alaska, having lived in the area probably only a few thousand years.[2] The Aleuts of the Alaska Peninsula and the Aleutian Islands are a related group, but the linguistic and archeological estimates agree that the Aleuts have been separate from the Eskimo for about 3,000 years.[1]

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[1] Cf. Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 14.

[2] Edward J. Weyer, Primitive Peoples Today (Dolphin Books, New York: Doubleday and Co., n.d.), p. 43.

Inland Alaska, where Raven stories also are found, is inhabited by Athabascan (Dene') speaking Indians. This region is a subdivision of the sub-Arctic cultural area, which extends across most of Canada, south of the Eskimo or Arctic Culture Area.[2] The principal Indians tribes situated here are the Tanaina, Ingalik, Koyukon, Tanana, Kutchin, Han, Tutchone, Ahtena, Nabesna, and Tahltan (consult Figure 2). Osgood,[3] includes the Carrier and Chilotin Athabascan tribes along with the above in what he calls the "Pacific Drainage Culture." This region approximates the inland territory into which the Raven stories of the coast have penetrated.

The real homeland of the Raven cycle is the north-central part of the Northwest Coast Culture Area. Ethnologists generally agree that the tribes occupying the narrow coastal strip from the Panhandle of Alaska to the northwest tip of California constitute one cultural group. These Indians, of various linguistic stocks, subsisted principally on fish and sea mammals, occupied plank houses, lived most of the year in permanent villages, and enjoyed a considerable surplus of the necessities of life. The Alaskan and British Columbia tribes in this group developed a remarkable art style, and their masks, totem poles, blankets, etc. are found in many museums today. The culture of this area is one of the most distinctive and foreign of aboriginal North America.[4] The reasons for this uniqueness appear to be the food abundance which allowed considerable leisure, isolation from the main part of the continent due to mountain ranges, and perhaps contact with Asia.[1] The great emphasis upon the acquisition of property and privileges for exhibition at ceremonial gatherings, and the development of social classes and hereditary-slavery set off this culture area sharply from other non-agricultural regions of North America. In the northern two-thirds of this area the Raven legends abound, and they appear to be concentrated in about the center of this coastal strip. As is true of other aspects of the culture, the mythology of the Coast is quite rich in detail and quantity, although by no means highly sophisticated or "advanced," as compared, say, with that of the agricultural Southwest or of Central California.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 58f.

[2] Driver, pp. 14f.

[3] Cornelius Osgood, _The Distribution of the Northern Athapascan Indians_ (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 7; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), fig. 1.

[4] Driver, p. 15.

For convenience in dealing with the mythology, the territory in which Raven stories predominate will be divided into three sub-sections which correspond neither with the linguistic nor with the culture area boundaries mentioned above. The limits of these zones are determined solely by the character of the mythology, with the pre-eminence of Raven being the chief consideration:

(1) The Central Zone, which appears to be the homeland or center of diffusion of the Raven stories of the North American Pacific coast; consisting of the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian peoples together with their neighbors to the east, the Tahltans. These are the subject of this chapter.

(3) The Northern Zone, consisting of the Alaskan Eskimo, the Athapascans of the interior of Alaska, and the coastal Eyak. These will be discussed in chapter iii.

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[1] Cf. ibid.; also, Matthew W. Stirling, "Indians of Our North Pacific Coast," National Geographic Magazine (January, 1945), p. 25.

(3) The Southern Zone, consisting of the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Mootka groups. These are the subject of chapter iv.

Culture of the Region

The Tlingit people who occupy the long stretch of coast and coastal islands of the Alaska Panhandle, and the Haida who live on the larger Queen Charlotte Islands immediately to the south, speak languages which are now classed in the great Dene' family of which the Athabascans are the most numberous representatives.[1] The dialectical difference between the coastal groups and the inland Athabascans is so great, however, that a long period of separation from the main stock is indicated for the Tlingit and Haida.[2]

South of the Tlingit and East of the Haida on the Mainland are the Tsimshian groups, sometimes classed in three "tribes" or dialects: the Tsimshian proper on the coast, the Niska on the Nass River, and the Gitksan on the Skeena River. These people are isolated representatives of the Chinook, whose nearest relatives are located in Washington and Oregon at the mouth of the Columbia River.[3]

The Tahltan bands who live farther up the Nass, in the uplands of the McKenzie River, and along the Stikine River, speak a dialect of the main Athabascan language stock of interior Canada. They were in contact with the Tlingit quite regularly, coming together with the latter for trading purposes at a spot on the Stikine River. They would camp there together for several weeks at a time, and on these occasions compete in telling stories. The Tahltans generally acknowledged that the Tlingit had the greater number; but the former were good learners, evidently, for they acquired many Raven myths from their down-river neighbors.[1] For this reason the Tahltan are classed here with the coastal tribes.

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[1] See language table.

[2] Oliver LaFarge, A Pictorial History of the American Indian (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956), p. 193.

[3] Driver.

The Indian groups under discussion here are linguistic divisions and not tribes, properly speaking. The villages were independent units, and the most important fact for social organization was family lineage. In the Central Zone of Raven mythology, descent was reckoned through the maternal line, and the people were divided into clans and moieties. The Tlingit moieties were the Raven and the Wolf, plus Nexaki which seems to have been a foreign group in origin, and could marry into either moiety.[2] Sometimes, especially in the north of the Tlingit territory, the Wolf moiety was called the Eagle.[3] The Haida had Raven and Eagle moieties, while the Tsimshian had four phratries: Eagle, Wolf, Bear, and Raven.[4] The Tahltan, under the influence of the Tlingit, had Raven and Wolf divisions.[5] Within these larger exogamic divisions there were several clans, each with its own crests, personal names, songs, dances, and legends. Among the Haida and Tlingit these clans are always localized, and appear to have signified originally a family group, descended matrilineally. The Tsimshian organization was similar, except that the number of crest groups was small.[6]

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[1] James A. Teit, "Kaska Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXX, No. 118 (1917), 428f; and G. T. Emmons, The Tahltan Indians (Anthropological Papers of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Vol. IV; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1911), pp. 5-10.

[2] John R. Swanton, Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians (Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-1905; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), pp. 407f.

[3] Franz Boas, Tsimshian Mythology (Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 478; and Philip Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1955), pp. 111f.

[4] Boas, p. 520.

[5] Emmons, p. 13.

[6] Boas, p. 482.

By comparing the crest groups or clans in the three tribes of the coast region, Boas arrived at the following correspondences (which are approximate, not exact):[1]

Haida	Tlingit	Tsimshian
Raven	Wolf	Wolf Bear
Eagle	Raven	Eagle Raven
Eagle Crest (Part of Eagle Moiety)	Nexadi (Uses Eagle crest)	Eagle Crest (Part of Eagle Phratry)

The study of the crests and clan-origin traditions of these groups is fascinating and valuable for reconstructing the probable history of intertribal relations. From the above table, for example, it appears that the Tsimshian clans must have come from both Haida and Tlingit sources. Since the Tsimshian are an intrusive linguistic group, we may postulate that they gained their clans and general social organization from intermarriage with their neighbors, whom they probably dispossessed. Once established, they probably produced new clans which now are found also among the Tlingit and Haida. Swanton[2] has proposed that the original Haida are the clans of the Raven moiety, and that the Tlingit Ravens likewise represent the original Tlingit, while the opposite moieties are foreign elements in the tribes. While there may be some truth in this hypothesis, the theory does not seem adequate to explain exogamy, nor do the clan traditions themselves bear out the idea that the coming together of foreign groups brought about the institution of exogamic clans and moities.[3] However, if the original Tlingit and Haida were the "Raven People" then the predominance of Raven in the mythology is partially explained.

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[1] Ibid., p. 521; cf. p. 480.

[2] John R. Swanton, Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. V, Part1; Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1905), p. 104.

[3] Boas, p. 523.

There are no "moiety legends," no traditions that all the members of an exogamous group are descended from one ancestor.[1] Each crest group (or clan) has its own origin story. The only place where a tendency toward a systematic geneology of all the clans of a moiety exists is among the Haida Ravens.[2] There is no tradition suggesting any notion of descent of either a clan or a moiety from a crest animal. The names by which these groups are known are significant only as a convenient way of designating the family and exogamous groups. One Indian said, "Whatever the clans saw on their early migrations . . . that seemed important or unusual--that they took for their crests."[3] Swanton[4] quotes a Northern Haida as saying that Raven and Eagle are considered as grandfathers of the two sides of the tribe, but no myth has been found that bears out this statement, which might have been obtained in answer to a leading question.[5] Raven, in the myths, appears to be the friend of all the people, not just the Raven clans.

Throughout the Coastal Culture Area feasts were given at which property was lavishly displayed, distributed, and sometimes destroyed. These "potlatches" were developed along different lines in different parts of the coast. Toward the north the potlatches were given primarily as feasts for the dead. Toward the south they were held especially in connection with secret society initiations, and were at other times "secular" affairs designed to enhance the prestige of a chief and his people. Concerning the Potlatches of the Haida and Tlingit, Swanton says:

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[1] The Tahltan say that Raven divided all the people into two exogamous groups, the "Ravens" and the "Wolves" (Tlingit names). This tradition simply indicates that the Tahltan acquired their social organization from the Tlingit, along with their Raven myths. Cf. James A. Teit,"Tahltan Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXII, No. 124 (1919), 207.

[2] Boas, p. 526.

[3] Ibid, p. 500.

[4] Swanton, Contributions . . . , pp. 104-111.

[5] Cf. Boas, p. 528.

> Superficially, the Tlingit potlatch resembled that of the Haida, but with the former only one motive underlay the custom, regard for and respect for the dead; and there was but one kind of potlatch. The putting up of a house or pole, and secret society performances, feasts, and distributions, of property which accompanied it, were all undertaken for the sake of the dead members of a man's clan, and to them every blanket that was given away and a great deal of the food that was put in the fire was supposed to go. It was believed . . . that the souls of the dead were actually present and feasted and rejoiced with the living, receiving spirit food and spirit clothing along with the reception of their material counterparts by men on earth. Whenever a blanket was given away a dead person had to be named, and he received a blanket in the spirit world. . . . Among the Haida, on the other hand, the social idea quite overbalanced the religious.[1]

The Tlingit potlatch was for the dead: the "northern type"; while the Haida were the Northernmost group of the "southern type."

Among the Tlingit, the potlatch was given by one moiety for the other. Tlingit people employed members of the opposite moiety to do everything possible for them in order to incur obligations which would be repaid at the potlatch. Burial of the dead was one of the chief obligations to be balanced off at the potlatch. The Haida chiefs, in contrast, gave potlatches to other clans of their own moiety, thus enhancing their reputation. (There was a minor potlatch given by the Haida of one side for those of the other who had served as undertakers for a dead relative--obviously a northern custom--but the major feasts were for one's own people.) To the Tlingit, feasting one's own moiety was an abhorrent idea.[2]

The Tsimshian, likewise, belong to the southern sphere of influence in potlatch customs. Potlatches are given on any occasion signaling social advance: giving of names at different ages, assuming of certain clan privileges by individuals, initiation into one of the secret dance groups, etc. The higher the degree of prestige attached to the privilege, the larger the potlatch and the numbers of people invited. On the most important occasions all the Tsimshian towns would be invited, plus groups of outsiders and foreigners. The greater the circle of witnesses, the greater the publicity; and the greater the amount of wealth distributed and destroyed, the greater the validity of the honors claimed. Potlatches might also be given to cover some accident or unhappy action which was considered a "loss of face." Chiefs were known to give feasts to overshadow the humiliation of a hunting accident, and to kill a slave (destruction of valuable property) to maintain prestige when a member of the family was ill.[1] Potlatches also were given following the death of a chief, by his own exogamous group.[2]

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[1] Swanton, Social Condition . . . ,p. 434.

[2] Ibid., pp. 434f.

Apparently, the southern form of the potlatch was an extension or development of one aspect of the northern form.[3] The Potlatch for the dead would be an occasion for recognition of the inheritance of the deceased man's place by his heir. Because great stress was laid upon inherited property and honors in the south, the validation of one's inheritance came to be the dominant function of the potlatch there.[4]

The Potlatch celebration would include always singing of spirit songs and dancing in masks and costumes representing supernatural beings or ancestral figures. The wealthy persons of each clan, the noblemen, owned these dances, having inherited them or gained them through purchase or marriage. The dances were ranked in order of importance and arranged within secret societies or "sodalities."[5] The secret societies appear to have had their origin among the more southerly Kwakiutl groups, and will be discussed in connection with their mythology (chapter iv below). Suffice it to say here that the initiation rites and dances of these societies obviously are a formalization of the guardian spirit quest for power and the shamanic experience of spirit possession, known over the greater part of the North American continent.

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[1] Cf. Boas, pp. 537f. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 541.

[3] Cf. Drucker, pp. 125f.

[4] Swanton, *Social Condition . . .*, p. 434. [5] Driver, p. 405.

Belief in a High God or Sky Spirit

The Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian all believed in a Heaven God or celestial spirit to whom prayers were offered. Among the Tsimshian he was addressed as Chief Above (Semagid lax-ha) or appealed to through his supernatural agents whom he sends to earth, the nexnox. Almost anything in nature can be a nexnox ("supernatural"), but the most common ones mentioned in myths are shining youths, lightning, and various animals. The term is used of anything believed to have supernatural power, including the whistles used in dances and the sleight-of-hand tricks employed by the performers. Concerning the high god, Boas says:[1]

> Heaven rules the destinies of mankind; has taught man to distinguish between good and bad, and given religious laws and institutions. . . . He is worshipped by offerings and prayer, the smoke rising from fires being especially agreeable to him. Murderers, adulterers, and those who behave foolishly, talking to no purpose and making noise at night, are especially hateful to him. He loves those who take pity on the poor, who do not try to become rich by selling at high prices what others want. His messengers, particularly Sun and Moon, must be treated with respect.

Typical prayers offered to Heaven are the following:

> Nexnox, nexnox! Chief, Chief! Have pity upon us, else there will be nobody to smoke under you!
>
> . . . Look down and see what those under you whom you made are doing! Pull up your foot and sweep off your face! [I.e., stop the rain and scatter the clouds.] Hold in your breath that it may be calm.

Before eating they burn pieces of food, and pray:

> Here, Chief! Here is for you to eat, part of our food. It is all that is left us. Now feed us![2]

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[1] Boas, p.543.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 543f. The reference to people as those whom Heaven has

Heaven is besought by persons in time of serious trouble and grave illness, but when difficulties are prolonged the people may stamp their feet on the ground and curse Heaven, showing anger toward the spirit of the highest heavens.[1] When a boon is sought from Heaven, the people wash, abstain from food and sex relations for a period of days, and believe that they compel Heaven thereby to grant them their petition.[2]

The Haida name their sky diety Sins Sganagwa, "Power of the Shining Heavens." The word sgana signifies any supernatural or spiritual power, and hence the sky god is the highest of the spiritual powers. Some persons regarded him as the source of the power of all supernatural beings. One of his chief functions, according to Swanton, is to determine who is to die.[3]

The name given by the Tlingit to their supreme being, apparently (but see below), is Nas-caki-yel, "Raven-at-the-head-of-the-Nass-River." It is said that people formerly prayed to him, and that children were warned of his ever-watchful eyes.[4] In the Tlingit version of Raven's theft of the sun, Nas-caki-yel is the hostile being who has possession of the light. In this myth, Nas-caki-yel is pictured as flanked by two old men, "Old-man-who-foresees-all-troubles-of-the-world" and "He-who-knows-everything-that-happens." Pettazzoni has rightly said that these two are "nothing more than reflections

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made, which occurs in one of the prayers, is not supported by any myth, and therefore probably is evidence of Christian influence.

[1] Ibid., p. 545. [2] Ibid.

[3] John R. Swanton, Haida Texts, Masset Dialect (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. X, Part 2; Leyden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1908), p. 284.

[4] John R. Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths (Skidgate Dialect), (Bulletin 29, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), pp. 3ff, 80ff, 120ff.

or projections of the Supreme Being in his capacity of onmiscient."[1]

The Tahltan regard Kanugu as the eldest of the ancients, one who existed from the beginning, before the flood. He is the by-word for truth and the guarantor of oaths. A Tahltan informant told Teit that Kanugu was also the god of the Tlingit to whom they prayed for good weather, facing west, that is seaward; and that they offered him food by casting it in the fire or water.[2] One author believed that Kanugu (or Kanuk) was Chief Eagle, the hero-ancestor of the Wolf Moiety.[3] Boas insists that the name means Petrel, a small, dark-colored sea bird.[4] A story is found in several versions from among the Tlingit, Tahltan, and Kaigani (insular southern Tlingit) which indicates a rivalry between Raven and Kanugu, and at the same time shows Kanugu to be a weather spirit:[5]

> Kanugu and Raven met out on the sea when they were traveling in their boats. Kanugu asked, "Have you been living long in this world?" Raven replied, "I was here before the earth was in its present place. Have you been here long?" Kanugu answered, "Since the liver came up from below." [The meaning of this last phrase is unknown.]

In other versions the answers vary slightly. In some versions Raven appears to win his claim to being the elder, while in others Raven concedes that the other is more ancient. Following this exchange, they "test their powers," as shamans are wont to do. In all versions, Kanugu proves to be the stronger. He takes off his hat and brings on a fog which frightens Raven and causes him to declare that Kanugu has greater power than he, and in one version he takes back his claim to be the elder one. (Perhaps Kanugu's victory is intended to convey that idea that Raven is lying about having been the first being on earth.) The Tahltan version ends with the statement that Raven and Kanugu now live on an island far to the West, from whence they send the weather to the world.[1]

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[1] Pettazzoni, The All-Knowing God, p. 361.

[2] Teit,"Tahltan Tales," pp. 201ff.

[3] F. A. Golder, "Tlingit Myths," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XX, No. 79 (1907), 293.

[4] Boas, p. 651.

[5] Ibid., p. 666; Golder, pp. 293ff.; John R. Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts (Bulletin 39, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), pp. 10f.

In the Tsimshian version[2] Raven (called Giant) meets Lagobola (not translated) between the mouths of the Skeena and Nass Rivers. Lagobola has come from the south, and says he has heard of Raven's powers. Nothing is said about which is the more ancient, but the two test their powers, as in the above stories of Raven and Kanugu. There is also a second test, a shooting contest. Raven misses the mark, but claims he has won, while Lagobola declares Raven the winner although he knows Raven is lying. The stakes were the rivers, and after the contest Lagobola declares the candlefish shall run up the skeena River twice each summer, and Raven ordains that the Skeena River salmon shall always be fat. The lagobola returns to the South from whence had he come.[3]

How are we to regard these two "high gods" of the Tlingit, Kanugu and Nas-caki-yel, and what is their relationship to Raven (Yel)? It seems likely to me that Nas-caki-yel was a name known and used by a relatively few Tlingit, and represents a doubling of the figure of Raven, a phenomenon by no means unique here. Kanugu probably is the more common name for the sky spirit, in charge of weather and guardian of morality. As such he is the parallel of the Haida and Tsimshina supreme beings. Nas-caki-yel is parallel also, of course, but his name shows that we have a fusion of Raven, the principal myth figure, with the heavenly being-concept. For many Tlingit the idea of a being superior to Raven was inconceivable: hence the myths showing rivalty between the true "high god" and Raven.

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[1] Teit, "Tahltan Tales," pp. 212f.

[2] Boas, pp. 68-70.

[3] A related story, told by the Comox, describes a meeting between Raven and Gull, in which Gull engulfs Raven in a fog. Cf. Boas, p. 666.

I have put the expression "high god" within quotation marks to indicate that I believe that this frequently-used term is misleading as applied to vaguely conceived and scarcely worshipped spirits of the high heavens. The term "god" should be reserved, I believe, for beings which are more definitely conceived and are the objects of a true cult. What we have here are spirits of the sky, personifications of the impressive "sky hierophany,"[1] to whom brief, ejaculatory "prayers" are offered along with token "offerings," in times of calamity or for general well-being. In a similar fashion, dozens of other spirit powers may be addressed and appeased when the occasion arises, and they may also be called "Chief." The sky spirit is "supreme" by virtue of his lofty dwelling. From a vague notion of a celestial spirit grows later a more definitely delineated concept of the High God. This being partakes not only of the structures inherent in the sky spirit from the beginning, such as omniscience, weather-control, and food-giving, but to him also comes to be ascribed creativity, a function belonging originally, I believe, to the many-sided Trickster.

Sometimes, as in the case of the Tlingit Nas-caki-yel, the Trickster-Creator comes to be confused with the sky spirit and to absorb some of his structures. Something like this has probably happened to Raven and the sky spirit to produce the mythical "Raven-at-the-head-of-the-Nass. Raven is so exceedingly important in Tlingit mythology that he is virtually a god, anyway. Nas-caki-yel is simply Raven "raised to the highest power." But because there are a number of myths in which Raven is in conflict with the supreme supernatural power, we find Raven the culture hero in opposition to Raven-at-the-head-of-the-Nass in some of the narratives.

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[1] Cf. Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, trans. Rosemary Sheed (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958), pp. 38ff.

Introductions to the Raven Cycle

Although stories of Raven's creations and transformations, his gifts to man and his adventures are told over a very wide region, it is only among the groups of our "Central Zone" that introductions to these stories are found which set forth the circumstances of Raven's birth and explain how he acquired his powers and other characteristics. Franz Boas, who published a monumental study of the Raven myths which had been collected up to about 1909,[1] distinguishes three types of introductions which are associated, respectively, with the Tlingit, Haida, and Tshishian-Newettee "tribes." The most coherent of the three is that of the Tlingit, Boas' "Type 1":

> A chief, identified in some versions as Raven-at-the-head-of-the-Nass, lived with his wife and sister. (In some versions these are two persons; in others, one and the same woman.) He was a very jealous man and killed all the sons who were born to him lest he have a rival for his wife's affection. He locked up his wife in a box when he left the house to fish, and as a further precaution he had birds stationed on various parts of her body, ready to fly away if any man should molest her.
>
> One day when the chief was out, a wise man (Heron whom Chief has created, or Whale) told the woman to heat a stone from the beach until it was white-hot, and swallow it. She obeyed, and an invulnerable son was born, who was to be Raven. His name was now Hammer-Father or Hard-Rock. The youth soon grew and became a skillful hunter of birds. He killed a magpie and skinned it. Putting on the skin, he could fly. For his mother he obtained a diver-duck skin, in which she could swim.
>
> The boy then went to the house of his mother's brother (or husband) to take vengeance for the deaths of his cousins (or half-brothers). (In versions in which the chief's wife is his aunt, he rapes her, and the birds fly away.) The chief returned and tried to kill him as he had killed the other boys: falling tree, split log, drowning, etc. The youth survived all the trials by virtue of his rock-like nature. At last the chief caused a great flood to pour forth from his hat, which filled his house (i.e., the world). Donning his magpie skin, the youth flew to the sky, pierced it, and hung there by his beak. His mother, in her diver skin, floated safely. When the waters subsided, Raven

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[1] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology. The comparative study is found in pp. 565-871 of this work.

dropped down on a piece of kelp (or rock, or the Queen Charlotte Islands). After that, he began his work of creation.[1]

The Haida version Boas' Type 2, is less coherent and shows many inconsistencies among the versions collected. Boas has reconstructed it as follows, using five versions:[2]

> Chief Hole-in-his-Fin (or Dorsal Fin) and his wife Flood-Tide-Woman, had an infant son. The boy cried and would not be pacified until his father's sister, Ice-Woman, held him to her bosom. Then he could fondle her breasts, and was happy. By his supernatural power the boy made the people sleep, and raped his aunt.
>
> The chief sent his wife and son to the home of the woman's brother, Great-Breakers, because she had been unfaithful to him. In his uncle's house, the boy was very naughty, banging around and soiling the floor. By his magic powers he caused a whale to beach, and when the birds gathered around the carcass, he shot two. In their skins, he was able to fly or swim [cf. story above].
>
> Now he was ready to seduce his uncle's wife. He gave her an aphrodisiac, and while her husband was away she lay with her young nephew. Great-Breakers heard thunder and knew what had happened. In anger he put on his hat, and a flood gushed from it. The boy put on one bird's skin and swam for a while; then the other, and flew in the form of a raven.

There are various endings: in one version he drowns his uncle by pushing his head under the water with his feet; in another he flies down and lights on his uncle's house after the deluge subsides, and the uncle proclaims him Chief of Chiefs. In still another account he descends to earth and is adopted by Chief Qingi (a mountain), and after eating scabs becomes voracious (see below).

The foregoing, compound version of the Haida, shows a number of affinities to type 1, from the Tlingit. The Haida, however, have other ways of introducing the Raven cycle, which say nothing about a childhood.

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[1] Cf. ibid., pp. 621-625, a compound of six versions; also Golder, pp. 290f.; and Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, pp. 80ff.

According to this last version, Raven was made head man over the world by Nas-caki-yel, because the latter favored him. The episode of the flood is lacking.

The Tahltan tell a similar story, but it too lacks the episode of the flood and several other details. Raven begins his travels in his canoe immediately after violating his uncle's wife. Cf. Teit, "Tahltan Tales," pp. 199f.

[2] Boas, pp. 625ff. (An abstract.)

In one version, from the southern Haida,[1] Raven appears first flying above the open waters, looking for a place to alight. He found a rock at the south end of the present Queen Charlotte Island, but it was covered with supernatural beings lying asleep, stretched out like a certain kind of bird. Raven perceived above him a light and flew next in its direction. He pierced the sky and found there a town. The daughter of the chief of that heavenly world had a baby, and raven skinned it and crawled inside. The parents did not know anything had happened. At night Raven would creep out and eat people's eyes. The Half-Rock Woman (who appears in many myths of this region) saw him and told the Chief, who cast the imposter out of the sky. He landed in the water, covered by a blanket. He heard a voice say "Yourmighty Grandfather invites you to his house." He descended to the bottom of the sea and entered the house of the supernatural being. He was given two pebbles and told to take them to the surface, bite them in two and spit them out again, and thus make the earth. He did so, and the larger pebble became the mainland and the smaller the Queen Charlotte Islands. The pieces bitten off became the trees when spat out.

Other versions, from the northern Haida, begin also with Raven's flying over the waters. (One account says he had been the chief servant of the heaven "god" and had been cast out for misconduct.) Becoming weary, Raven beat his wings against some waves until they turned into rocks upon which he landed. These grew and changed, becoming green with vegetation. They were the Queen Charlotte Islands. Raven made two heaps of clamshells, which he transformed into women. The two complained because they were both women, so he threw shells at one and changed her into a man. These became the ancestors of the Haida. Raven sent them away, and being lonely, he flew back to the sky to get a wife for himself. When he reached the upper world, he found things had changed since his expulsion, that there were now many villages and many chiefs. The Great Chief of Light (Shining-Heavens) had made them, and had also created the stars, moon, and sun. Raven disguised himself as a bear cub and became a pet for the chief's children. Then he changed himself into an eagle and few away with the sun, the fire drill, and a child of the chief. He dropped the child, but he brought light, fire, and knowledge of the proper social organization to the people.[1]

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[1] Swanton, Haida Texts, Masset Dialect, pp. 110ff.

In another version, Raven did not drop the child, and it grew up in Raven's house and made love to Raven's wife (the first woman he had made from clam shells). The youth and Raven's wife ran away together with the sun and fire drill. This account continues through several more such episodes, and ends with Raven's turning the first man he made into a spirit who looks after the growth of every living thing.[2]

Boas' third type of introduction to the Raven cycle is reconstructed from three Tsimshian and two Newettee (Kwakiutl of Northwestern Vancouver Island) versions. The story, or part of it, is known also as an independent tale, unrelated to the Raven series.[3]

> A chief's wife had her nephew for a lover. She pretended to die, and her grave box was put on a tree. At night her lover visited her. Her husband found out, and had them both killed. However, a child was born in the coffin from the body of the dead woman, and it lived by sucking its mother's intestines. He grew and was brought at length to his grandfather. He was named (in some versions) Sucking-Intestines. He and a friend killed birds, donned their skins, and flew to the upper world. Only Sucking-Intestines managed to pass the clashing doors at the

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[1] Cf. Ella Elizabeth Clark, Indian Legends of Canada (Ontario, Canada: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1960), pp. 14ff.

[2] Cf. Boas, pp. 631f.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 214f. (Abridged.)

> entrance to heaven. There he met a girl who took him home for a pet. He changed into a man and married her. The father of the girl tried by various means to kill the son-in-law, but was unsuccessful. A child was born, but it slipped out of their hands and fell down through the sky, landing on some branches floating on the sea. A slave found it, and brought it to his master. At first the child wouldn't eat, but when he tasted some scabs, he became voracious.[1] (The child, of course, is Raven.)

A Tsimshian myth, an introduction to the Raven cycle, seems related to the above:

> The animal-people were living at Kungalas, the Eagle town on southern Queen Charlotte Island. The chief's son died, and his eviscerated body (a sort of mummy) was placed in his bed, above the chief's own bed. One day a shining youth appeared in the bed, claiming to be their own son sent back to them (but the real son's mummy was found later still in the bed). At first the youth wouldn't eat, but slaves told him they acquired their appetites from eating scabs from their shin bones. The boy tried this, and was immediately possessed of an insatiable appetite. Because he was eating up all the town's provisions, the chief reluctantly banished him to the mainland. He gave him a raven blanket so he could fly, and a stone to light on and rest when tired; also berries and fish which he was to scatter in the mainland hills and streams to make food there.[2]

It is difficult to see any close connection between the introductions and the later incidents of the Raven cycle. Very often the "marvelous youth" has a different name and only later on "becomes Raven." Stories of a jealous uncle or hostile father-in-law are commonplace in Indian folklore of this region.[3]

Apparently, the introductions which the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian story-tellers gave to the Raven cycle are made up of episodes gleaned from an ancient store of folklore. Those motifs chosen were selected because they seemed appropriate to account for Raven's great power, his amorous propensities, and his enormous appetite. He was a supernatural child, according to these introductions, marvelously born and powerfully gifted. The episode of the eating of scabs explained how a divine being came to have such a _human_ appetite: this was the first vile act by which he became humanized. His humanization was necessary, of course, because Raven, the Trickster, is _not divine_, but earthly; not a god, but man.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 634ff. [2] _Ibid_., pp. 58ff.

[3] See _ibid_., p. 640, for references to some of these.

Common to all these versions is the condition of the world when Raven descends from the sky: it is covered with water. In some accounts there was a world flood; in others it appears that this is the original condition of the world below heaven. Raven's work begins with a watery chaos upon which he establishes the present world. The earth-diver episode as such is lacking in these coastal traditions, except in a tale of the Newettee in which its significance has been forgotten so that it is not related to the re-creation of the world after a flood.[1] The only hints of an earth-diver motif in these introductions are in those versions in which Raven or his mother are able to survive the flood by entering into diver-duck skins, and possibly in the episode of Raven's going to a sea-spirit's house under the water where he obtains two pebbles out of which he makes the earth.

It is interesting to compare the introduction to the Mink cycle of the Kwakiutl (of our "Southern Zone") with these introductions. Mink is born from a woman who had been impregnated by the rays of the sun falling on the small of her back. As a youth, Mink goes to visit his father in the sky. His father lets him take the sun disk on its course, and he sets the world on fire. For this he is cast out of the sky, falls into the sea, and lands on some floating kelp. After he is rescued, he begins his travels.[2] In both introductions there is an ascent to heaven and a descent to the waters.

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[1] Franz Boas, _Kwakiutl Tales_ (Part II, Translations, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropoloty; New York: Columbia University Press, 1910), pp. 223ff.

[2] Cf. Boas, _Tsimshian Mythology_, p. 640. See chap. iv also.

Mink, however, is never pictured as a creator of earth. But underlying the introduction to the Mink series must be some ancient memory of a myth of a world fire and world flood: motifs found over a large portion of the continent. The Raven cycle seems to include no allusion to a world fire, but in some of the introductions, Raven's work begins after a deluge.

The Raven Cycle

Raven is known under several names or epithets among the Indians of our Central Zone. The Tlingit refer to him simply as Yel, the word for Raven. The Tahltans call him Tse'sketco, Big Raven. The Tsimshian say his name is Txamsen, meaning Giant. The Haida name for this character is Nankilslas, He-whose-voice-is-obeyed, or He-who-orders-things.

According to the Haida and the Tsimshian, Raven came down from the sky and landed on the water; he then created, in one way or another, the Queen Charlotte Islands and the mainland opposite. His home was at a village of the Eagle Clan (!) on the south end of Queen Charlotte Island. From here his adoptive father sent him to the mainland with a raven blanket and berries and fish to scatter on the mountains and in the rivers. From here, according to the Tsimshian, he began his travels.[1] Haida versions also describe Raven's travels from south to north along the mainland coast, and speak about his creative and transforming activities there.[2]

The Tlingit say that after the flood subsided, Raven dropped down from the sky onto the Queen Charlotte Islands. He made the fir forests by dropping chips of wood over the islands. So he began his travels and transformations.[3]

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[1] See above, p. 47 ; Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 58ff.

[2] Swanton, Haida Myths and Texts, pp. 148f.

[3] Golder, pp. 290f.

The Tahltan say that Raven was born far to the north in Tlingit territory. They tell of an itinerary that took him from north to south along the coast as far as the country of the "Mink people" (the Kwakiutl?); then he came back up the coast perfecting his work. Next we went up the rivers Skeena, Nass, Stikine and Taku (proceeding northward). By this time his powers were weakened, and he was able to do little on these inland journeys. He did not do much for the Tahltan, and even less for the Kaska, their neighbors to the east. Finally, he went down the last river and out to sea, far to the west. There he lives today, the Tahltan say, on an island where the weather is made, together with Kanugu and other supernaturals and ancients.[1]

It seems probable that some historical memory is recorded in these myths. The three coastal and insular tribes agree that Raven's first home on earth was on the Queen Charlotte Islands, and that he traveled from south to north in the present Tsimshian country. The Tahltan, who obtained their Raven stories late, by way of the Tlingit, locate his origin among those people, and tell of his journeying southward to the tribes where his stories now are told (as far as the Tahltan knew about them, we presume). The Tahltan itinerary for Raven reflects their second-hand knowledge of his stories, while the coastal tribes' myths of his origin on the islands of the Haida and his travels in the probable former homeland of the Tlingit appear to be more "original." When we remember that the Haida and Tlingit both have strong Raven moieties it is tempting to postulate that the Raven cycle may have originated among the Haida and Tlingit and spread from them up and down the coast. This is not to say that Raven was invented by these two peoples: he must have been an important myth-figure when the Asiatic ancestors of the Athabascans crossed the Bering

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[1] Teit, "Tahltan Tales," pp. 198-199.

Strait, since he is of prime importance in eastern Siberia today and is, as we shall see in chapter v, important to the Athabascans of the interior of Canada. But it appears almost certain that the Haida and Tlingit developed the Raven cycle as it is known on the northern coast. The importance of the Raven as a crest among these people may be due to the myth, or the myth development may be due to a prior popularity of the Raven as a "totem" or crest among these peoples.

The Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Tahltan tell many stories about Raven's deeds which brought about the arrangement of the world in its present order. Some of these were undertaken deliberately for the benefit of mankind, while others were impulsive acts which were only incidentally beneficial to future generations. Some of the "tribes"--or individual narrators within them--told some of the stories in a regular sequence. The Tahltan in particular seem to have had a set order in which most of the stories of Raven's transformations were told, and the Haida had a group of stories which were known collectively as "Raven Traveling." A Tsimshian informant listed eleven episodes which he said belonged in a certain order.[1] The Haida made a distinction between the Raven stories which were of a higher order and those which depicted Raven as a buffoon and trickster. The former class were called the "old men's part" and the latter the "young men's part." During the telling of the serious stories of Raven's origin and creative deeds persons were not permitted to laugh, but the young men's stories were expected to elicit gaity.[2]

The comment of a Tlingit Indian in Sitka, Alaska, probable would apply to all the tribes: "No one knows just how the story of Raven really begins, so each starts from the points where he does know it."[1] Boas concluded after much study that "no order can be brought into the northern Raven tradition."[2] About the only thing that can be said about the order in which Raven myths should be told is that his work of ordering the world follows (of necessity) upon his descent to the water and his making of some land. A few stories speak of his creating people, but these are not very well-known episodes in the cycle, evidently. His making a human couple from two heaps of clamshells has already been cited.[3] The Haida (three versions) tell of Raven's stamping his foot in the four corners of his father's house and causing the four northern coast tribes to appear (i.e., Haida, Kaigani, Tlingit, and Tsimshian).[4] Another Haida story says that Raven told the few people who survived the deluge to throw stones backward over their heads, and from these a new generation of people sprang to life.[5] From the northern Haida comes a myth which says that in his travels Raven became angry at a whale and kicked the ground. Herrings came from the ground, and he transformed them into human beings, telling them to establish a certain town (a clan tradition?).[6]

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[1] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 67.

[2] Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths, pp. 148ff.

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[1] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 3.

[2] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 571.

[3] See above, p. 61 . The Haida have several versions of this story. Raven heard a noise inside a clamshell, and upon opening it found one side full of people and the other side full of animals. He put the people in a town and sent the animals to the mountains and the mainland, according to one account. Another version says Raven married a cockle shell, which gave birth to six children. He made these into three males and three females, the ancestors of some of the Haida families. This myth is known in several variants. Cf. ibid., p. 633.

[4] See ibid., p. 573.

[5] James Deans, Tales from the Totems of Hidery (Archives of the International Folk-Lore Association, Vol. II; Chicago: 1899), p. 32.

[6] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 575.

After all the humans had been destroyed by the flood, according to a Tlingit myth, Raven made new ones out of leaves. The previous people were changed into stones. But because the new people were made of leaves they now die off rapidly in the fall of the year.[1] A slightly different version was collected from another man of the same linguistic group: Nas-caki-yel made some people out of stones and others out of leaves; the stone people grew too slowly, so he discarded them. For this reason people are not immortal, like stones, but die, like vegetation.[2] The Tahltan say that when Raven announced he was going to make men the rocks laughed at him while the trees believed him. Therefore, he made people out of trees rather than rocks.[3]

The idea that Raven was the creator of the people was widespread and generally accepted, evidently, but no single myth had become "standard." The importance of clan traditions here, as among the Kwakiutl to the south, probably prevent any single origin story from being very widely accepted. The Haida, apparently, had a very strong tradition that people had come from shells, and that Raven had had something to do with their genesis, but the different versions vary widely in detail, as we have seen. The absence of a widely-known single myth attributing the origin of the human race to Raven suggests that this attribute is a secondary accretion to his story. His connection with the creation of land is much stronger than with the creation of people.

A well-known story, in contrast to that of the origin of people, is that of the theft of fresh water by Raven from the one who owns and hoards it. As the Haida tell it, Eagle kept fresh water in a box. Raven wanted to get some, having grown tired of drinking sea water. He obtained some colorless sap from a root and went to Eagle's house, pretending that he too had water. This trick threw Eagle somewhat off his guard. Raven caused the fire to blaze up brightly and frightened Eagle away from his box, so that he could snatch it and fly away. Raven flew about, drinking the water and spewing it out, thus creating rivers and lakes.[1]

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[1] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 18.

[2] Ibid., p. 81.

[3] Emmons, p. 119.

The Tlingit tell a slightly different tale. Petrel (kanuk or Kanugu), the weather spirit (see above page 56), had control of the only fresh water in the world. Raven went to his house, and in the night while his host was sleeping, he placed some excrement near Kanugu's buttocks and wakened him, telling him he had soiled his bed. When he went out to clean up, Raven drank all the water he could hold. Then he flew around spewing it out to make rivers and lakes.[2]

The Tahltan tell a story quite similar to that of the Tlingit. Raven plays a second trick on his host in this version: he says that bed-soiling is an evil omen and offers to wash Kanugu in urine to remove the danger. He splashes urine in Kanugu'e eyes, temporarily blinding him, and rushes off with the fresh water.[3]

These narratives are reminiscent of the shamanistic incantations used by the eastern Siberians and discussed in chapter i. However, the investigators give no indication that these stories were used in this way on the American coast.

Another deed of Raven was to obtain the tides, whose rise and fall make it possible for the Indians to gather clams, sea urchins, and other such food. The Tsimshian say that Giant (Raven) went to the Tide Woman, tricked her into thinking he had gathered clams although the tide was high, and then blinded her, causing her to loosen the "tide line" so that the tide went out. He cured her when she promised to make the tides rise and fall twice each day.[1] The story is found in many versions, with only minor variations. In some Haida versions Raven is accompanied by Eagle, and in one Tlingit account his companion is Mink, who is sometimes the obtainer of tides in Kwakiutl mythology. One Tlingit version identifies the tide keeper as Kanugu.[2]

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[1] Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths, pp. 115f.

[2] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 4; Golder, p. 293.

[3] Teit, "Tahltan Tales," pp. 201ff.

There are a variety of tales in which Raven leads a band of animals in an attack on the Southeast Wind. (The story is a common one among the Kwakiutl also, with Omeatl [Raven] or Mink as the leader.) In the Tsimshian version, the wind has been blowing for a long time, and the people cannot catch fish. They decide to make war on the owner of the wind, and Raven leads them to Wind's house. They find him lying with his back to the door, expelling gas continually. Cockle tries to kick him, but fails, so Raven kills and eats Cockle. Then he sends Red Cod who makes a fire whose smoke drives the Wind Master out of his house. He slips on Halibut who is lying in front of the door for just that purpose, and Devil Fish sucks him, preventing him from getting away. Raven is going to kill him, but relents when he promises to send good weather hereafter.[3] This story, also, reminds us of the incantations recited by Siberian Shamans to bring about good weather.

The Tlingit say that Raven made the West, South, and North winds, and ordained how they should blow. For a time he lived with the North Wind at Taku (Northern Tlingit village).[4]

An important myth which invites comparison with an Asiatic tale is that of Raven and the Salmon Woman. In the eastern Siberian version, Raven brings home a fish for a wife, who faithfully serves him his dinner each night from the spawn which she casts forth from her body. Miti is jealous, however, and abuses her until she leaves (see above, page 29). On the American coast, the myth runs as follows:

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[1] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 64f.

[2] See ibid., pp. 656f. and Teit, "Tahltan Tales," p. 201.

[3] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 79ff.

[4] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 19.

> Raven finds a beautiful woman, who is Salmon-Woman, and makes her his wife. She is a very good wife, and at Raven's behest she makes salmon appear in the rivers. (When she enters the water, or touches it, it becomes teeming with fish.) However, after a time the house becomes filled with dried salmon, which hang from the roof beams. One day Raven catches his long hair on the fish (or bumps his head) and curses them. His wife weeps, but the same thing happens the next day, and again he curses. Because she and her people have been offended, Salmon-Woman leaves Raven, and takes with her all the fish she has given.[1]

This story is widespread along this part of the coast, and its point, obviously, is to stress the necessity of behaving properly (keeping the taboos) with respect to the salmon, lest they cease to give themselves for food.

The origin of the olachen (candlefish) is attributed to Raven's trickery. By various strategies, Raven gets a single olachen and smears its oil and scales all over his boat. He then goes to the owner of the olachen and pretends to have caught a great many of the fish. The owner does not know how this can be, but is convinced when he sees Raven's canoe. Angrily, the owner releases the fish he has been keeping in captivity, and the olachen run begins. This story is found in a variety of versions in the tribes of our Central Zone and to the south.[2] Indeed, the motif of this story and of that of the stealing of fresh water, namely, deception of the owner by appearing to have a private supply of the commodity kept by the owner, is a prominent feature of the culture hero formula-myths of the northwestern Californians. (See chapter xv, below.)

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[1] See Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 668ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 653ff.

The Tahltan say that formerly the salmon were in the ocean only. Big-Raven brought their eggs up the rivers and put them far up each stream. Therefore, the salmon now return every summer to the place of their birth.[1] Similarly, the Tsimshian say that Raven brought fish and berries to the mainland from his earlier home on Queen Charlotte Island.[2] These are typical "culture hero" stories.

In this same connection should be mentioned myths which attribute the theft of fire to Raven. A myth about the theft of fire is found in almost every collection of Indian lore--indeed, it is a universal motif, one of the most ancient of all myths. In this general region, the myths state that fire was kept in another village, and either a bird or deer steals it. The bird escapes with the fire in its bill, or the deer carries it in his tail. Among the peoples of our Central Zone, however, the myth usually is included among the Raven stories. Raven sends another bird after the fire, or else he goes himself, usually disguised as a deer.[3]

By far the most important of the Raven myths is that which tells of his theft of daylight. The myth occurs with numerous variations in detail over a very wide region, but for the most part it is the same story everywhere in its essential outline. In all versions, the world is in darkness because some person has possession of the light in a box in his house far away. Raven goes there, becomes a tiny particle (usually a pine needle) in the drinking water of the chief's daughter. After she swallows it, she becomes pregnant and gives birth to a little child who cries for the box to play with. When he gets it, he resumes his raven form and flies away, bringing the light to his people. In some versions there are several boxes containing respectively the sun, moon, stars, and "daylight," and sometimes Raven merely opens the boxes and the luminaries fly into their places. In some accounts he throws them into their positions and ordains their courses.

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[1] Teit, "Tahltan Tales," p. 206.

[2] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 58ff.

[3] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 11; idem, Haida Texts and Myths, p. 135; cf. Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 660ff.

The motives for Raven's undertaking the venture differ, even within our Central Region. Sometimes it is because he annoyed by the darkness which hinders him from getting food, and sometimes he is said to go because he feels sorry for the other people. One Tsimshian version gives his motive as a desire for revenge on toads who have refused to share their food with him; when he gets the light, they have to hide because they prefer the darkness.[1] The owner of the daylight is variously identified. The Tlingit versions and some of the Haida and Tsimshian accounts call him a Chief who lived up the Nass River, and in one Tlingit version he is identified as Raven-at-the-head-of-the-Nass, usually considered the "supreme being" of the Tlingit (see above, pages 55-56). One Haida version, from the southern part of the group, calls the owner Moon-Woman, and Raven is born to her, rather than to the owner's daughter. (From her he steals the "moon" which breaks into the sun, moon, and stars.)[2]

The Tlingit version which names Nas-caki-yel as the owner of the light, stresses that the "high god" was not deceived, really, by Raven's trickery, but that everything happened according to his "will."[3] Another Tlingit version ends with the chief's complaint: "That old manuring Raven has gotten all my things."[4]

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[1] Cited ibid., p. 649.

[2] Swanton, Haida Texts, Masset Dialect, pp. 308f.

[3] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, pp. 80ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3ff.

In some versions of the Tlingit and Tsimshian, Raven flies down the Nass River, after having stolen the light-box, to a place where people (or Frogs and Ghosts) are fishing in the dark. He threatens to release the light, of which they are afraid, unless they give him food. They refuse and laugh at him: therefore, he opens the box and the light comes out, frightening the people away, or turning them into stone, or transforming them into animals, trees, rocks, fish, and birds.[1]

In the next chapter which deals with the Northern Zone of Raven myths, we shall find other versions of this story of the theft of light; and in the Southern Zone we shall see still other developments. In the south the Gull most frequently is named as the owners of light. The details of the myth become more and more distorted the farther we proceed to the north or south of the Central Zone. All the evidence points to the Haida-Tlingit groups as the center of diffusion of this distinctive myth.

The Tsimshian have another myth about the origin of the sun, moon, and stars which is not paralleled on the coast but finds analogues in the Plateau region, among the Shuswap, Lower Thompson, Okaganon, Wishram, etc.[2] According to this myth, before anything was in existence on this plane, the Chief in Heaven and his people lived in darkness above. He had three children, two sons and a daughter. One son made a sort of mask of pitch wood, set fire to it, and ran through the sky. The people were delighted with the light he made for them, but said he ran too fast. His sister then became a support for the sun, and slowed down his passage. The other son of the Chief put charcoal over half his face and became the moon at night, while his brother rested.[3] Obviously, this story would lend itself easily to dramatic performance by masked and painted dancers. The fact that only the Tsimshian have it is further evidence of their relatively recent arrival at their present location.

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[1] Cf. Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 641ff.

[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 727-728, 872. [3] Ibid., p. 113.

All the groups in this region tell numerous "transformer" tales about the Raven. All kinds of unusual local topographical formations are attributed to some event in Raven's travels.[1] By rocking his canoe, for example, he made the sea to be always rough near Sitka. He transformed into stone two brothers who were crossing the Stikine River at a certain spot. He put his cap on a rock, and it may be seen there today as part of the rock. He told the Tsimshian to hurry, and therefore they are an industrious people today. He made a certain harbor by causing his canoe to move backward in a semi-circle.[2] Such tales are told without number. Their significance is that they relate the conditions of the present day to events in the life of the Great Raven who lived at the beginning of time: thus a meaning and a "sacred reality" is given to the environment, and the people live in a world which is friendly, real, and understood.[3]

Likewise, Raven is said to have ordained the characteristics and habits of animals and bestowed the customs of men at the beginning of time. He pulled Bluejay's head and made it long; he told the Crow to "caw" at sunrise, and caused the Woodpecker to live in trees. He made quills for the Porcupine out of yellow cedar bark, and made the Bear to be afraid of them. After having made the Dog like a human being, he found it was too quick and clever at imitating him, so he pushed it down and made it go on all fours. He shook "little people" which he found somewhere into the eyes of men, and they became the pupils.[4]

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[1] Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths, p. 138.

[2] See Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 575.

[3] Cf. Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, trans. Williard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1959), pp. 20ff.

[4] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, pp. 18ff; Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 573.

To Raven, also, are attributed the origin of the ancient customs and rites. For example, the Haida say that he once adopted a girl for a sister, and when she became pubescent, he performed the proper rites for her at this period in life. He made the first abalone-shell ear ornaments, and showed them to the people.[1] The Tlingit say that Raven gave them their feasts, death rituals, shamanism, the institution of slavery, and taught them how to make fish traps, seal-spears, canoes, salmon hooks, etc.[1] Likewise, he taught taboos about the rivers, the use of tobacco, the proper way to give a potlatch, and ordained warfare by telling people to fight.[3]

In some of the things he tried to do, Raven failed. There are a minimum of stories of this kind in this region. The Haida call him "He-whose-voice-is-obeyed," yet say that when Raven forbade people to laugh when his child had died, Greatest-Laughter disobeyed; therefore people today do not continue mourning for a long time.[4] Raven declared that canoes shall not capsize, but when he tried to ride two large waves, his boat was overturned. So it is now.[5] He made a fire and told it to burn forever, but the wood was soon consumed.[6]

Never, so far as I can discover, is Raven portrayed in this zone as being the author of evil things. He failed in some of his efforts to make good things for men, and he was often "tricky," as we shall see; however, he was never the maker of harmful or evil things in this world. The widely-told myth of the origin of death in the wish of the trickster is unknown, evidently, in this region. Where Raven is in conflict with a superior being it is the latter, not Raven, who is hostile to man. Raven tricks and abuses animals and spirits, but never mankind.

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[1] Swanton, Haida Texts, Masset Dialect, pp. 313f.

[2] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 84. [3] Ibid., pp. 84ff.

[4] Swanton, Haida Texts, Masset Dialect, p. 313.

[5] Ibid., p. 326. [6] Ibid., p. 294.

The trickster stories, like the transformer episodes, are without number. A few myths have a fairly wide distribution. Raven induces a whale to swallow him, and when inside he eats the contents of its stomach, then cuts out its heart. He wills that it shall be cast up on the beach. People come, and Raven makes noises from inside. They begin to butcher the whale, and Raven manages to fly out an opening unobserved. Soon he returns and warns the people to flee because a dead whale that makes noises is an omen of trouble. When they depart, Raven eats the whale himself.[1]

In another widely-told adventure, Raven steals the bait off the hooks of fishermen, swimming in the water like a fish. Finally, one man hooks him. Raven resists vigorously, and his beak gets torn off. The people marvel at the strange thing they have caught. Raven, with an artificial beak (or holding something over his mouth), comes to the village. In some versions, he recovers his beak and flies away; in others, perhaps confused with the whale story, he tells the people the thing they have caught is an evil portent, and they abandon the village. Then Raven eats all their food supply.[2]

Raven plays a vicious trick on Cormorant, in order to prevent his informing on Raven about something he wishes to keep secret. The tale occurs in two main variants: in one, Raven, Grizzly Bear, and Cormorant are fishing in a boat. Raven kills Bear, then induces Cormorant to stick out his tongue. Raven pulls out the tongue, and his murder is kept secret. In the other variant, Cormorant and Raven are fishing alone, and Raven is catching no fish while the other is getting many. He pulls out the Cormorant's tongue and claims all the fish are his when he reaches shore.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 12f. Cf. Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 687ff.

[2] See ibid., pp. 684f.

[3] See ibid., pp. 678ff.

Most of Raven's tricks are for the purpose of appeasing his insatiable appetite. He will stop at nothing to get food: no trick is too mean, no deceit too underhanded for him to employ. Some boys were throwing pieces of meat at one another, for a game. One hit Raven and he ate it. He started throwing pieces of excrement at them, and they threw all their meat at him in anger.[1]

> Raven marries a Hair-Seal woman. They have a son who often goes hunting fire wood with Raven. One day Raven lets slip that he would like to eat the boy. In a few days his appetite gets the better of him, and he does just that.[2]
>
> Raven makes himself into a woman and gets married to a Whale, who thinks Raven is a nice princess. At the Whale's village Raven consumes all the provisions, undetected. Then he says he has dreamed his husband will die. That night he drives a stake through the Whale. Later he stays with the body, where it has been dragged by its relatives for exposure, saying he wants to mourn his "husband" alone. As soon as the people are out of sight he eats it. He returns to the village and induces the whales to lie down with their eyes closed, and kills all but the one who escapes to continue the race.[3]

A common trickster tale has it that Raven went fishing in a boat with Grizzly Bear. (Cf. the Cormorant, Raven, and Bear story above.) He pretended to cut meat off his "thigh" (or his genitals) for bait. The Bear really cut himself in imitation, and bled to death. Raven then ate his companion.[4]

> In search of food, Raven entered a house where he found much food prepared. He heard singing, and a voice invited him to enter, but no one was visible. He ate some of the food, which seemed to fly to him through the air (passed by invisible hands). When he was ready to leave, he tried to carry off a large quantity of food, but he was struck or restrained roughly by invisible hands. He was in the house of Echo (or Shadows, or Ghosts).[5]

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[1] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 5.

[2] Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths, p. 131.

[3] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, pp. 114ff.

[4] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 680f.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 85f. The story is found among the Chinookan tribes of the lower Columbia also--relatives of the Tsimshian.

In several tales Raven tries to fly with geese. In a Tlingit version he married a Goose and tried to go flying with his new relatives. He disliked their food and killed one of them to eat. They deserted him.[1] In a Haida version he was dropped by the geese who were helping him fly when he became tired. He sprinkled sand on the water and it became a sand bar on which he rested.[2]

In the Tsimshian version of the story of Raven and his Salmon wife, an episode is included which occurs as a separate motif in many distant tribes, and reminds us of a Fox story from Siberia (see page 43 above):[3]

> Giant (Raven) takes out one of his eyes and leaves it on guard in his canoe where he has some fish, telling it to call him if there is any danger. The eye calls out that Ravens are about to eat him, and before Giant can return, his eye and his salmon have been devoured. His Salmon wife makes him a new one.

But Raven is by no means always successful in his tricks: sometimes he is the "Trickster tricked." The best known tale of this kind--found, in fact, over most of North America--is that of the "Bungling Host" or "Bungling Imitator," as it is called. The plot is simple: the Trickster goes to the house of an animal friend and the friend produces food for him by some unusual means, either by magic or by a method appropriate only to that particular animal. Next day the Trickster invites that animal to his house for a meal and tries to imitate the other's method of getting food. The Trickster, of course, fails and often injures himself in the process. The point seems to be that a man (the Trickster) cannot hope successfully to imitate the food-getting ways of the animals, since the latter are endowed with magic powers not available to mortal man. Trickster never seems to learn his lesson, however, and he tries repeatedly to imitate his hosts, and again and again comes to grief--as well as embarrassment. In just the same way, men too repeat their errors and are slow to learn from their mistakes. It helps a great deal, however, if they can laugh at themselves, and that is what the bungling Trickster enables them to do.

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[1] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 117.

[2] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 575 (No. 112).

[3] Ibid., p. 77.

The most common episodes in the Bungling Host tale in this region are the following: the Seal who holds his hands over the fire and causes oil to drip out; the Bird who produces a basket of berries by singing; the Bird who produces salmon eggs by striking its ankle.[1] The Bungling Host motif is relatively rare in our Central Zone, however, as compared with many areas of North America.

One of the most amusing stories of the "Trickster tricked" concerns Raven and his slave whom he has made (Tsimshian version) or his traveling companion, Eagle (Haida version).

> As they approach a village, Raven tells the other that he is going to pose as a great chief, and the other is to be his spokesman. Raven will not say anything directly to the people, but the slave (or Eagle) will do the talking for him. They enter the village and a chief offers them hospitality. He asks the slave if the "great chief" would like some salmon berries. Raven whispers to his slave to tell the man he would indeed like some, but the slave says that his chief does not like them. The slave then eats his fill while Raven, to preserve his pride, says nothing and goes hungry! (In another version, the slave says his chief likes dried salmon skins soaked in urine!)
>
> They go to another village and see a house full of cod fish. Raven tells his slave he will pretend to die from a few drops of codfish oil, and the slave is to tell the people to move away; then they will have a feast. But when Raven faints and is put in a grave box, the slave ties up the box tightly, and eats all the best fish himself before his master can get free.
>
> However, Raven wins in the end. He tricks his slave into walking across a weak bridge above a canyon. The bridge breaks and the slave falls to his death, bursting his belly. Raven then eats the contents of his stomach.[2]

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[1] See *ibid.*, pp. 695-697.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 690f.

Another story, this one with a wide distribution as we shall discover in subsequent chapters, tells of Raven's traveling beside a river. He calls a salmon to jump to him. It jumps out and hits him, stunning him. Then it wriggles back into the water. When he awakens, Raven makes a little wall of rocks and calls the salmon again. It knocks him unconscious again, but because of the wall, it cannot get back to the river. Raven rouses and begins cooking the fish. While it cooks, he sleeps, and some crows come and eat his dinner. They stick bits of the fish between Raven's teeth and leave. When he wakens, Raven cannot tell whether or not he has eaten.[1]

As these trickster myths disclose, Raven's chief failing is his voraciousness, which drives him to commit all kinds of crimes. He is also vain and sometimes stupid, but primarily he is driven by an insatiable craving for food. Mankind's craving for food is also, of course, one of his greatest drives--and the one to which most of his waking hours are devoted to fulfilling.

The Siberian Raven also is voracious, but with him sexual passion was an even more prominent trait. Only a few stories concerning the licentiousness of Raven are reported for our Central Zone. Boas suggests that more of this kind may have been known to the natives, but that Christian influence may have made them reluctant to tell such stories to white investigators.[2]

Only fragments of the following story have been recorded from the Haida and Tahltan in this region:

> Raven desired a girl (usually his wife's daughter). He went to the woods and asked the trees which of them made the best sparks when burning. Yellow cedar said it was best. He built a fire of this wood, and when the girl sat spred-legged in front of it, the sparks burned her genitals. Raven told the girl to go to the woods for "medicine"--a plant which he said she would find sticking out of the ground in a certain place. He

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[1] Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths, pp. 112f.

[2] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 707.

> told her to sit on it, so that it entered her vagina. Raven hurried ahead of her and concealed himself under the leaves on the ground, and erected his penis for her to sit upon. . . .[1]

This story should be compared with tales told about Coyote in the Columbia River region and elsewhere. The Haida tell also the following story of Raven's licentiousness:

> Raven found a flicker feather, and at his command it became a bird. [Flickers are rare in this region and their feathers much prized by fishermen as lures on their lines.] Raven took his bird to Master Fisherman, a sort of patron spirit of fishermen, and boasted that he owns a whole island of flickers. Next day he took Master Fisherman to an island where the flickers were supposed to be, and abandoned him. He hastened to Master Fisherman's house and, disguised as the Master, took possession of his wife. At length, the cuckold got free from the island by magic power, and came home. He threw Raven into the latrine, and when Raven called out insults at him, he beat him with a club. Master Fisherman put Raven on the beach, rolled a boulder on top of him, and when the tide rose Raven nearly drowned, despite his power to change into other forms. He finally arose to the surface, and floated exhausted on the sea. Some people asked, "Why does the chief float about?" He answered, " Because he has had a hard time for going after a woman."[2]

This last story reminds us a little of some of the adulteries of Raven's childhood, according to the introductions to the Raven cycle; it is even more like a widespread myth of Coyote and his son's wives, told over a wide area to the south. (See chapter ix .)

The Tsimshian and other groups to the south tell of the time Raven took the form of a stag and swam in the water near the boat of a princess whom he desired to possess. The people shot the stag and put it in the boat. It kicked the girl in the abdomen and she became ill. Later Raven appeared as a shaman, crawled under a blanket beside the girl, "touched" her, and made her well.[3] Obviously, this is a greatly "toned-down" version of a popular Coyote story of the rape with the long penis sent across the river, followed by a "curing" repetition of the assault. (See below, chapter ix .)

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[1] Swanton, Haida Texts, Masset, p. 304; idem, Haida Texts and Myths, p. 127, and Teit, "Tahltan Tales," p. 206.

[2] Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths, pp. 130f.

[3] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 722.

In a few tales, Raven is simply a fool. The Tsimshian tell how Giant (Raven) stole a chief's blanket and threw away his own raven blanket. Soon he tore the new blanket and had to hunt a long time to recover his old one. In the woods he saw something which he mistook to be a beautiful dancing-blanket. He tore up his old but adequate raven robe and went after the other--only to find that it was just moss and lichens.[1]

> Raven's wife, Sea Gull, died and Raven mourned, when he saw a tree with drops of pitch on it, he thought the tree was weeping with him. When he came upon some huckleberries, he believed they had blacked their faces out of sympathy with his own grief.[2]

In some myths he tricks for no apparent reason. Heron was chiseling out a canoe, according to a Haida tale, and Raven offered to help. But when he took the hatchet, he chopped right through the bottom of the boat.[3]

His laziness is stressed in these two stories:

> He moved in with Fish Hawk, flattering him and promising to work later on; meanwhile he ate all Fish Hawk's food. Finally, the Hawk's patience wore out, and he moved away.[4]
>
> He married a woman and pretended to be making a canoe for his mother-in-law. They could hear him hammering away every day in the distance. Meanwhile, the women gathered food for him. One day they spied on him at his "working" place, and found he was just beating a stick on a log. They straightway left him.[5]

The material presented in this chapter amply illustrates the complex nature of the Raven in northwest coast American mythology. He is trickster, buffoon, creator, transformer, culture hero, and in general the ordainer of things-as-they-are. The confusion introduced by the name of Tlingit figure, Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass, should not mislead us into supposing that Raven is a high god. Neither should much importance be attached to the various introductions to the Raven cycle which have been reported from the several tribes. What should be stressed is the hostility of Raven to the high gods and other spirit powers, from whom he steals various cultural and natural items for mankind, and the absence of any cult. Raven is honored, not by prayers and sacrifices, but by the telling of his myths, by which a sacred reality is imparted to the world which he made and "fixed" in its present form.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 72, 722. This is told also of Coyote.

[2] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, p. 10.

[3] Swanton, Haida Texts, Masset Dialect, p. 300.

[4] Swanton, Tlingit Myths and Texts, pp. 116f.

[5] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 84.

The myth of the theft of the sun which is the most characteristic and basic of the Raven cycle, has a "natural" basis in the extremes of the apparent movement of the sun in this latitude. In winter the days grow very short, the weather is severe, and the sun is low in the sky, often not being seen at all for long periods of time in the gloomy winter months. The myth, which originally must have been a ritual-myth, tells how the hero of the people, the Trickster-Transformer, went in the beginning to get the sun which the Great Chief was keeping away from the world of men. Raven, it should be noted, is not a shaman, although this myth might have been used at times by shamans as a formula or "incantation," as in Siberia. Raven goes after the sun, not as a shaman (aided by supernatural helpers), but alone, to deceive the highest of the supernatural beings. He is clever, and his sagacious strategy completely overwhelms the Big Chief, and the theft of the sun is successfully accomplished. The ritual enactment of this myth must have been at one time a major event at the winter solstice. In this ceremony all the people would have taken part, and by repeating in pantomine the "divine event" of myth times, they were assured that what man's champion had accomplished then would be repeated in the present crisis. One wonders if the swallowing of Raven by the Chief's daughter, and his subsequent rebirth, might have been considered reenacted in the ritual in initiation rites, which hold such a prominent place in Northwest Coast ceremonial. If so, then the myth has certainly received some of its elements from the shamans, to whom ritual death and rebirth is vitally important. As a matter of fact, the whole character of Raven shows the influence of Shamanistic formulation, since he is much more of a god than are many of the North American Trickster-Transformer-Heroes.

CHAPTER III

THE NORTHWESTERN COAST OF NORTH AMERICA: THE NORTHERN ZONE

The Eyak

Moving north from the Tlingit, the next group encountered is the Eyak of the Copper River delta, Alaska. This group occupies a small area, bounded by the Tlingit on the south, the Ahtena to the east and the Eskimo to the north. They are distinct linguistically, but related to the Dené or Athabascan family. Birket-Smith believes they have occupied their present location for a very long time.[1] They have been influenced strongly by their Tlingit neighbors (and distant linguistic relatives), and have adopted from them, apparently, the two moiety social system with Raven and Eagle as crests.[2] They hold potlatches, at which the host gives away all he owns, on four types of occasions: to commemorate a death, to mourn those slain in warfare, to dedicate a new house, and to entertain visitors. The potlatch for the dead is the most important. All members of one moiety are asked, but not obliged, to contribute to a potlatch for a dead kinsman. The opposite moiety are guests. The potlatch proper is followed by dancing and singing, each person displaying his own song and imitating with costume and gestures some animal or mythical being.[3]

The first white visitors to the Eyak, in 1884, saw dances at the potlatch held in his honor. At this time the myth of Raven's stealing the sun was dramatized. If the visitor, Abercrombe, understood properly, the story went like this:

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[1] Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, The Eyak Indians of the Copper Delta, Alaska (Kopenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938), p. 630.

[2] Ibid., p. 447.

[3] Ibid., pp. 169-182.

> The son of the chief who has the sun learns that the people to the south are in darkness and are starving. They appeal to him to release the light for them. His aunt refuses to give it to him, but she takes it with her when they go down to the beach. There the sea animals perform for her and amuse the boy. Finally, the Whale makes a wave which washes the aunt off her seat and breaks open the box. The sun, moon, and stars are freed, and they fly up to the sky.[1]

This version is so different from any reported myth-version, that we wonder whether it was incorrectly understood by Abercrombie, or whether it was altered for purposes of dramatization. This is the only notice I have found of the acting out of the myth. In 1933 Birket-Smith obtained two versions of Raven's theft of daylight which are quite conventional. Both end with Raven's taking the light to the fishermen, who pay him for it by giving him food.[2]

The Raven myths told among the Eyak are virtually identical with those recorded from the Tlingit. Raven was sent down from the sky (not stated who sent him) to a world covered with water. He alighted on a branch and gathered driftwood, out of which he fashioned the land. He wished for mountains, a beach, and mussels, and they appeared. He lamented that he was alone, and some gulls came to him. He transformed them into different kinds of birds. Still lonely, he complained again and a man appeared. The man will not say from where he has come, and after staying together for a while, they parted. (A part of the story must have been forgotten.) Raven flew and scattered pebbles, making islands, and spat to make lakes. He traced his finger through his spittle to make rivers. Where he rested overnight, there is the ocean. Certain spots are named for him because he did something there while going about.[3]

Also reported are the stories of Raven's stealing bait, calling a salmon to club it, obtaining tides from Tide Woman, turning things into rocks, inducing a whale to swallow him, and tricking various animals into being killed to appease his insatiable appetite.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 187ff.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 251f, 259f.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 247ff.

Birket-Smith says nothing about a sky "god" or high spirit in control of weather. He notes that people pray at dawn and sunset to the Sun and make offerings to it. There are no solstice ceremonies or new fire rituals, however. The Eyak believe all things animate and inanimate have owners or masters. A new-born baby is believed to reincarnate a deceased ancestor, brought to life again by the Sun.[1] The Sun, then, may be thought of as a "high god" of sorts. Ravens (the birds) are believed to be able to foretell the future, and are thought to give signs which people can interpret concerning things to come. If insulted, Ravens are likely to cause bad weather.[2]

All the myths have official titles and are supposed to be recited or sung letter-perfect.[3] Birket-Smith does not state that myths were told to influence the weather and such, but he mentions that shamans have special songs for bringing good weather, good hunting, victory in battle, and curing the sick.[4]

Shamanism is quite unorganized among the Eyak. A youth chosen by a spirit will receive a call in a dream when he is about twelve to fourteen years of age. In the woods he will encounter a spirit in animal or human form. If animal, he will kill it and stuff its skin for "medicine." If human, he will carve an image of it. Shamans obtain many helping spirits over the years, perhaps as many as fifty. Far from being organized into societies, shamans are mutually hostile and try always to kill one another to obtain the powers of the others.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 230ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 235.

[3] Ibid., p. 245.

[4] Ibid., p. 214.

[5] Ibid., pp. 209ff.

Two other Raven tales may be mentioned. The following one is encountered frequently in Alaska:

> After serving for the proper time, Raven was given for wife the daughter of a high-caste couple. Later he left them because they didn't like him, taking his wife with him. He had a nice house. The parents-in-law came later to pay a visit. [The ending which follows is unique]. He told them to come to him when they grew old and he would make them young again by combing their hair with his magic comb which turns gray hair black.[1]

No explanation for this myth is offered by Birket-Smith. The other myth is interesting for the way it combines trickster and culture-hero motifs: Raven came to a house and the people offered him raw meat to eat, because they did not know how to cook. Raven taught them cooking, but in the night he stole and ate all their food supply, so they threw him out in the morning.[2]

No picaresque tales were reported.

The Tanaina

Another coastal Athabascan people are the Tanaina of Cook Inlet, Alaska. Like other tribes in the region, this one has two matrilinear exogamous moieties, due to influence from the south. Each is composed of several sibs or clans with names, several of which refer to the Raven who is one of the leading myth figures. According to an early report (Vrangel) the Tanaina had a tradition that Raven created two women out of different material, each of whom became the ancestress of a moiety. However, Osgood in 1931 could find no such tradition current.[3] Each clan has its own origin tradition, but there is none establishing the origin of the two divisions. The clans do not have crests, but each has distinctive facial painting patterns. As elsewhere in the north, one moiety performs the burial rites for the other and in return are guests at the potlatch for the deceased.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 256. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 154f.

[3] Cornelius Osgood, *The Ethnography of the Tanaina* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 16; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 129.

Concerning cosmological ideas, Osgood says:

> Ideas concerning the origin and development of the world, its gods and men, do not form a readily recognizable aspect of culture among the northern Athapascans. Nothing is apparently common knowledge; there is no well-known mythological pattern; and only a few people seem to have any ideas or interest in the subject.[2]

From the people who did have "ideas and interest" he obtained the following information: the earth was inhabited first by black flies; then came animals including man. The teacher Kixgiyo (not translated) went from one country to another teaching. He had two wives, and he knew everything. He made the land otter, weasel, beaver, and many other animals. He caused the horse-cabbage to have water for drinking. He cut open the mouths of creatures so they could talk. He it was who taught the people to dry fish, and he showed women how to give birth properly, without undergoing a fatal operation.[3]

The informant who told these things about Kixgiyo on one day, told Osgood the next day that the Lynx people made the animals and taught them the ways of the world. Ptarmigan and Grouse taught men to make snow-shoes.[4] Explanatory myths like these in which a variety of animals are the heroes in turn is typical of Athabascan mythology.

A number of Raven stories are known by the Tanaina. Raven stole the sun and moon and put them in their places.[5] Dressed as a rich man, he married a chief's daughter; but when her parents learned who he was, they killed him. Raven is said to be the cause of the deluge in a story not found elsewhere in the region, to my knowledge: being thirsty, Raven drank up all the water one day. A hot rock exploded out of a fire (world fire?) and struck his belly, bursting it open. The water engulfed the land in a flood.[1] Raven once thought he would like to fly south like the geese, but he soon tired and dropped out of the flight. Hence, Ravens remain in the north during the winter.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 166. [2] Ibid., p. 173. [3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 173. [5] Ibid., pp. 183f.

A story is told about Raven's obtaining fish, which sounds like a text for a shamanic ceremony to start a run of fish:

> Raven went drifting with the tide to get fish for his people. He caught many, and rubbed them over the sides and bottom of his boat, leaving scales and bits of flesh all over it. He returned and professed to have found no fish, but the people knew he was joking (fishermen must never brag about their catch--the fish don't like it). Soon the salmon began running in great numbers and have been doing so every year since that time.[3]

According to Osgood, Raven is never considered by the people to be the creator.[4] He is not even the only culture-hero, as we have seen. By questioning, Osgood learned of a half-forgotten "high god" to whom people sometimes appeal for good weather and other blessings. Three informants in different localities spoke of him, calling him Naqockdeldani (no translation). He could still a storm to save people in a boat, if prayed to. On land, people called upon him with arms uplifted, saying, for example, "I am hungry; give me food!" If the petitioner is a good person and sincere, his prayer will be granted, said one Tanaina. One informant identified this being as embodied in the constellation we call the Little Bear. He appears to some people in dreams. Sometimes he is addressed as, "You who made the people," indicating perhaps an old belief in him as creator; no such myth was reported, however.[5]

The shaman, of course, is the chief religious personage among the Tanaina. Shamans wear wooden masks and special costumes to which they attach objects

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 184. [2] *Ibid*.

[3] *Ibid*.; cf. the story of Raven and the olachen, p. 59 above.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 173. [5] *Ibid*., p. 174.

(claws, beaks, etc.) symbolizing their supernatural helpers. Formerly they alone could use what is now but a toy, the bull-roarer. They also use a special wand or staff with rings carved around it (levels of heaven?) and a little bird or animal carved on the end.[1]

Myths are told through the long winter nights, from September to May. Those who excel at story-telling become men of considerable prestige.[2]

The Upper Yukon Region

The mythology of the Upper Yukon region of Alaska and Canada is of special interest because these tribes are intermediaries between the coastal and inland Athabascan cultures. Their mythology, consequently, is mixed and shows many examples of both types of traditions.

The people live in small bands consisting of a few families each, often as few as two, traveling together in search of game (and fish in season). The climate is severe, and the population of these "tribes is only a few hundred all together. The most important and basic social unit is the family; a man and wife and their dependents. The people divide themselves naturally into two social classes, the "nobility" and the servants. The former are those for whom the latter work. Additionally, superimposed on this social stratification, are clans and moieties. The Nabesna, who are not far removed from the coast, have the two matrilinear exogamous moieties of the coastal culture, one of which is identified with the Wolf, the other vaguely with the Raven.[3] These, in turn, are subdivided into clans, but membership in these groups is vague, and not known by many individuals. Each group has an association with an animal or part of an animal, but there are no crests, privileges, or taboos, and no belief in a descent from the clan animal. Clan legends have been rarely obtained. The clan appears to be a more ancient unit than the moieties.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 177ff. [2] Ibid., p. 123.

[3] Robert A. McKennan, The Upper Tanana Indian (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 55; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 123f.

The northwestern group, the Kutchin, have three matrilineal "clans" whose names seem to mean "rich man," "servant," and "friend on each side." The last-named group is the inferior and middle division, the other two being equal in rank, despite their names. (The chief may come from either of the first two groups.) Cutting across these clan or phrarty groups are the two social classes found elsewhere in this region.[2]

The potlatch in the Upper Yukon is a feast for the dead. Among the Nabensa it has become also a way of gaining prestige, and a man must give one, or preferably three, potlatches before marrying. Any relative's death becomes an opportunity for a potlatch. The host (usually an individual, but sometimes a family) gives away everything and accepts nothing in return until a year has passed. The given is regarded as a new man spiritually after a potlatch, and as such is subject to taboos: he must abstain from sex relations for one hundred days, drink through a tube, use a scratching stick, etc. The feast is given for members of the opposite moiety who assisted with the burial;[3] or, where the moiety system does not prevail, as with the Han, the feast is given to another tribe.[4] The Kutchin also feast the dead in a potlatch held a year or two after death, when the relative has accumulated enough property. The feast is held, usually, on a special ceremonial ground or outdoor enclosure.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 127.

[2] Cornelius Osgood, Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 14; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), pp. 107f.

[3] McKennan, pp. 134ff.

[4] Ferdinand Schmitter, Upper Yukon Native Customs and Folklore (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. LVI, No. 4; Washington: 1910) pp. 14f.

Concerning the religious beliefs and practices of these groups of people, not much material is available. The shaman is the specialist in spiritual matters, here as elsewhere. His primary duties are to prevent and cure disease. He can put an end to bad hunting luck, foretell changes in the weather, and the like. All these things are disclosed to him in his dreams when he visits the spirit land with his supernatural helpers. He learns songs in his dreams and teaches them to people so that all can sing together and thus augment the shaman's powers at healing rites. The Nabensa use the bull-roarer at the conclusion of a healing ceremony.[2] The spirit powers are animals, trees, the moon, the sun, a root--in short, any convenient object in nature.[3]

The myth material collected is not extensive, but it is sufficient to show that the stories of the Raven have penentrated from the coast throughout the region, but without becoming predominant. McKenna says that the Upper Tanana recognize three categories of stories: (1) culture-hero myths (of _Tsa-o-sha_); (2) Raven myths; and (3) miscellaneous tales.[4] A similar classification would hold for the other tribes in the region, no doubt. Tsa-o-sha, of the Upper Tanana, is literally "Smart-Beaver" and is a typical Athabascan culture-hero. He is also called "Traveler," and probably is to be identified with the "Old Man" of Schmitter's Han Indian stories. The Old Man and his wife are now two stones in the river, but they are regarded by the Han as the ancestors of the tribe, according to Schmitter.[5] The same stories are told about Smart-Beaver and Old Man. They are stories of combat and matching of wits between the hero and certain evil and monstrous animals. The culture hero rid the world of these beings--all except Grizzly Bear--by changing them into ordinary animals or stones. The Loucheaux Kutchin also have a culture-hero, Chitacholi, in addition to the Raven.[1]

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[1] Osgood, _Kutchin_, p. 125.

[2] McKennan, pp. 149ff.

[3] Schmitter, p. 18.

[4] McKennan, p. 175.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 21ff.

Our present interest is in the Raven stories. The Nabensa regard Raven as "almost as wise as Smart-Beaver," but unlike the culture-hero, Raven was not always doing good. The Indians say no one knows how old Raven is, where he came from, or what became of him.[2] The Nabesna attribute to him the creation of Alaska, according to a confused myth obtained in 1930.

> Raven married a swan and tried to fly south. He rested on the backs of one after another of the swans, till finally they grew tired of carrying him and threw him down. He landed on some rocks in the sea, captured the child of a whale, and made the child's mother dive for more rocks and mud from the bottom, out of which Raven made an island. Raven caused the island to grow, trees to spring up, etc. This became Alaska.[3]

Here we have Raven as the one who orders an animal to dive for land--the "earth-diver" story found very widely dispersed over northern North America except along the west coast. The Loucheaux (Kutchin) likewise cast Crow (Raven) in the role of the one who superintends the earth divers, who here are the more usual animals Muskrat, Otter, and Beaver.[4] Schmitter fails to name the overseer of the diving in his Han account of the episode.[5]

In all these tribes the story of Raven's theft of the sun is told. The Nabensa recount the transformation of Raven into a spruce needle so that he can be swallowed by the daughter of the man who keeps the sun and moon, and be born to her as a little child. When he has flown away with them and brought them home, other animals try to put the sun and moon in the sky, but fail. Raven establishes them and makes paths for them by tracing their courses with a stick on the then low-hanging sky.[1] The Han and Loucheux versions omit the episode of the spruce needle, but in both versions the owner's grandchild cries for the sun and Raven takes it from the child and flies away. In these tribes Grizzly Bear is said to be the owner: he often is the villain in the mythology of these tribes.[2]

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[1] C. M. Barbeau and Charles Camsell, "Loucheaux Myths," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXVIII (1915), 250.

[2] McKennan, pp. 189f.

[3] Ibid., p. 190.

[4] Barbeau and Camsell, p. 249.

[5] Schmitter, p. 21.

The Nabensa know also the tales of Raven's being swallowed by a whale, killing it, and later frightening the people away from the carcass so he can eat it;[3] stealing bait and getting his beak pulled off on a hook;[4] leaving his eye on guard and having it stolen.[5] Raven is said to have falsely informed a camp of women that there were berries on a hill; when they left, he ate their children's eyes out. Later he returned to the camp in the guise of another person and said, "That old rascal Raven is always playing tricks like that!" To Raven is attributed the creation of women, in the following story:

> There were only men in the world, and Raven decided to do something about it. He went down a river past a dangerous gorge with a swinging tree to a place where vaginas were flying around like ducks. He shot a good number of them and took them back to the men. He lined up the best-looking of them, had them erect their penis, and put the vaginas on them. Then he jerked off the protruding male members and the men became women.[7]

Raven's lechery is hinted at in an unclear story about his visit to a camp of women where he pretends to die, but is suspected of trickery and is cremated. He arises, however, from his indestructible liver, and flies away.[8]

A story which appears to be a shamanistic healing formula is told by the Loucheux: Grizzly Bear tore off one of Fox's forelegs, and hung it up in his lodge. The animals wanted to get it back for Fox, and finally Crow (Raven) agreed to go for it. At Grizzly Bear's house he told stories until he put the Bear to sleep. Then he snatched the "arm," returned home, and replaced it on his friend, making him well again.[1]

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[1] McKennan, pp. 190f.

[2] Schmitter, p. 26; Barbeau and Camsell, pp. 252ff.

[3] McKennan, p. 192f.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 191ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 194f.

The story of Raven's painting the birds was collected from the Han, together with a reference to his habitual lying and theiving. Once he visited a camp and told a man to kill his old dog and throw it in the river. Raven slipped off and got hold of the corpse and pecked out its eyes. "Thus he went from camp to camp as a deceiver."[2]

Crow (Raven) is said by the Loucheux to have lived formerly at the mouth of the Arctic Red River in Loucheux territory: Two depressions remain where he used to sleep.[3] He deceived a chief into thinking he was a wealthy person and married his daughter. When his low status was discovered, he flew away, mocking them for the ease with which he had fooled them. From up the river he sent downstream some burning canoes. The chief thought his relatives had been killed, and the tribe went into mourning. Crow appeared and told them he had tricked them again, and had a great laugh. To punish him, people threw him in the fire (hence he is black?).[4]

The Raven, then appears in both noble and ignoble roles among these peoples. He is the creator of the earth[5] and the giver of light to the world, but he was also the great trickster and fool, voracious and lecherous, theiving and deceiving.

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[1] Barbeau and Camsell, p. 252.

[2] Schmitter, p. 26.

[3] Barbeau and Camsell, p. 254.

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 250f.

[5] No "high god" or other creator is reported for any of the tribes of the Upper Yukon region.

To put the stories of Raven and the culture heroes in proper perspective, it should be noted that the folklore of these tribes contains many, many other tales of adventures of animals and giants in the age of long ago. Motifs of treachery, trickery, and revenge are common to a great number of them. The Han, for example, say the Woodpecker used to marry a wife, take her off and fatten her, and then eat her. Finally one wife outsmarted him.[1]

Cosmological concepts are by no means systematized, and often different myths from the same tribe will be mutually inconsistent. The Nabensa, who say Raven was the maker of the earth, have another tale which explains the origin of the Indians as having been born from the green shoots of vegetation which sprang up after a great flood.[2] Among the same people we find the story of the argument about mortality or immortality for mankind, with Chickadee, a minor myth figure, being the one whose wish for mortality prevails.[3]

Athabascans of the Lower Yukon

The "lowest" Lower Yukon territory is inhabited by Eskimo, who hold all the Bering Sea and Arctic coast, but above them, still on what can properly be called the "Lower Yukon," live the Athabascan tribes known as the Ingalik and the Koyukon. These peoples are influenced by the Eskimo with whom they are in immediate contact, and, through the Tanaina, by the northwest Pacific coastal culture. They retain, also, some of their ancient Athabascan traits. Several ethnological investigations have been made of these people, and there is considerably more material to work with for these two groups than for the others considered previously in this chapter. However, this does not mean that all the questions can be answered concerning the mythology and beliefs of these folk. The Raven is highly important in the mythology, but he is distinguished, apparently, from another figure who is the Creator. The Ingalik, moreover, ascribe to Raven a unique role as maker and lord of the land of the dead.

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[1] Schmitter, pp. 26f.

[2] McKennan, p. 212.

[3] *Ibid*.

According to Osgood,[1] the Ingalik believe that the universe has four levels. In addition to the earth where people live, there is the "Raven-living world" below the surface of the phenomenal world; the "Fish-trail world" beneath the sea and also beneath Raven's world; and a heavenly world above the visible sky. The Raven-living world is by far the best-developed concept. The name refers to the fact that it is the land where Raven lives together with the souls of the dead who died under normal circumstances. Raven lives in a house on the near-side of the river which the soul must cross to enter the land of the dead. Nearby is Raven's wife's house, beside which stands the post that supports the world.[2] The Creator, Denato, put the post there, it is said, but now Raven's wife shakes it and causes earthquakes to make people die and come to her.

The myth of the establishment of the land of the dead is a remarkable one, not paralleled in material from any other group:

> Raven had a young wife, but he lusted after his wife's mother. No one died in those days: they fell asleep but came back to consciousness again after a little while because there was no place for dead souls to go. Raven spent two years digging a tunnel far into the ground. At last he emerged on the bank of a river. There he built two houses, and returned to his village. He waited for his mother-in-law to die. Then he led her into the tunnel, and they journeyed for four days. He showed her the two houses he had made, one of which was for him, and one for her. He said, "When I want to have intercourse with you, I'll go to your house, and when you want me, you come here." Then he explained that when pretty girls died he would have them for two nights before sending them into the land of the dead. Homely girls he would detain only one night.

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[1] Cornelius Osgood, Ingalik Mental Culture (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 56; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 104-106.

[2] The belief in an old woman under the earth who supports the earth with a post is recorded for many tribes, including the Haida, Tlingit, etc. See Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 572, for references.

He told his "wife" she could do likewise with the men who died.[1]

Potlatches as feasts for the dead are among the most important festivals of the Indians and Eskimo alike of western Alaska. These will be described in some detail under the section on the Eskimo, since the best material on the subject was obtained from them. However, only among the Ingalik was Raven held to be the author of death and chief of the land of the dead.[2]

The idea of the culture hero as lord of the land of the dead is not found elsewhere in North America, to my knowledge, but according to Jensen,[3] it is a belief typical of the archaic planters. These people, who make much of the land of the dead, quite often assign to the culture hero the role of ruler of the place where the dead dwell. The presence of the culture hero, or "Dema Deity," as Jensen prefers to call him, is primarily in living man and the various things of this world which the hero has made to be as they are. But as the first ancestor, he frequently is said to exist now in the realm of the dead, where each person upon death goes to join him. It is quite surprising to find Raven cast in this role by this primitive hunting, fishing, and gathering people. Evidently, we have to do with a very local and peculiar development.

There are two other worlds besides that of the Raven, to which dead souls go, according to Ingalik belief. The "Fish-trail world" is the land of the drowned. The village of the drowned is located near the village of the Salmon people. Similar beliefs in a land of the dead which is somehow related to or identical with the salmon's homeland are found all along the coast, as far as California. Osgood says that the belief in a skyland region of the dead is a vague concept. The heavenly world is a good place where there is a big lake for fishing. People who die in certain violent ways go there, he says.[1] But he reports also a myth which seems to make the sky world a place for good and/or wealthy persons. In this myth, Raven is made the founder of a ceremony, the Hot Dance, a ritual feast for the dead:

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[1] Osgood, Ingalik Mental Culture, pp. 104f.

[2] Cf. John W. Chapman, Ten'a Texts and Tales from Anvik, Alaska (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. VI; Leyden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1914), p. 10. No myth is recorded, but it is stated that Raven made the trail for the dead, and was the author of death.

[3] Adolf E. Jensen, Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 113, 281-283.

> A rich man was kidnapped by two men from the land of the dead. Raven felt sorry for him, because he had been a good man, and had always made offerings to him of some meat from every caribou he killed. He told the men in the _kashim_ (men's house) of those who had died tragically that they ought to make a dance for the aid of rich men when they die; and he helped them to make the dance. Raven played the part of the shaman, pulling down the pole through the smoke hole. He told them to dance and sing, and at midnight he had them blow out the lights and enjoy themselves with the women. Next day Raven climbed the pole and pulled it up after himself. He made noises like a Raven and a hawk. He was calling to the sons of the dead man who were hiding outside, disguised as hawks. The hawk boys rushed in and killed the people (who had been responsible for their father's death). Then they threw their father's body up to the upper world. This is where such people go now. The boys became real hawks.[2]

The two investigators of the Ingalik, Chapman (for 25 years around 1900) and Osgood (briefly, about 50 years later) both reported that people make a distinction between the Creator and the Raven. The Reverend Father Jetté, however, who studied the Koyukon people a little to the north of the Ingalik in the late nineteenth century, did not understand that these people recognized any other creator than Raven. The Ingalik name for the Creator is _Denato_, a contraction of a word meaning "everyone's father." He plays a very minor role in the religious life of the people, and is important only in the creation myth. "He is apparently not a supreme being,"[1] was Osgood's considered judgment, by which he meant not a God of gods, the highest of a pantheon. He seems to have some connection with the jaybird. Some people say that if a person throws sticks at a jay, the bird will take him up in the sky in the evening to Denato, who is angry at the abuse. One man reportedly tied a jay to a stake to attract Denato's attention. There is a popular superstition that throwing jaybird feathers into the fire will cause the weather to become clear and cold--good weather for the Ingalik in winter.[2] Chapman reported that the natives believed "someone up above" sees wrong-doing and punishes people by making food scarce.[3] It would seem that once again a weather spirit of the sky, who is all-seeing and who has power to give or withhold the food supply (game), has acquired also the function of creator.

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[1] Osgood, _Ingalik Mental Culture_, p. 106. Cf. Eskimo beliefs below, pp.

[2] _Ibid._, pp. 139-141. For Eskimo offerings of meat to Raven, see below, p. 105.

Several accounts of the creation were obtained. The fullest narrative relates that all things lived above in another world with the Creator, in the beginning. Each group of beings had human attributes, each group possessed its own songs, just as the villages on earth do today. Denato decided to send these creatures down below. The groups were the "Rock People," the "Tree People," the "Salmon People," the "Marten People," etc., etc.; and the "Monster People," last of all. (These became the various kinds of things in nature which their names indicate.) Then he made people. The first he created out of stone, but they could say only "m-m," so he made a man and woman out of mud, and they were just right. However, as a consequence, man is not immortal. He taught the creatures their proper functions and places. He told the monsters to stay under the earth. He taught the people all their knowledge, including all the twenty-day and four-day taboos.[4]

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[1] Osgood, Ingalik Mental Culture, p. 102. [2] Ibid., p. 103.

[3] Chapman, p. 11. [4] Osgood, Ingalik Mental Culture, p. 103.

A man told Chapman his grandfather had taught him the following story:

> Someone up above made the world. He came down and made first the porcupine, then the white bear, man, the brown bear, and all the other creatures. After teaching man all he needed to know, he went back to the highest heaven and there he remains. But another man was on earth, Raven, who changed many things, so that what was originally good became perverted. He made wooden images and flung them about, telling them to come to life and do whatever they wanted to do. (Bad people and other races came from these.) Originally, men came back to life after dying, but Raven made a trail of no return.[1]

No earth-diver myth has been recorded here, but some fragmentary accounts of creation mention that the earth was covered with water originally,[2] and that the land was small at first and gradually increased in size.[3] Other stories say that animals came (and still come) from under the ground or from inside a mountain, from whence shamans can draw them forth by their ceremonies and incantations.[4]

Raven stories constitute one class of tales, according to Chapman.[5] Raven is commonly called Yoqgitsi, meaning "Your Grandfather"[6] or "House Grandfather."[7] Raven's proper name, Caioxwun, is never used in the myths.[8]

The Ingalik and Koyukon tribes are quite familiar with the myth of Raven's theft of daylight. In both groups Raven goes to get the sun for the sake of the people. The Koyukon version stresses that Raven had to be placated with offerings (two fat dogs) before he would set out. The daughter drank him in the form of a spruce needle, etc.[9]

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[1] Chapman, pp. 8ff. Such pronounced dualism of Creator and Trickster is not encountered again until we reach the Maidu of California, although suggestions of it occur among some of the tribes of Washington state.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 11f. [3] *Ibid*., p. 10.

[4] Osgood, *Ingalik Mental Culture*, pp. 103, 115f.

[5] Chapman, p. 5. [6] *Ibid*.

[7] Osgood, *Ingalik Mental Culture*, p. 104. [8] Chapman, p. 5.

[9] *Ibid*., pp. 22f.; and the Rev. J. Jetté, "On Ten'a Folk-Lore," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XXXVIII (1908), 302ff.

Father Jetté relates a story called "The Second Making of Man," from the Koyukon:

> Raven, a great chief, and his four nephews went to try to win the hand of a woman who had refused all suitors. Raven was refused also, but the next day as he was preparing to leave the village of that woman, a mother offered him her baby daughter. He accepted the infant, and left in his boat. As he was leaving, he caused the proud woman who had rejected him to sink into quicksand. Her relatives then caused a storm to arise, but Raven was unharmed in his boat. All the world was deluged, and everyone drowned except Raven and the baby girl. Raven threw his harpoon with his last ounce of energy and struck two mountain tops, one which is called "Struck-by-Raven," and the other Mt. McKinley. When the girl was grown she became the mother of all the people.[1]

The fact that the Raven is called "Grandfather" by the Ingalik may indicate that they, too, have a tradition similar to this, although none is reported.

These people know also about Raven's voraciousness. Raven lived with two wives and four nephews, according to one story. One night, while all were asleep, Raven consumed all the food in the house. Next morning he claimed a bear had come and robbed them, and he wept crocodile tears for his "poor nephews who depend on me to feed them." They went hunting and killed more deer. Raven pretended to be dying so he could be left alone with the meat. The family sang mourning songs over him, extolling his hunting prowess, but even in his "death throes" Raven rallied enough to sing songs for himself which were even more flattering! Then he "died," and when his family left him he ate up all the meat again.[2]

> Raven comes to the house of a good hunter and his wife, and they invite him to dine with them. "Oh, no," he says, "come to my house--I have much more to eat there!" The hunter starts out with him. On the way, Raven says he has left something behind at the hunter's house, and returns. He takes possession of the hunter's wife and his provisions. When the hunter comes home, the wife has two raven children, and the food supply, like Raven, has vanished.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 312f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 363f. Compare with the Siberian tales, above, where Raven pretends to die in order to eat the grave offerings.

[3] Chapman, pp. 35ff.

In another story Raven deceives a whole village in the same manner, and eats all their provisions.[1]

Raven's sexual passion is stressed here more than in the myths collected farther south, due perhaps to the influence of Siberia.

> Raven found a woman picking berries alone on a hillside, near her house. He forced her to go to her house with him. He asked her to dance, but she appealed to his vanity and said she would rather see him dance. He danced with closed eyes, and she turned into a squirrel and darted under his legs, to safety.[2]
>
> By elaborate scheming Raven got a chief's daughter alone with him in a canoe, and took her down the river. She held him off until at length she persuaded him to let her go ashore to ease herself in the woods. He attached a rope to her, but once out of sight she tied it to a tree and escaped, returning home. When Raven came back to the village, he was disgraced, and his grandmother scolded him severely.[3]

The tale of the eye left on guard is repeated by the Ingalik.[4] One courageous deed is attributed to the Raven: he killed a giant cannibal who had been killing all the men in the village.[5] The Ingalik of Anvik say that Raven wanted to make a mountain back of the present town, but was unable to make the sand pile up very high. In anger he thrashed it with a brush--hence its eroded appearance today.[6] Transformer and culture-hero stories such as these last two are rare in the collections of myths obtained in these tribes concerning the Raven.

Jetté gives a vivid description of the way myths and stories are told in this region. Story-telling season is at its height during the early winter, from the first of December to the middle of January, until the midwinter festivals are passed. At night, after everyone in the house (fifteen or ~~twenty~~ persons) is in bed, the light is extinguished and someone suggests, "Let's have a story!" One person begins and the rest encourage him. Darkness is essential. Jetté tried to light a match to see to write the myths, and the story telling ceased instantly.[1] Jetté could not find any informants willing to repeat the stories in the daylight, but Chapman received better cooperation.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 27f.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 28ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 41f.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Osgood supplies information about a different kind of narrative, the "animal incantations" or "songs." These are magical spells which are recited in a whisper to attract animals to traps, change the weather, cure disease, and the like. The songs are believed to be the ones the animals or spirits of natural phenomena sing at home, in their own village kashims. Mostly, the songs were given long ago by the animals at the time when people could converse with them. Today they are the valued property of certain old men who pass them on to younger persons whom they favor, but always for a price.[3] An example of these is the "Raven Song," which is good for one thing only, to save the lives of children who are ill.[4] Amulets having some relationship with the animal from whom the song has come are used in connection with the incantations.[5] Some persons believe that songs can still be obtained from animal spirits. However, there is no guardian spirit quest in this region. Shamans, who obtain power from spirits of animals, etc., may possibly receive new songs from time to time. Each village has one or two true, powerful shamans, but "everyone does a little shamanizing now and then."[6] Anyone who owns an incantation is a kind of shaman.

The Indians of the Lower Yukon have the men's house, the Kashim, which also is popular with the Eskimo of the coast. The use of this house and the ceremonials common to both Eskimo and Lower Yukon Indians will be discussed in the next section.

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[1] Jetté, pp. 298f. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[3] Osgood, *Ingalik Mental Culture*, pp. 118ff. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 127. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 131ff.

The Eskimo of Western Alaska and Siberia

The first fact to be noted about the Eskimo of the western coast of Alaska, as significant for a discussion of their religious life, is the kashim, or men's house. The small body of Eskimo living on the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait do not have this establishment, but the Dené Indians a little way up the Yukon River, chiefly the Ingalik and the Koyukon, have adopted the kashim from their Eskimo neighbors. Its importance can be judged by the statement of Nelson,[1] to whom I am indebted for most of my material on these Eskimo:

> Among the Eskimo of every village of the Alaskan mainland and the islands of the Bering Strait the kashim is the center of the social and religious life. In it every man has a recognized place according to his standing in the community, and it is also the common sleeping place for the men.

In this house they work, loaf, tell stories, hold their dances and ceremonials, and here the shamans perform some of their most important rites. Invitations to come to a potlatch are made here, with dancing and singing; and when a boy is first brought to the house a little ceremony is in order. A visitor to the village must dance, sing, and give presents in the kashim. Women usually are free to enter when they will, except during certain parts of ceremonials. Ordinarily they come to bring food and remain while it is being eaten.[1]

In winter the men sweat-bathe in the kashim every week or ten days. The house is closed up and heated. The men bathe in their own chamber vessels. When they become very hot, they go out and dip in the icy water of the sea, pouring it over them.[3]

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[1] Edward W. Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait (Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-1897; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 285.

[2] Ibid., pp. 285f.

[3] Ibid., p. 287f.

The kashim is a semi-underground house, built of poles and planks, and covered over with a mound of dirt. The floor boards over the fire pit, which is also the terminus of a tunnel entrance, are removable. The fire pit itself is rarely used for a fire except during the sweat bathing, as the body heat of the men keeps the room quite warm even in winter.[1]

There is no formal chieftaincy among the people, but in each village there is one old man who is looked up to and obeyed because of his wisdom, wealth, and/or shananistic ability. The wealthy must give potlatches frequently to maintain their prestigious position. These persons are the sponsors of the winter festivals, and they lay in large stores of provisions in order to give the huge feasts.[2] The people are divided into several clans with "totemic" crests or symbols. One village customarily invites another to attend the great potlatches. Evidently moieties or phratries do not exist.[3]

The principal festivals of the region are concerned with propitiating the dead and maintaining the favor of the animals, especially those needed for food. All the formal ceremonials are of a religious character "more or less," as Nelson puts it.[4] The Eskimo of the coast celebrate a "Bladder Festival" in December-January designed to appease the spirits of the seals and to cause them to want to return as new animals in the season ahead. These rites last some seventeen nights, and include the ceremonial gathering and burning of wild parsnip stalks and the "blessing" and return to the sea of all bladders of sea mammals taken in the previous year. The bladders, like the heads of the whales in Siberia or the heads of bears and other such animals on both continents, are regarded as containing the life-force of the animal. After they have been ceremonially hosted in the Bladder Festival, the bladders are taken to a hole in the ice and thrust under the water. The parsnips which are burned in the ceremony are said to be "pleasing to the animals"; no other explanation of their use is offered by Nelson. Inland, where no bladders are available, a similar festival is held in which the parsnip stalks are made the object of offerings and are left out on the river ice after the ceremony to be carried away in the spring thaw.[1]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 245ff. [2] _Ibid_., pp. 304f.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 322, 286. Cf., Margaret Lantis, "The Mythology of Kodiak Island, Alaska," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, LI, No. 200 (1938), 128.

[4] Nelson, p. 357.

Along the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers a Mask Festival or "Inviting In" feast is very important. Both Eskimo and Indians observe this. Masks of the clan animals and of shamans' familiar spirits are made and worn for the dances. The object of this ceremony, which is given in January or February, is to "invite in" the spirits of the animals and helpers, to amuse and propitiate them, and thereby assure good hunting for another year.[2] Masks, which mean impersonation of spirits and possession by them, are used in this ceremony, rather than the head or bladder taken from the animal itself. The human dancer, masked like the spirit, becomes himself the vehicle of the spirit. This signifies the belief that man does not have to have a portion of the animal, but can artificially create a vehicle for the spirit, and by his rites draw the spirits near--indeed, he can even be possessed by the spirit himself and become, as he dances, more than human. The Mask Dance, therefore, is a step or two higher in the development of religion than is the Bladder Festival.

Festivals of the dead are of several orders, depending upon the lavishness of the feast and the number of deceased persons being honored. Once or twice each winter the spirits of those who have died recently are feasted.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 379-382.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 382f.

The closest relatives of one deceased person give the potlatch, and are assisted by others who have also lost kinsmen recently. The rites are the same as those of the Great Festival of the Dead, described below, but are on a more modest scale. The Great Festivals for the dead occur irregularly, when a number of families have accumulated enough property to stage a lavish potatch. Guests from miles around are invited. The ghosts of the dead receive their invitations by means of a stick stuck up at the grave site, often bearing a clan emblem. In the Kashim, lamps are kept burning constantly to "light the path" for the return of each soul. There is drumming and singing. The head man of the village and an assistant lead the ceremony. One member from each family who is the namesake of a deceased relative represents him individually in the ceremony. These persons eat most of the food which is offered to the dead, except for a little which is put on the floor in front of the lamps. They receive also many gifts of clothing. During the course of the five-day ceremony there are several rounds of distribution of presents, each one more prodigal than the last. Dirges for the dead are sung, but at other points in the rites humor is injected. When the namesakes of the dead have received their most valuable presents, they dance and promise (on behalf of the dead ones whose part they are playing) to protect the village always. Then they take their seats, and the spirits which have congregated beneath the floor of the kashim are believed to return to the land of the dead. All the people sweat-bathe for purification.[1]

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Masks, evidently, are not worn during the feasts of the dead, as no mention was made of them by Nelson. The masks are worn at festivals of thanksgiving and propitiation of animals. The people believe that in myth times all creatures had a dual nature, animal and human. Many animals still have the power once possessed by all to "push up their masks" and become man-like.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 363-368.

This anthropomorphic nature of animals can be perceived today only by shamans, who are able to see through the mask to the spiritual form behind it. Some of the masks express this dual nature by being hinged, with an animal face on the outside and a human face inside. But if a human is wearing a mask, the feature is really superfluous. The masks worn in dances enable the dancers to become identified with the animals and partake of their qualities.[1] The dancers are also, in a sense, re-creating the myth-times when the animals easily lifted their masks and became human. The myth time was long ago, but the spiritual man lives even now in the same situation and conditions which prevailed then.

It should be remembered also that some of the masks represent inherited "totems," animals who have given their name and sign to the clan. Nelson does not cite any clan origin traditions, but no doubt such exist. We shall have opportunity to examine some of these among the Kwakiutl in the next chapter. Indeed, all that has been said above about the beliefs concerning masks and their usage applies equally well to the Indians of the whole northwest coastal region. The basic, underlying religious beliefs of all these people are the same.

The Eskimo hold much the same beliefs about the lands of the dead as do the Ingalik, except that we find no reference to Raven as the chief of the dead. Ordinarily, spirits of the dead go to the underworld, after lingering about the earth for a while. Souls of shamans or persons killed by accident, starvation, or violence go to the land of plenty in the sky. Souls of animals go to another place in the underworld, where they live in villages. All the shades depend on the offerings made to them. Souls of certain malevolent persons or animals must be rendered harmless by rites or they will cause trouble on earth.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 394f.

[2] Ibid., p. 423.

For the Eskimo along the Alaskan coast, from the Kuskokwin River to well around the Strait along the Arctic coast Raven-Father is the creator and high god. Raven-Father (Tulukauguk) came down from the sky when all was water and made the earth, they say. He returned to the sky where he now lives. People make offerings to him by leaving pieces of dried meat or fish for him on the tundra, to insure good weather.[1]

Raven made the earth very much like the heavenly world. Up there, there is much game; and even today shamans can ascend to the sky (or moon) and obtain new animals to replace those that have died from too much hunting and did not return.[2] Raven made the various animal species on earth by transforming the "animal-people" who were here first into real animals.[3] Many features of the landscape are pointed out as having been made as they are by Raven-Father when he was below.[4] Yet, despite his exalted status, he is always pictured in the myths as dressed in a dog skin or other such miserable garment, as then when he enters a kashim he always takes a seat among the poor.[5] He or his children appear frequently in tales as tricksters, fools, and vain braggarts. The children of Raven are said eventually to have lost their power to change from raven to human form, and they became the ancestors of the real ravens on earth.[6]

The Raven stories belong to the class of tales which is regarded as the most important one. These are narrated by old men in the kashim. Certain men become apprentices and learn these stories in their youth. Often when a narration is taking place, two men will sit together, one prompting the other if he makes a mistake. The stories have "chapters," and the assistant will lay down a stick at the end of each unit. Some stories require several evenings to relate.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 425f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 426,430.

[3] Ibid., p. 427.

[4] Ibid., p. 426.

[5] Ibid., p. 427.

[6] Ibid., p. 426.

Another class of tales is those of hunting and traveling adventures. Shamans' stories of supernatural adventures constitute still another category.[2]

The more important myths are the property of men, but other tales are told by women to their children. Certain Raven stories are included among the latter.[3] The example of this category given by Nelson is called "Raven and the Marmot":

> Raven grew tired of being called carrion-eater, offal-eater, and other such names, and vowed he would catch and eat a marmot. The marmot, finding himself cornered, said he would let Raven eat him, but first he wanted to see Raven dance with his eyes closed, because he was such a good dancer. The marmot slipped away as soon as Raven began his dance, calling out as he departed that Raven was the biggest fool ever, and a silly dancer to boot.[3]

No doubt there were many other trickster stories, with which Nelson did not concern himself, in this category of women's and children's stories.

Nelson does not give the text of any myth in which Raven is the maker of the earth, but he gave an extended story of the creation of man, plants, and game in which Raven-Father takes a prominent role. The myth was given him by an old Norton Sound Eskimo who had learned it in his youth from an aged story-teller:

> There were no people on the earth plain. A man was coiled up on a pod of the beach-pea for four days. On the fifth day he stretched out his feet and burst the pod. Then he dropped out, a full-grown man. He walked around and discovered the ground was moist and unstable. He drank a little water. Then Raven-Father appeared and stared at him in surprise. He lifted his mask and became a man. "I made that vine," he said, "but I did not know that anything like you would come from it!" He took the man up to higher ground. Raven flew off to heaven, and four days later returned with some berries to be food for man. He made some mountain sheep out of clay and waved his wings over them. They sprang to life, and the man liked them. Raven made other game and fish from clay, and

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 450f.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 451f.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 451.

[4] _Ibid_., pp. 514f.

> waved his wings over them. They sprang to life, and the man liked them. Raven made other game and fish from clay, and finally a beautiful woman. He explained to man the uses of everything he had made. Lest man be able to kill everything, Raven created the fierce grizzly bear. Soon a son was born to the couple, and Raven taught them how to perform the natal customs. Later a daughter was born, and these two grew and married.
>
> Raven went back to the beach and found that three other men had dropped from the pea vine. He established them with wives at different places along the coast, teaching them how to hunt. He returned to the first family and taught them to make fire. He went back to the coast, and in his absence the man and his son discovered a number of hunting and fishing skills for themselves.
>
> Raven later took the man to the sky world, and when the man came back he taught the people many things he had learned there. Next Raven took him to the undersea world where he witnessed the creation of sea animals and monsters. When he came home this time, he was an old man, for many years had elapsed. After living as headman in his village for a time, he asked Raven to take him back again to the sky. From there he and Raven watched the people below. They, the people, were killing all the animals, and the man told Raven he must do something. Raven took away the sun, putting it in a bag and taking it to his parents' place, far away. Raven's older brother, feeling sorry for the people, went after the sun, and became a small leaf in Raven's wife's drinking water. The child that was born subsequently stole the sun and flew away in his raven's suit. Raven-Father called out to him to make the world to be dark and light alternately, and he obeyed. This "son of Raven" remained on earth and became the father of the real ravens.[1]

This story is noteworthy, not only because it attributes the origin of men to self-genesis in a pea pod, and because of the garbled version of the theft of the sun, but also because of the prominent role given to the first man. It seems likely to me that this man is the progenitor of a clan, and the whole myth is a clan origin tradition, although Nelson does not say that it is.

The Kodiak Islanders, to the south, have a related myth of creation:

> In the beginning, about the same time that Raven was obtaining light from heaven, a bladder descended from above containing a man and a woman. They stretched out the bladder until it became the world. They blew on it and pushed it with their hands and feet, forming the mountains. The man created trees by scattering hairs from his head. Animals sprang up spontaneously in the forests. The woman urinated and produced the seas; she spat and made rivers and lakes. The woman pulled out one of her teeth

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 542-562. (The above, of course, is abridged considerably from Nelson.)

> and the man made a knife of it with which he cut the trees. He threw chips into the river and they became fish. Their first-born son played with a stone which became Kodiak Island. One of their sons and a female dog were placed on the island, and the present people are descended from them.[1]

Another tale from Point Barrow on the far northern coast probably is a fragment of the same basic myth: A tall tube (reed?) was sticking out of the ground; a man broke it and out of it many men and women appeared.[2]

It seems probable that this creation story in which no creator-god is mentioned is older than the Raven stories among these people; and that Raven-Father, who steals light and who says he made the plant but never expected a man to be born from it, is a lately superimposed element in the narrative. So little mythological material is available from the Alaskan Eskimo, however, that it is hazardous to propose any hypothesis.

The foregoing creation stories should be compared with the following examples collected by Bogoras from Eskimo living on the Asiatic side of the Bering Sea and on St. Lawrence Island:

> Raven and his wife created the world in this manner: they made Cape Unisak out of the nose of an eider duck, the Peninsula of Alaska out of a long belt knife, and the Island of Imalik from a button on the scabbord. They made reindeer from their hair and dogs from their nails. The sea water is their urine.[3]
>
> When Creator was making the earth, he made first the Asiatic mainland, then Alaska. He felt tired, and was going to lie down to rest but as it was not yet dark, he made something small (St. Lawrence Island) out of a little sand from the ocean bottom which he squeezed in his hand. He put pebbles on the island, which became the first people. These all died but one scabby orphan boy who would also have perished had it not been for the aid of the Sea God and the Upper God.[4]

A Lower Yukon Eskimo creation story or fragment says that in the beginning there was water everywhere, which was covered with ice. Some of the ice ground together, making mountains. Then a man came "from the far side" and married a she-wolf. They produced several pairs of twins, each of whom spoke a different language.[1] In this group's story of the theft of light, Raven appears as a "poor orphan boy" before he sets out on his journey. An old man is keeping the sun, and hides its light by shoveling snow in front of it, according to this version.

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[1] Lantis, p. 131. [2] J. Murdock, cited *ibid*.

[3] Waldemar Bogoras, *The Eskimo of Siberia* (Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VIII, Part 3; Leyden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1913), p. 424.

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 433f.

A myth recently obtained from the Eskimo of northern Alaska attributes the creation of the world to Raven, in the form of a man:

> The world was made by Tulunixiraq (Raven). He brought up some ground from the water by thrusting his spear into the sea. He lived on the little island thus made, with his wife and little son. The little boy cried for the bladder he saw hanging on the wall, until his father at last gave it to him. He played with it and broke it open--and thus released the daylight.
>
> He and his father went out in their Kayak to the place where Raven knew there was some other land. When they found the place, the land was bobbing up and down in the sea. Raven speared it with his harpoon, and made it fast. This place is the mouth of the Colville River. Then the waters went down, and dry land appeared.[2]

This version is remarkable, not only for the doubling of the Raven figure (Father and Son) which we have encountered before, but also for the bringing up of land from the bottom of the sea on the point of a spear (Harpoon) which is like the Japanese myth of the creation of land. The stabilizing of the land by striking it with a harpoon reminds us of the striking of the mountains following a flood, in the Koyukon version cited above. (The Koyukon are neighbors of the north Alaska Eskimo.)

Boas reported a version of the sun-stealing myth from Port Clarence,

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[1] Nelson, pp. 482-485.

[2] Robert F. Spencer, The North Alaska Eskimo (Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 171; Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1959), pp. 384-385.

Alaska, in which the sun is being kept by a woman called Itudluqpiaq and her father and mother. One of several men, not called Raven, who have gone to obtain it succeeds.[1]

In a Kodiak Island version Raven is the despised ward of his grandmother. He volunteers to go to release the sun, and is greeted with peals of laughter. He is swallowed by the chief's daughter (as a piece of down) and later escapes with the two boxes containing the heavenly lights.[2] The Kodiak Island Eskimo also tell a story of Raven's revenge. He trades a little food he has accumulated to a starving chief for his daughter. The high-born girl cannot bear to live with the smelly, dirty Raven, and she deserts him after two miserable nights. She gives birth later, in her father's house, to a little Raven son. Next winter Raven marries again in a similar barter deal, and this time the girl he gets forces herself to stay with him. When the whole village is starving, Raven slaughters a whale. He lets all the villagers except his ex-wife and her family feast on it. (Others, however, share their food with them.) When his ex-wife walks by with their son in his arms, he drops excrement all over them to show his contempt. That night all the villagers die from over-eating, except Raven, his faithful wife, and his grandmother.[3]

The Norton Sound Eskimo know the story of Raven's marriage to a goose and his attempted migration with them. He fails because he insists on showing off while flying.[4] They also tell of Raven's killing a whale from the inside and later tricking the people into abandoning it on the beach. He has Mink for his helper in butchering the whale and later, again, in killing a group of seals whom he invites to a feast and then treacherously murders.[1] Nelson does not indicate whether these tales are men's myths or women's stories.

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[1] Cited in Tsimshian Mythology, p. 648.

[2] F. A. Golder, "Tales from Kodiak Island," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XVI (1903), 85ff. Cf. Lantis, p. 152.

[3] Golder, "Tales from Kodiak Island," pp. 16ff.

[4] Nelson, p. 463. Reported also for the Central and Eastern Eskimo: Lantis, p. 161. A Kodiak story says that the Eagles were assigned to carry a man when the birds migrated, but Raven insisted on doing it. He became tired while flying over the sea, and fell. Raven drowned, becoming a tree trunk, and the man became a white whale. (Ibid.)

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Mythological material from Alaska is meagre, but on a basis of what is available we see that Raven has come to hold different positions in the mythology of the different Eskimo and Indian groups. The Eyak seem much like their neighbors, the Tlingit. Most of the Athabascan tribes of the interior have found a place for Raven along side another culture hero, and in the midst of many animal tricksters. Often he has become the overseer of the earth divers. The Ingalik have given him a unique place in the land of the dead, and hold him to be an antangonist to their Creator, Denato, who is also something of a "high god." The Tanaina, immediately to the south of the Ingalik, have also a vague high god concept. For the Eskimo, Raven is all things: creator, high god, trickster, transformer, and culture-hero. There are strong traditions, however, which say that man is self-created. It seems to me likely that myths of the Raven, coming to the Alaskan Eskimo from all sides, as it were, have partially displaced an older and less developed body of traditions. Myths of Raven as creator must have found an easy foothold among these people, filling a vacuum in their mythology which knew nothing, apparently, of cosmogonic speculation.

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[1] Nelson, pp. 464ff.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTHWESTERN COAST OF NORTH AMERICA: THE SOUTHERN ZONE

General Remarks

The coastal tribes immediately south of the Tsimshian form in themselves something of a natural unit, being similar in their social organization, their ceremonial life, and their mythology. They make up what I am calling the "Southern Zone" of the Raven stories. Most of the Indians in this area are of the Kwakiutl linguistic group, which consists of the following main divisions or "tribes," reading from north to south: Haisla, Haihais, Bella Bella (Helitsuq), Wikeno (Rivers Inlet), and the southern Kwakiutl, located on the northern end of Vancouver Island and the mainland opposite, who are divided into three main dialectical groups, Koskimo, Newettee, and Kwakiutl proper. Closely related to the Kwakiutl are the Nootka of southwestern Vancouver Island. In addition to these Kwakiutl and Nootka groups, the important Bella Coola "tribe" is included in this area.

The Kwakiutl, linguistically, comprise one-half of the Wakashan language group, with the Nootka being the other half.[1] The Wakashan languages are a major subdivision of the Mosan family, according to the classification of Driver;[2] the Salishan and the Chimakuan languages are the other two main subdivisions of this stock. The Kwakiutl and Nootka languages are quite distinct from the Salish, however, and must have been mutually isolated for a considerable period of time. The Bella Coola are an isolated group of Coastal Salish [1] At some time these people migrated from the Straits of Georgia (between Vancouver and British Columbia) to their present location among the northern Kwakiutl. Since then they have to a large extent adapted to the culture of those about them, but not completely. They have retained or developed certain peculiarities of custom and mythology which set them off from the Kwakiutl, as we shall see.

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[1] Edward Sapir and Morris Swadish, Nootka Texts: Tales and Ethnological Narratives (William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series; Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania, 1939), p. 10.

[2] Driver, p. 576. See the Language Table.

The Selia village-clan of the Bella Coola has an origin tradition which must recall the early migration of the Salish group that formed the core of the present Bella Coola:

> In the beginning, the ancestor descended from the sky into a world of darkness. He lived at a certain place on the lower Fraser River (southern British Columbia, present home of Salish people), with Raven as his companion. After a while, he and Raven set off in Raven's canoe to see if they could find any other people. At the mouth of the river they met Abalone (mother-of-pearl shell) Man in his house. Because they found him, the sun rose and for the first time the world had light. They saw Mink running around on top of the house. With Mink's consent, the ancestor exchanged Raven's canoe for Abalone Man's canoe, and set off alone. (Raven remained with Abalone Man and Mink.)
>
> The ancestor found the "Post of the World" at the "west end of the world," and the Copper Chief at the "north end of the world." He exchanged canoes with the Copper Chief (wealth-giving spirit), who gave him also his daughter, Olachen (candle-fish), and a large box of paraphernalia for the sisauk ceremonial. As he traveled back (evidently to the Straits of Georgia) he gave some of the whistles for the ceremonial to persons he met along the way: the Haida, Tsimshian, Kitamat, Kitalope, Haihais, and Haisla.
>
> Proceeding north again, he came to Rivers Inlet. Wherever he went, the sun shone out for the first time. At Rivers Inlet he threw out some olachen: hence they are plentiful there today. He went upstream and gave sisauk whistles to the tribe living there (Wikeno). Then he came to the South Bentinck River and stayed for a while with the people

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[1] Franz Boas, The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. I, part 2; New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), pp. 122f.

> living there (a Bella Coola clan). After a while they quarrelled and he moved to the present site of the Selia village. There he established the sisauk festival.[1]

This is the only clan origin tradition collected from the Bella Coola which preserves the memory of a migration from an original homeland on the Fraser River. This legend, incidently, is a typical clan origin tradition in that it mingles all sorts of myth motifs with "history" in order to validate the ownership of certain crests, songs, dances, etc., by the clan. The clan members today use the Raven, Mink, Abalone Man, Copper Chief, and Post of the World symbols and paraphernalia, and have the sisauk ceremony, because of the adventures of the ancestor "in the beginning." The ancestor becomes something of a "culture-hero" also, in that he is said to be the giver of the sisauk ceremony and olachen fish to several (unrelated) groups along the coast. The so-called "totem poles" of this region are artistic reproductions of these clan origin traditions, and from them the Indians can "read" the myth of the owner's clan. More will be said later about clans and their traditions.

The social organization of these peoples of the Southern Zone of Raven's kingdom differs from that found to the north where each "tribe" and village was divided into two moieties (or three or four phratries) with each division consisting of several clans. Four phratries are found among some of the most northerly Kwakiutl groups who are under Tsimshian influence, but the "true" Kwakiutl pattern, found also among the Bella Coola and Nootka, lacks these larger divisions. Only clans or sibs are found, which in most cases correspond to village units, although in some places, because of the coming together of several villages, more than one clan is found in a single community. There is no tribal organization. The Kwakiutl clans are exogamous, but not entirely matrilineal. Property (including dance privileges and prerogatives) is inherited by the grandson through his maternal grandfather by way of his father, who holds the inheritance in trust for him.[1] The Bella Coola clans, in contrast, are endogamous village units. The purpose of marriage within the clan is to keep possession of the rights and traditions within the original group. In all this region the ceremonial and other rights and traditions are a matter of great importance for prestige, and the Bella Bella maintain them within the same clan by endogamy.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 50f.

South of the Kwakiutl, the Coast Salish likewise have village clans which usually are endogamous. These people have crests representing the clans, but they do not regard them so highly as do the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola. The interior Salish have village communities by no clans or crests.[3] The development of clans and crests therefore must be a feature of coastal culture, centering in the Kwakiutl and Haida-Tlingit-Tsimshian.

The Carrier and Chilcotin Indians, groups living to the immediate east of the Bella Coola and Kwakiutl (over a range of mountains) have come under the influence of the Coastal culture and may be regarded as "cultural satellites" of our Southern Zone of Raven mythology. Linguistically they are Athabascans, but their mythology retains only a relatively small number of the interior traditions, being influenced not only by the coast, but also by the Plateau Salish of southern British Columbia.[4]

Matrilineal exogamous phratries with animal names have been found among the Upper Carrier and even their northern neighbors, the Sekani, thus showing Tsimshian and Tahltan influence. The Lower Carrier seem to have only local village sibs or clans with crests, which are owned and passed on in the maternal line, like those of the Kwakiutl. Theoretically, the whole village group is one "family" and owns its property in common. In practice, however, only the nobility can make use of the inherited traditions and privileges, since these can be assumed and used only by the giving of a potlatch. The clans are not strictly endogamous or matrilineal, evidently, since a child is said to be assigned to the crest group of either parent.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 121f. [2] Ibid., p. 116. [3] Ibid., p. 122.

[4] Livingston Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, Part 1; Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1900), p. 4.

"High God" and Creation Stories

The Northern Kwakiutl and Bella Coola have a concept of a "high god" or spirit of the sky, but such an idea seems lacking among the southern Kwakiutl. The Nootka prayed to four Great Chiefs of the quarters of the universe, but they rarely appear in myths.[2]

The Bella Bella say that in the beginning people were made by the "Chief Above." They lived in darkness until the Chief made the sun. The first sun was too hot, and a world fire broke out. Not all the people were killed, however, and from the survivors the world was repopulated. The people made a new sun, and requested the Chief to lift the sky up higher, which he did. Then there was a flood. Some people saved themselves on the tops of the mountains. Once again the earth was repopulated from the progeny of the survivors.[3]

The occurrence of a flood is a recurring motif in clan ancestor stories. However, the Kwakiutl have no single, tribal cosmology, since each clan has its own traditional myths or legends which magnify the deeds of its first ancestor/s.

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[1] Irving Goldman, "The Alkatcho Carrier: Historical Background of Crest Prerogatives," American Anthropologist, XLIII, No. 3 (1941), 398f.

[2] Philip Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast (American Museum of Natural History; New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1955), p. 140.

[3] Franz Boas, Bella Bella Tales (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, No. 25; New York: G. E. Stechert and Co., 1932), pp. 1f.

George Hunt, Boas' native interpreter, reported a conversation which took place at a feast held at Fort Rupert, Vancouver, to which chiefs from several Kwakiutl clans had been invited, which illustrates why these people could have no "tribal mythology." During a lull in the proceedings, one of the men raised the question as to who was "the great creator of man, and of our ancestors." Everyone was silent for a while, and then a chief of the Guetela group spoke: "It is the Sun, our Chief, who created the ancestors of all our tribes."

But a man of a different clan of the same group angrily denied that the Sun had made anyone. "Why don't you speak of him who created our first ancestors, Mink?" he demanded.

Still another chief of a third clan of the Guetela Kwakiutl arose and declared that the previous speakers were mistaken. Citing the legendary ancestors of the various clans who had taken off their masks upon coming to earth and had thereby become human, he concluded, "The men of our ancestors, of all our tribes here, created themselves!"

Then a Newettee arose and insisted, "O Kwakiutl, you are very much mistaken in what you say. Why don't you ever name Qaneqelaku who was the real creator of all the tribes?"

Hunt records, "Then became really angry the four Kwakiutl tribes on account of the words of [the Newettee] when he said that Qaneqelaku was the creator of the ancestors of all the tribes." They challenged him to name the ancestors Qaneqelaku had made. In reply he cited two myths, one referring to Qaneqelaku's reviving some Koskimo at Gose after causing them to be vomited up by a sea monster, and the other about the "four posts of the house of

Nemogowis" at Gwegwakawalis.[1] Additional examples he could not supply. The first speaker was indignant. "Do not say that Qaneqelaku was the creator of all the tribes! He just came and did mischief to man when he made him into a raccoon and land otter and deer, for he only transformed them into animals."[2]

The assembly, now very much disquieted, broke up at that point, although the second course of the dinner had not yet been served.[3] Evidently, even among the Kwakiutl, it is not a good policy to raise a question of politics or religion in a polite social gathering!

The Bella Coola, however, due probably to the integrating influence of the Kusuit secret society, apparently have developed a more systematic mythology in which a number of supernatural beings are coordinated. Boas believed that this development was advanced to a degree justifying the designation of "deities" for the supernaturals of the Kusuit society.[4] This is a moot point, and it seems in this case largely a matter of preference whether we term these beings "supernatural spirits" or "gods." They are said to live in a dance house in the sky and to be under the chieftainship of the "high god," Atquntam (or Alkuntam), who is closely identified with the Sun.

Boas understood that Senx, the Sun, was master in the house, and that Alkuntam was a separate being, subordinate to him. He cited as other names for the Sun: Ta'ata (Our Father) and Smaiyakila (the Sacred One), and indicated that the Sun is "the only diety to whom the Bella Coola pray."[5]

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[1] See below, p. 149.

[2] See below, p. 150.

[3] Franz Boas, The Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians, Part II, Translations (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. X; New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), pp. 177f.

[4] Boas, Bella Coola, p. 27.

[5] Ibid., p. 29.

McIllwraith, however, who lived among the Bella Coola for two years and was adopted into the tribe, even becoming a leader in the ceremonials after the native office-holder died,[1] said that Atquntam and the Sun are the same. He gave the meaning of the proper name as "foreman" (from the more usual ixquntam), which indicates his position in relationship to other supernaturals. He is called also Sinxalolta (Giver-and-Owner-of-the-Sun), Smaiaikila (Story-Man, creator of ancestral myths), Smaialotla (Given-and-Owner-of-all-myths), Snusilkals (the Wise One), and Tata (child's name for father). Nor do these exhaust his titles: he is called also Light-Giver, Advisor, Moon-Chief, etc.[2] However, McIllwraith notes significantly that some families regard some of these titles as names for different beings. It is "not clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or . . . the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one."[3]

Prayers are directed to the highest spirit under the two titles Tata and Minakais (Dear Father). His close association with the sun is obvious from the prayers cited by Boas:[4]

> "Look on us where we are going, Father."
>
> "Take care of us, Father. Take care of our road."
>
> "Wipe your face, Father, that it may be fair weather!"
>
> "Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune." (By a person who had had much trouble.)
>
> "Let my life be long." (By a sick person.)

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[1] T. F. McIllwraith, The Bella Coola Indians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), pp. x-xi.

[2] Ibid., p. 32.

[3] Ibid., p. 33. Cf. Boas, Bella Coola, pp. 29f.

[4] Ibid., p. 29.

> "Father, you make me happy. You give me what I want. Thus I find what I wished for." (After a successful hunt.)

Young men "in training," who bathe each morning in the river, pray at dawn to the "Father."[1] Hunters offer small pieces of meat to the spirit on high, throwing them in the fire. Sick persons burn parts of their clothing as offerings to accompany their petitions.[2]

What we have here, it appears to me, is a vague popular belief in a "high god" or sky power who watches over people, who is capable of giving good weather and good luck in hunting, and who can aid man in situations of extreme danger to desperate illness. By virtue of his "high" position (he is, or is in, the sun), he is regarded as chief of the supernaturals. In the peculiar Bella Coola mythic and ritual development, he presides over the house of the supernaturals of the kisuit society, and by virtue of this position he is also regarded as the creator of the ancestors, since the ancestors all descended originally from the sky.

According to the generally-accepted belief, the high god made the ancestors in the sky, in his house. He gave them then their names and ceremonial prerogatives, and sent them down to various localities in the Bella Coola valley. He dispatched them usually in groups of two, three, four, or more brothers and sisters (rarely husband and wife). Other names and prerogatives were created by the ancestors of the first and second generation after they came to earth, because they themselves were quite powerful. (People today lack such power to initiate new names, dances, etc.)[3] These gifts the ancestors passed on to their descendants. The clan origin traditions explain which names, etc., were brought down, and which created later, the origin of the dances, etc.[1]

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[1] McIllwraith, pp. 104ff. [2] Boas, Bella Coola, p. 29.

[3] Shamans today do receive new names and dances from their spiritual encounters, but these are personal, and cannot be passed on to their descendants. McIllwraith, pp. 121f.

Like all supernatural spirits, Atquntam can be the source of the power of an individual, and it is stated that some shamans have him for their helper.[2]

Boas reported a female Supreme Being for the Bella Coola, called Qamaits and other names, who lives in a heaven above Atquntam's sky world. Her chief work for men was to make war against the mountains in the beginning. At first they were monster-men, but she literally "cut them down to size" and fixed them in their places. She lives, ordinarily, in her high heaven, but on rare occasions she visits earth, and sickness and death occur.[3] McIllwraith explains that Qamaits is a female deity recognized by only two families,[4] while the others all speak of the heaven of Atquntam where the ancestors of the people were made in the beginning.

According to Father Morice, the Carrier to the east of the Bella Coola have a vague belief in a "high god," Yuttoere, "that which is on high." This power was believed to be in control of the weather and other celestial phenomena, and was propitiated to obtain good weather.[5]

Clans and Secret Societies

Two key cultural facts must be borne in mind in a discussion of the mythology of this region: first, the clan organization of society, and second, the secret societies with their ceremonials. There is one group of myths or legends connected with the clans, and another with the secret society privileges. Often, these are found combined. The ancestor stories or clan traditions relate the origin of the first ancestor/s, the events of his career which brought him into contact with various supernaturals from whom he obtained the right to use certain crests, dances, and paraphernalia at potlatches. These rights, he, in turn, passed on to his descendants, the members of his clan. Among the Bella Coola, the clan origin tradition invariably begins with the first ancestor or ancestors' being sent down to earth, clothed in an animal (often bird) skin, which animal is now the clan's main crest, from the house of the high god Atquntam or Sun, already invested with certain privileges.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 117f.

[2] Ibid., p. 38.

[3] Boas, Bella Coola, p. 28.

[4] McIllwraith, pp. 24f.

[5] Cited in Charles Hill-Tout, The Far West, Home of the Salish and Dene (The Native Races of the British Empire, North America, Vol. I; London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1907), pp. 172f.

Among the Kwakiutl, the traditions state that many of the ancestors came from the sky, but there is no expressed concept of a heavenly creator-being.[2] Many of the clans have other than celestial origins: a number of them say they are descended from animal-people who survived the deluge and turned into human beings afterward. Two examples will suffice: The Tsawatenok, a mainland southern Kwakiutl "tribe," say their first ancestors were four wolves (three males and one female) who lived before the flood. They survived the flood by climbing a mountain. When the waters subsided, they took off their robes and were people. They all were powerful shamans, especially Qawadileqala (Listened-To). This one felt depressed because he had no tribe, so he killed one of his brothers and cut the body into many small pieces. He moulded the pieces into a round ball, threw them up into the air, singing, and the ball turned to eagle down and drifted to earth everywhere, becoming people. The story continues at some length, telling of encounters with supernatural beings and of the powers, dances, etc., acquired from them.[1] We can assume that the "creation of people" was dramatized in the performance of members of one or more clans of this tribe who had possession of this story.

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[1] McIllwraith, p. 118.

[2] But compare the discussion of the "creator" cited above, pp. 125-126 in which one Indian expressed the belief that the Sun had been the creator of the ancestors.

A Quatsino (western Vancouver Island) clan tradition says that their first ancestor was a Thunderbird who descended from the sky with his wife, removed his mask, and became a man, "Head-Winter-Dance." His wife became "Winter-Dance-Woman." They met one of the ancients, Nemogowis (Only-One-on-the-Beach). While the ancestor was building his house, Qanekelaku (the transformer) came along and tried to kill him in various ways (cut off head, opened abdomen, burned in fire, weighted and sank in water--"tricks" which would be demonstrated at the dance performances). Then the great ancestor's sons were initiated into the War Dance.[2]

The clans have "totemic" names and crests, and the origin traditions explain the way they were acquired. In some instances, as illustrated above, the ancestor was himself a transformed animal. In other cases, the crest refers to an animal-spirit with whom the first ancestor was associated in some way. Neither here nor anywhere else on the northwest coast, however, is the crest animal surrounded with any special taboos to be observed by the clan.[3]

The nobility are the real possessors of the clan privileges, since only they can afford to give the potlatches which will confer these rights on themselves, or their children in whose behalf the feast is given. Membership in the secret dance societies and the right to be initiated into a certain dance group is also a part of a family's wealth which is passed on from one generation to the next. Much has been written about these secret dancing societies,[1] which the Kwakiutl were free to develop to a high degree because of the relative ease with which they obtained their annual food supply (from the rivers and sea), and leaving nearly half the year free for ceremonials. Their abundance of surplus wealth due to their favorable environment also brought about a strong emphasis upon social rank and prestige, both of clans and of chiefs. The Kwakiutl call their potlatches "fighting with property."[2] Economic and social rivalry reached extravagant proportions in the Kwakiutl potlatches in which chiefs vied with one another, not only in giving away wealth, but also in destroying it. Other neighboring peoples considered the southern Kwakiutl foolish in the lengths to which they went.

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[1] Franz Boas, Kwakiutl Texts, Second Series (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. X; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1908), pp. 28ff.

[2] Franz Boas, Kwakiutl Texts, First Series (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. III; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1905), pp. 192ff.

[3] Cf. McIllwraith, p. 79.

As we have seen in previous chapters, potlatching is found all along the coast, and with multiple meanings: it is a means of validating the right to take possession of a high-ranking name or dance, a way of maintaining prestige as a successful person in the clan, and with the Tlingit and more northerly groups a feast for the dead. If, as it seems likely to me, the potlatch originated as a feast for the dead, then feasting distribution of wealth, inheritance, and even destruction of property (that of the deceased) probably were parts of the observance from the beginning. While anthropologists like to emphasize the "secular" or "social" function of the potlatch, especially among the Kwakiutl, "sacred" and "secular" are not so neatly separated in the Indian's mind or experience, and potlatches always have a somewhat sacred character. Being richly endowed with material wealth so as to be able to give lavish feasts is a corollary of being richly endowed with spiritual power and benediction. Power and wealth are intimately bound up with the realm of the spirit. For this reason, potlatches are given at all important occasions: at namings, at initiations into secret societies, and following the death of a great man.

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[1] See especially: Franz Boas, The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians (Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1895; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897); and Philip Drucker, Kwakiutl Dancing Societies (Anthropological Records, Vol. II, No. 6; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1940).

[2] Cf. Helen Codere, Fighting with Property, A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare, 1792-1930 (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society; New York: J. J. Augustin, 1950); and Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, pp. 380f.

We need not discuss at any length the names and types of dance societies found in this region. It appears that some dances, perhaps those called the Nutlam (northern Kwakuitl), Sisaok (Bella Coola), and Loalaxa (southern Kwakiutl and Nootka), were more archaic and more closely related to clans and ancestor traditions. The Nootka dances of this type were said to have been given by the Wolves, and all members of a village ordinarily were initiated into the "society" and learned to perform the dance of a certain animal.[1] Information about the Koskimo, Newettee, and Kwakiutl-proper dances of this type is meagre, but apparently they were of the same type and attributed to the same "Wolf people." They, too, seem to have been related to clan organization and rank, rather than to the dancing societies.[2] Little is known about the Nutlam dances of the northern Kwakiutl groups, except that the initiates became possessed by the Wolf spirit and ate (or pretended to eat) live dogs.[1] This feature (dog-eating) is lacking among the Koskimo and Nootka, but it may have existed formerly as it is sometimes found among the Quilieute and Coast Salish in Washington state, who received their dances by way of diffusion from the Nootka.[2] At the Sisaok dances of the Bella Coola, the dead are believed to return in the mask of the crest animal. (After death, each soul is thought to go back to the spot where the first ancestor descended to earth, then return in the same animal cloak to the sky house, repeating in reverse the experience of the ancestor.)[3]

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[1] Philip Drucker, The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes (Bulletin 144, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951), pp. 386ff.; and Alice Henson Ernst, The Wolf Ritual on the Northwest Coast (Eugene: The University of Oregon Press, 1952), p. 72.

[2] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, pp. 500, 621; and Drucker, Dancing Societies, pp. 219, 225.

The Shamans' series of dances, called tsetsaequa by the Kwakiutl and kisuit by the Bella Coola, and that of the Heavenly Spirits, called loalaxa or mila by the Northern Kwakiutl, appear to me to be later, more "sophisticated" developments than the nutlam series. In these dances the initiating spirits are not the crest animals or ancestral spirits, but other supernatural beings, sometimes tieromorphic, but more commonly monstrous, abstract, or anthropomorphic. (Examples: Cannibal-at-the-North-End-of-the-World, Fool or Fire-Throwing Spirit, Sistiul [double-headed serpent].) The Shamans' series and the Heavenly Spirits' series somewhat parallel each other, though there may be some evidence to suggest that the shamans' series is more of a winter solstice ceremonial and the other associated with the vernal equinox and the coming of spring.[4] It is possible for these two series of dances to be combined into one society, as indeed happened at Fort Rupert, Vancouver, where several Kwakiutl tribes came together in one community.[1] The Kusuit society of the Bella Coola resembles the Heavenly Spirits society of the northern Kwakiutl in that its members are said to go to the sky for their initiation, to the house of the heavenly beings which is duplicated on earth in the Indians' dance house. However, the kusuit series of dances includes dances found in all three of the Kwakiutl dance societies.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 218f.; Ronald L. Olsen, The Social Organization of the Haisla of British Columbia (Anthropological Records, Vol. II, No. 5; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1940), pp. 176, 194-195; cf. McIllwraith, p. 103.

[2] Cf. Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast, p. 155.

[3] McIllwraith, pp. 180ff, 220ff, 240 and 37.

[4] Cf. Werner Müller, Weltbild und Kult der Kwakiutl-Indianer (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1955), pp. 98ff. However, I disagree with

The dances with their spectacular "demonstrations" of powers, ability to fly through the air, move underground, handle fire without injury, suffer disembowelment or severe laceration without harm--these and many other such feats which were learned by the initiates of the societies and performed for outsiders by means of elaborate "staging" techniques, were nothing other than an imitation of shamans' powers. The name used for the society which performed the most spectacular series of dances among the Kwakiutl is the same name as is used for real shamans. True shamans, of course, are found among the Kwakiutl, though usually they are not prominent in the secret societies. Either they form societies of their own, which the northern Kwakiutl sometimes include in their Mila series of dances, or else they practice their profession quite independently of any society.[3]

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his theory that the Heavenly Spirits series is intimately associated with the myths of Mink, Raven, and the Transformers. The evidence does not support this view, in my opinion. The Bella Coola have a dance called O'alxem connected with the myth of Mink's ascent to the sun, but this association is unique, so far as I have found, and probably reflects no more than that the Bella Coola received the dance and the myth from the same people, the Kwakiutl. (Cf. McIllwraith, pp. 281f.)

[1] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, pp. 498f.

[2] McIllwraith, pp. 1, 7, 78, 103, 111, etc.

[3] Cf. Drucker, Kwakiutl Dancing Societies, pp. 211, 219. However, shamans are prominent in the Bella Coola kisuit society. Cf. McIllwraith, pp. 546ff.

The persons being initiated into a dance in one of the societies are supposed to undergo a shamanistic kind of experience: to be carried away to the sky, to the house of a spirit in the woods, the land of the ghosts, etc., and there to become possessed by the spirit so that they acquire they very nature of the spirit himself. To visit the spirit's home is to undergo a severe trial of death and rebirth, because it means transcending the human condition and being transformed permanently by the experience. Often the myths of the dance societies tell of someone's being killed and perhaps eaten by the initiating spirit, and later restored to life by the same being. To go to the spirit world is equivalent to dying--dying to the profane existence--and to return is to be born again, a new creation, possessed of spiritual powers. The true shaman sincerely believes he passes through such an experience: the members of the secret societies simulate the experience for each novice, and for the purpose of impressing spectators. Still, it probably is untrue to imply that the secret society members do not believe in what they what they are doing: they too, in their way, are participants in the realm of the spirit.

The Bella Coola distinguish two types of shamans, those who are initiated by ghosts and those initiated by supernatural spirits. While all shamans are connected with the Kisuit, it is tempting to see in this two-fold classification of shamans a possible origin of the two kinds of dance societies--those in which the crest animals and ancestors are prominent, and those in which supernaturals are the masters.

Common Mythology

The myths which tell about the origin and adventures of the clan ancestors, and the myths about the origin of the secret dances, are to be sharply distinguished from the generally-known mythology or "folklore" of the whole tribe. The latter is the basic store of myth material, and the telling and hearing of these stories which is the particular property of no one is a favorite past time among these people, as elsewhere. Ceremonials, however, consume so much of the winter season, the traditional story-telling time, among the Kwakiutl, that nothing is said by the investigators (chiefly Boas) about these "common myths." It would appear that practically all these myths have become woven into Kwakiutl clan and secret society traditions, where the episodes and motifs are recognized in a bewildering variety of combinations and associations. It is difficult to recover this _fundamentum_ of mythology in the case of the Kwakiutl, and its lack if sorely felt, as we have already seen, when we try to speak about cosmological beliefs. Evidently, the Kwakiutl themselves have lost track of their "tribal mythology" which they probably once possessed.

The situation is not so bad among the Bella Coola and Nootka, however. McIllwraith specifically mentions the _simsma_ or "ancient lore" of the Bella Coola which is common knowledge and the property of no individual. Old men and women tell these tales to young people as past times in the long winter evenings.[1] These are not regarded as "fairy stories," but as _true facts_ about what happened long ago. Chief among these are the Raven and Mink stories.

The Nootka, likewise, have a common store of "folklore" which is called _hemo'itsaqeg_, in contrast to _anaghmis_, private stories,[2] concerning Raven and certain other transformers and culture heroes.[3] Drucker was of the opinion that these stories were regarded as less important than the family legends and ritualistic origin tales, and that the myths were told mainly for amusement, not instruction.[1] He says that the grandparents would tell the "obscene old myths by the hour" to young boys.[2]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 385f.

[2] Drucker, _Northern and Central Nootka_, p. 452.

[3] Sapir and Swadish, p. 10. Cf. Edward Sapir, "A Flood Legend of the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XXXII, No. 124 (1919), 351.

Raven (Qwex) dominates the general mythology of the Bella Coola. His stories are common property; everyone knows and tells them. He is said to have been sent down by the "high god" (Atquntam or Sinx) at the time of the ancestors, to help them, and to give the world its present form. His power came from the high god who sent him. He is given various epithets which refer to his deeds for men: "Light-bringer,""Unlooser-of-Light," "Wise One," and such. No myth definitely explains what became of him, but most Bella Coola think he lives with the supernaturals (of the Kisuit ceremony) in the house of Atquntam in heaven.[3]

According to one myth, Raven, like all other creatures, was made by the craftsman of the high god, Mesmesalanix. Atquntam told his workman to make Raven the prettiest of all the birds; but no matter how he colored him, Raven was never satisfied. At last, in disgust, the Chief told his assistants to throw ashes all over Raven. Thus he became black, and in this garb he was sent down to earth.[4]

The Bella Coola attribute to Raven the origin of death. Raven, by himself, made a beautiful son from his own body, Omietlmai. The high god sent down a Thunderbird to abduct the child and bring him to heaven, so he could examine (initiate?) him. Raven made a wooden whale and when the Thunderbirds tried to attack it, he was hiding inside and killed them. (The war between the Thunderbirds and the wooden whale is widely known on the Coast.) However, Atquntam captured the son; and when he sent him back, his appearance was so changed that Raven did not know him. Hardly looking at the boy, Raven sent him away rudely. As he was going, Raven suddenly realized his mistake--but it was too late. And so today people die and do not return.[1]

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[1] Drucker, Northern and Central Nootkan, p. 132.

[2] Ibid., p. 304.

[3] Boas, Bella Coola, p. 33; McIllwraith, p. 82.

[4] Ibid., p. 386.

Almost all geographical locations in Bella Coola land are said to have been named by Raven.[2] He gave the first "mirror" to man--he used a small depression in a rock for his latrine. Ever since, liquids placed there reflect as a mirror.[3] Although Atquntam is supposed to have given fish in the beginning, popular tradition attributes to Raven the presence of salmon in the rivers. He tried to make a salmon of wood, but because the all-important bone in the back of the neck was missing, he had to go to the land of the salmon and seal one of these bones from them.[4] Or, according to another myth, he kidnapped a Salmon princess and threw her into the river mouth.[5] Likewise, he deceived the Herring people into thinking he had many herring, and they gave him a quantity of fish which he took to the people; similarly he stole berries from the Mountain Chief who was hoarding them.[6] He taught spiders how to make webs, and men how to make nets.[7] He changed the location of human sex organs which formerly had been on the woman's forehead and on the man's hand, and demonstrate how to use them, so that more children would be born.[8]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 83ff. McIllwraith notes that people never "blame" Raven at the time of a death. Cf. Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, for other versions.

[2] McIllwraith, p. 90.

[3] Ibid., pp. 88f.

[4] Ibid., p. 87.

[5] Ibid., pp. 88ff.

[6] Ibid., p. 88.

[7] Ibid., p. 89.

[8] Ibid., p. 90.

The Creator thought that one language would be enough, but Raven thought differently, and made many.[1]

Evidently, the myth of Raven's theft of the sun is part of the general folklore, as it appears in several versions in the clan traditions.[2] After liberating the sun, Raven sang a sisauk song about it, the senxl clan says.[3] Presumably, the song referred to is about the theft, and perhaps the clan acted out the myth as part of its inherited privileges at dances. Another myth says that Raven gave the sisauk ceremony to some and the kisuit ceremony to others, in the beginning.[4] The Bella Coola, then, do not associate Raven with only one of their dance societies.

Almost all the clan legends draw upon some episode in the familiar Raven cycle, or at least mention Raven as a friend or brother of the first ancestor. The Stuix clan, which has Raven for its crest, says that one of its original ancestors was the Raven.[5] The Atqalaxt village (clan) says Raven and Hummingbird descended with their first ancestors;[6] while the Snuteli clan claims their first ancestors were clothed in raven coats when they first came from heaven. (Like all the other ancestors, they sent their garments back to heaven after taking them off below.)[7] The fact that almost all the clan stories refer to Raven indicates the primary place he holds for the Bella Coola in their time of origins.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Cf. Boas, Bella Coola, pp. 61, 63, etc. and McIllwraith, pp. 259, 297, 301, 312, 325.

[3] Boas, Bella Coola, p. 63.

[4] Ibid., pp. 96f.

[5] McIllwraith, p. 309.

[6] Ibid., pp. 295f.

[7] Ibid., p. 300.

The Bella Coola know a large number of trickster stories, both those in which Raven is successful and those in which he fails in his efforts. His voraciousness, his lewdness, his dishonesty and vanity are all amply illustrated. He kills his friend, Deer, in order to eat him,[1] tries to steal from the house of invisible people and is beaten,[2] frightens people out of their house and eats their food,[3] tries to rape his step-daughter by burning her groin with sparks from the fire and then suggests she use a "healing plant" in the woods--his penis,[4] and failing this, he pretends to die and returns disguised as the "Prince Charming" he had predicted would come to marry the girl.[5]

The Raven is well-known to all the Kwakiutl tribes, but the farther toward the south we proceed, the more Raven must share his work of transformation with other figures. As we shall see in another chapter, the Coast Salish and other tribes of the Straits of Georgia and the Puget Sound-Olympic Peninsula area have many different transformers and trickster-heroes. Raven, under various names, still holds first place among the mythological characters of the Kwakiutl and Nootka, but this cannot be said of the groups to the east and south of the Nootka.

The Bella Bella Kwakiutl tell much the same stories of Raven as do the Tsimshian and Bella Coola. Raven is made to participate in a Shamans' Society dance in one myth, after which he turns Raccoon, his rival in love, into a real raccoon.[1] In another myth we find him dancing in the Loalaxa.[2] At another dance (kind not specified) all the birds paint themselves and dance in their new costumes. The Raven comes last and finds only black paint left for him.[3] The story of Raven's being born to the chief's daughter in order to steal the sun is found here, as elsewhere.[4] He obtains water from a woman and gives it to the world, creates salmon, gives an abundance of herrings, invents fish hooks, builds the first canoe, and travels "all over the world."[5] The Bella Bella tell the same story of the origin of death as cited above from the Bella Coola, and picture Raven as deceitful, voracious, etc. Among the Bella Bella he sometimes is called "Real Chief." Several clan ancestors usurp Raven's role of transformer and culture hero, including in one instance the woman who married a dog (an unusual twist to this widely-known story).[6]

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[1] Boas, Bella Coola, p. 92.

[2] Ibid., p. 93; also McIllwraith, pp. 406f.

[3] Boas, Bella Coola, pp. 91f.; McIllwraith, pp. 404f. Cf. the Chuckchee story of Fox, p.   above.

[4] Boas, Bella Coola, pp. 90f.

[5] McIllwraith, pp. 410ff.

Raven is known by several names among the southern Kwakiutl groups. The Nakoaktak (Seymour Inlet, mainland) and the Newettee (northwest Vancouver, Cape Scott) use the name Omeatl, meaning "Chief of the Ancients." His deeds include the following: He carries water in his mouth and makes a river and a lake. He revives and marries a dead twin (a salmon), and through her he brings salmon to the rivers. He loses the salmon, however, when he offends his wife.[7] He "makes war" on the Southeast Wind and brings about weather conditions more favorable to human beings.[8] He also paints all the birds, including the Raven

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[1] Boas, Bella Bella Tales, pp. 10, 13. [2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Ibid., p. 14. [4] Ibid., pp. 3ff. [5] Ibid., pp. 5-18.

[6] Olsen, Social Organization of the Haisla.

[7] Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (First Series), pp. 322ff.

[8] Ibid., pp. 350ff.

(which indicates that for some, at least, Omeatl and Raven were different characters, possibly).[1] A version of the earth diver myth, the only one known from the Coast, is connected with Omeatl: a bird dives into the water and brings up soil and leaves for Omeatl. The Newettee do not seem to understand this as a creation story, however, but say only, "This is why we have soil and leaves."[2] Raven as "Chief of the Ancients" obtains water for the world from a woman, alternating seasons from the Southeast wind, tides from the Wolf, and daylight from Gull.[3]

The Kwakutl-proper (or Kwagutl), the tribes living at Fort Rupert and some of the others near by, regarded Kwekwaxawe (Great Inventor) as the Raven. Of him it is said that he obtained the tides from the Wolf, tore out Comorant's tongue to keep him for revealing Kwekwaxawe was lying, established the method for human sexual intercourse, obtained fresh water from a woman and made the rivers, married the daughter of Salmon and obtained all kinds of salmon for his people.[4] Kwexwaxawe is usually called the foremost chief of the myth people (animals) who lived at Crooked Beach, the traditional place of origin of the Kwakiutl-proper (a little channel island). Mink, however, appears to have this position in certain other myths. The Great Inventor, like Raven in some northern traditions, seduces his daughter-in-law by causing her to be burned and hiding with erect penis under the leaves in the woods. Deer is Raven's wife's lover, and when Raven catches him hiding in her uterus (!) he enters too, and a fight ensues.[5]

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[1] Franz Boas, Kwakiutl Tales, Part II, Translations (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology; New York: Columbia University Press, 1910), pp. 287ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 223ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 217-235.

[4] Ibid., pp. 167-175, 491ff.

[5] Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (Second Series) pp. 170ff. Another version: Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (First Series), pp. 286ff.

Evidently, Kwexalalagilis (Counselor-of-the-World) of a Guauenok tradition is to be regarded as a Raven-figure. He went to get the sun which Day-Recepticle-Woman was keeping in a box. Squirrel tells him to enter her womb and be born as a child. When he cries for the sun, he gets it. He steals also the sun's mask (this myth explains the origin of the sunrise dance and mask).[1] The Koskimo (western Vancouver) say "Wise One" carved some salmon out of wood, but they would not "work" until he stole a fin from the Salmon Chief.[2] Other names which Boas says are understood to refer to the Raven are Meskwa (Greedy One) and Gawaxel (Raven-Sound-in-the-House).[3] Almost every local group of southern Kwakiutl have a different name for Raven, or for the Chief about whom "Raven stories" are told, it would seem.

The Nootka also give Raven (Qoecin'emit) a prominent place in their common mythology and clan traditions. They have a full cycle of the northwest Coast Raven tales.[4] Among some of the northern Nootka tribes, Raven was said to have been the chief of the village of animal-people who lived at Yoqwat (Kyuqoat) before the transformers Qanexenaxw and Andaokut came.[5] According to traditions of these people, Raven, the clan chief, stole the sun (in the usual manner) from Moon Chief. He refused to give it to the people until they offered to give him the first of every fish or animal they caught. He released the sun, then, but took only the eyes from the animals given to him. Hence Ravens eat eyes from dead animals today.[6] (Does this reflect an ancient cult or superstition of offering first-fruits of hunting and fishing expeditions to Raven?--recall the Eskimo and Lower Yukon custom of leaving bits of meat on the Tundra for Raven.) He obtained fresh water for the world by tricking Crow Woman.[1] Raven tried to cook his daughters the way Red Cod cooked his, but Raven's children died instead of coming back to life from the bones the way the fish girls did.[2] Raven is the Trickster in many myths, most of which are common all along the Coast, although some appear peculiar to the Nootka.[3] For example, even though he is chief of the Yogwat clan, stories are told in which his licentiousness, deceitfulness, and voraciousness are illustrated.[4] Even his own people do not trust him!

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[1] Ibid., p. 393. Cf. Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, pp. 410 f.

[2] Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (First Series, p. 395.

[3] Franz Boas, Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in Mythology (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, No. 20; New York: G. E. Stechert and Co., 1935), p. 151.

[4] Drucker, Northern and Central Nootkan, p. 452.

[5] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 897.

[6] Ibid., p. 888.

The Mink

Mink is a distinctive myth figure, and may have been the crest animal and mythical ancestor of the Kwakiutl before Raven gained that position. There is some indication in Tahltan traditions that the people to the south of the Tsimshian were "Mink people."[5] Mink is said sometimes to have been chief of the myth people at Crooked Beach, while Great-Inventor is the chief there in other myths. Mink stories are found to the south of the Kwakiutl and also among the Bella Coola, but they appear to be centered in the Kwakiutl region. Mink's "cycle" is not so long nor so rich in variety as that of Raven, but he is pictured as trickster, transformer, and culture-hero--all three--in the myths that are told about him. Many stories seem to be related indiscriminately about both Raven and Mink, and some of Mink's amorous adventures correspond to those of the Coyote in other tribes, as do those of Raven.[1] To which figure they belonged originally is difficult to decide: the characters of all three are sufficiently alike that their stories might easily be exchanged.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 892ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 897ff. (A bungling host story.)

[3] Cf. ibid., pp. 900ff.; and Sapir and Swadish, pp. 28f, 42f, 45.

[4] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 932-935.

[5] See above, p. 52.

Briefly, the Mink cycle consists of the following:

> A mother has a son, but both her husband and her son die, and she mourns for them. One day while sitting out of doors, she is struck by the rays of the sun falling on the small of her back, and she becomes pregnant. A new son is born, whom she names "Born-to-be-the-Sun," an epithet for Mink. He grows rapidly and soon asks for a bow and arrows. He shoots sparrows, and his mother makes a blanket for him out of their skins.[2] Other children call out insults and tease mink because he has no father. Mink asks about his father, and then says he is going to go to see him. He shoots his arrows into the sky, one into the other, and ascends on the "chain" he has made of them. He asks his father to let him guide the sun for a day. The father warns him not to go too fast or sweep away the clouds. All goes well until in the afternoon when Mink becomes impatient and disobeys. The world gets very hot: the hills are melting and the sea is boiling. His father casts him out of the sky. He lands on a piece of kelp floating in the sea. Some women find him and fish him out. He revives and says, "I must have been asleep!"[3]

In a Bella Bella version it is plainly stated that Mink causes a world fire.[4] The Bella Coola tell a longer story (which may, of course, have been known to the Kwakiutl): Mink, carrying the sun, causes a world fire. A flood arises to quench the fire. When it subsides, Mink teaches people how to use the furs of animals, and tells the animals to be useful to man.[5]

Primarily, Mink is a trickster with a great sexual appetite. There is a series of stories in which Mink, who lives with his grandmother, decides against the old woman's advice to marry some female being totally unsuitable to be the wife of a mink (or a man). He marries, in turn, the daughter of a Spirit Chief and is thrown out for his dirty eating habits; kelp, and is drowned; Frog Woman, and is annoyed by her croaking; Diorite (hard stone) Woman, who will not speak, so he bloodies his fist beating her. Finally, he married Cuck Woman, but when other women come to dig clams with her, he steals their vulvas and cohabits with them. When they find out what he has done, they trample him, and he runs home, very hungry.[1] He marries a Cloud, and falls to earth during a storm.[2]

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[1] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 585f.

[2] Cf. Introductions to the Raven cycle, pp.

[3] Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (Second Series), pp. 80ff; idem, Kwakiutl Tales, pp. 123ff.

[4] Boas, Bella Bella Tales, pp. 26ff.

[5] Boas, Bella Coola, pp. 96f.

Mink kills a man and takes his wife, in another tale. He pretends to be a big chief: he makes his musk sac into a slave. Soon the people find out about it, and ridicule him. He sits on his musk sac and dances.[3]

He pretends to be sick and dying. He asks to be left in a coffin on a certain island where there are many sea eggs. He eats the eggs, then returns and claims to have risen with supernatural powers--but no one will believe him.[4]

In the role of transformer, Mink obtains from Wolf the proper functioning of the tides according to one Fort Rupert version, or from Flood Woman in a Bella Bella myth. He obtains normal weather alteration from Southeast Wind, makes starfish out of women who have provoked him, and tries to make a mountain on Malcolm Island.[5] He makes crabs out of a woman who spoke ill of him, frightens Catfish out of her house in order to steal her food--and hence, catfish are now in the sea, etc.[1]

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[1] Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (Second Series), pp. 124ff.

[2] McIllwraith, p. 422.

[3] Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (Second Series), pp. 127ff.

[4] Ibid, pp. 140ff. Cf. Kamchadal tale, p.

[5] Boas, Bella Bella, pp. 26ff; idem, Kwakiutl Texts (Second Series), pp. 94-163.

Mink is pictured as a baby-talking, peevish youth, who always is getting into trouble because he disregards his mother's advice, in the myths of the Kwakiutl-proper. Often he deceives women, the same stories beging told of him as are told of Raven. He is known especially for his lustfulness among all the Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, and Nootka tribes, and also among the Coast Salish as we shall later see. In these tribes in which clan traditions have become the most important kind of myths, Mink is mentioned quite often as an associate of one of the first ancestors. This indicates that he is an ancient figure with whom the clans take pride in saying they have had some relationship.

Anthropomorphic Transformers

The anthropomorphic transformers, who become increasingly prominent from the Kwakiutl region southward, are later developments in mythology than animal heroes such as Raven and Mink. The Indians themselves recognize this fact, and indicate it by locating the time of the transformers, often, as following that of the Raven or Mink or other animals, or by saying at the least that they came for the purpose of ending the age of animal-people and making the world as it is today. In this work, of course, they usurp some of the tasks of Raven and Mink, and very often the same stories are told of all these figures. The character of the transformer usually is more noble than that of Raven or Mink, although the transformers in this area are not above amorous escapades or underhanded tricks if these will serve their ends. One era is coming to an end, and another, the age of man, is beginning. This radical change can come about only through violence.

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[1] McIllwraith, pp. 419-423.

Aside from particular ancestors of clans, the Bella Coola have no transformer but Raven and Mink. The Kwakiutl, however, from the Bella Bella southward, recognize a transformer named Qanekelaku. A cycle can be constructed out of his adventures, putting together various clan traditions. On Vancouver Island, the Newette say he originated south of Cape Scott and traveled north, then east across the island. He appears as the special hero of the Newette,[1] but others claim him also. The Koskimo were restored to life by Qanekelaku after a sea monster had swallwed them.[2] The Mamalelekala (on a channel island) say their first ancestor was a blind man whose sight Qanekelaku restored.[3] The Tenaktak far up Knight Inlet on the coast have a whole series of Wanekelaku traditions: he turned some people into birds and deer, gave mussels and salmon at another place, cured Goose-Woman's blindness, married a princess with a toothed-vagina, fought with and killed his evil father-inlaw, etc.[4] The Guauaenok on the mainland say Qanekelaku, going northward, "fixed" a man in their territory who had mouths all over his body.[5] The Nimkish (on Vancouver Island) tell of a contest Qanekelaku had with a shaman in their territory, and say he transformed his father-in-law (an ancestor) into their river, which is full of fish.[6] The Bella Bella Killer Whale clan says that Qanekelaku transformed a creature which was half whale and half man into the ancestor of their clan.[7] The tales of Qanekelaku's erotic exploits, in which he seduces the willing daughter of a chief, are clan legends designed to show the family is descended partly from the great Transformer.

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[1] Cf. the intertribal discussion above, p. 126.

[2] Boas, Kwakiutl Texts (Second Series), pp. 217ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 225ff. [4] Ibid. (First Series), pp. 94ff.

[5] Ibid. (Second Series), p. 249. [6] Ibid., pp. 228f.

[7] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 883.

Transformers always turn monsters into harmless animals or some kind of object in nature--often stones, mountains, and the like. Qanekelaku has his share of such works. He "sets the world right," and turns some animal people into real animals and others into people, depending, usually upon whether they are hostile or friendly to him. He bestows boons or curses on the ancestors whom he meets, for the same reason. The Transformer becomes the universal "explanation" for why everything is as it is today. It was all made so by one who fixed things for all times when he traveled around long ago.

Much is made in the myths of the Kwakiutl of the conflicts between Qanekelaku and other powerful persons of ancestral times. Frequently, Qanekelaku is said to have matched powers with others and failed, or he simply avoids meeting people who are of the shamans' society (tsetsaequa).[1] These incidents are references to the relative prestige of various clans, probably, and to the rivalry between those who belonged to the shamans's society and those who did not.

The Nootka have several culture-heroes who are known more or less all over the "tribe," but each of whom enjoys prominence in one local area. "Mucus Boy" (Antokt) is popular in the region above Barkley Sound where Qanekelaku also was known; two brothers, the elder of whom was called "Two-Hundred Mouths" (Laluktinl) were the best known transformer-heroes among the Kyuquot; and Kwatyat (no translation) was the transformer-hero of the more southerly Nootkan groups.[2] The stories told of them[3] are found quite commonly among tribes to the south, and also often duplicate Raven and Mink adventures.

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[1] See ibid., pp. 589ff. for collected references and examples.

[2] Drucker, Central and Northern Nootkan, p. 452.

[3] See Sapir and Swadish, pp. 33-41, 51, 89-101, 217; Drucker, Northern and Central Nootkan, p. 223; Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 903ff.

They are depicted as powerfully endowed individuals, yet also tricky and occasionally foolish. These transformers-culture-heroes will be considered in more detail in the chapters on the Salish of the Coast and the Interior.

The Carrier to the east of the Bella Coola have a culture-hero and transformer called Estas or Astas whose deeds correspond closely to those of Raven, so that he may be considered a "Raven type."[1]

The Chilcotin have numerous Raven stories, but their chief cultural hero is Lendixtcux and his three sons. Lendixtcux is the dog father in the widely-spread tale of the woman who married a dog. Here, uniquely, the husband is made the hero of a series of adventures.[2] The stories of his adventures correspond to those of inland Salish heroes.

Conclusions

It is abundantly clear from the foregoing material that Raven, Mink, and the anthropomorphic transformers alike have nothing to do with shamanism and secret societies which are pseudo-shamanistic. While Raven sometimes is credited with having given the dancing societies originally, he is never held to be one of the initiating spirits. Qanekelaku purposely avoids coming in contact with members of the secret society: he fears such power which is of a class other than his own. These Tricksters and Culture Heroes are more closely associated with the origin of clans and with the ancestors. They are the beings who instituted everything in the beginning, and having made the world as it is, they retire from the scene. The religion of shamanism, spirits, initiation, supernatural powers, and gods is foreign to the religion of the heroes of ancient myth times, which sees the world as it was created and as it now exists to be good and sufficient and holy.

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[1] Diamond Jenness, "Myths of the Carrier Indians of British Columbia," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLVII, No. 184 (1934), 203ff.

[2] Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, pp. 4, 7-14.

The antagonism between Raven and Atquntam in the Bella Coola myth (page 138 above) brings out the sharp difference between the two world views which each figure represents. Atquntam, the Master Spirit, wishes to initiate the son of Raven. Raven can see no need for his son to acquire any more power than that which he has inherited naturally from his father. He fights against the supernatural messengers sent to carry off his son, and though he acquits himself well, his son nevertheless is taken from him. When his son is sent back to earth, presumably endowed with supernatural powers, Raven does not even recognize him. He sends the strange being away: and too late he realizes it was his own son. The story is made to account for the origin of death all over the region from the Haida to the southern Kwakiutl.[1] It is as though the author of the myth was saying that men would not need to die if the Culture Hero had not refused supernatural aid. This view of death is quite different from that of the non-shamanistic myth-tellers, who look upon death as a necessary condition of this world, ordained by the Culture Hero in the beginning: sad, but not altogether tragic. Here, too, of course, death is the result of an act of the Ordainer, but the point of the story, it seems to me, is not that the Culture Hero wished for death (as in the most common North American Death-Origin myth), but that he refused to accept the help of the supernatural, heavenly spirits, who wished to make his son immortal through initiation. The story also may be a kind of explanatory myth of the shamans as to why they cannot conquer death completely, even though they are masters of it in the initiation rites. The spirits desired to make men immortal through initiation, but the blundering Culture Hero spoiled things.

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[1] In most versions the Thunderbirds carry off the boy without having been sent by any higher being than themselves. See Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 708-710.

CHAPTER V

THE ATHABASCANS OF THE NORTHERN CANADIAN INTERIOR

The Athabascans inhabiting the woods and barren grounds of the northern Canadian interior are characterized by extreme poverty in all phases of culture. This region seems to be the American "homeland" of the Athabascans, who probably were the last group to emigrate across the Bering Strait into North America. From this northerly region, beginning some 2,000 years ago, Athabascans have migrated to the Northwest Coast, to Washington and Oregon, to northern California, and to the Southwestern region of the United States. Wherever the Athabascans have come into contact with other groups, in Alaska, British Columbia, Oregon, California, and the Southwest, they have adopted the culture of their neighbors wholeheartedly, and have retained little of their old culture except their language. We have seen already that in discussing the mythology of the Northwest Coast that it was necessary to include the Chilcotin, Carrier, and Tahltan, as well as the Alaskan Athabascans along with the true coastal peoples. The Athabascan Sarsi of northern Alberta are indistinguishable culturally from their Blackfoot neighbors, although the latter are Algonkian. "The obvious conclusion is that the typical indigenous Athabascan culture was so simple that foreign cultures could be superimposed and adopted with hardly a trace of the former remaining."[1]

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[1] J. Alden Mason, Notes on the Indians of the Great Slave Lake Area (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 34; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), p. 43; cf. also Irving Goldman, "The Alkatcho Carrier: Historical Background of Crest Prerogatives," American Anthropology, New Series, XLIII, No. 3 (1941), 396-399; Driver, p. 578.

We should logically expect to find the "purest" Athabascan culture among those tribes most isolated from other Indians and Eskimo, and the facts seem to support this hypothesis. The Hare, Mountain, Bear, Dogrib, Yellow Knife, Slave, Beaver, and Chipewyan groups (see Figures 2 and 3) show the simplest cultural patterns, and possess the poorest body of oral traditions and the least developed religious forms of any Indians of North America.[1] The most important of these are the Chipewyan, Yellow Knife, Slave, and Dogrib.

These groups all speak virtually the same language, showing only minor dialectical differences.[2] Agriculture is completely unknown, and the gathering of wild vegetable products is of negligible economic importance. The staples are caribou, moose, fish, musk ox, black bear, and smaller animals and birds.[3] Due to the rugged climate, the people must erect permanent log-piled houses in the coldest winter months, but for most of the year the Indians travel in small bands and dwell in portable, caribou-skin tipis. Life is a continual moving between the forest in the winter when fuel is needed and small game may be trapped, and the barren grounds in the summer, in pursuit of the caribou.[4]

There is no social organization such as clans or moieties; the biological family is the only stable unit. Several families who are loosely related by blood usually will travel together under the nominal authority of a mutually recognized head-man. Individuals or nuclear families are free to leave the bands or to join others at any time. Each band has its own recognized hunting territory. "Warfare" between tribes and bands is (or was) constant, with revenge being the usual motive.[1]

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[1] Cf. Mason, p. 11.

[2] James M. Bell, "The Fireside Stories of the Chipewyans," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XVI, No. 61 (1903) 74.

[3] Mason, pp. 15-16, and Kaj Birket-Smith, Contributions to Chipewyan Ethnology (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-1924, Vol. VI, No. 3; Copenhagen: 1930), p. 19.

[4] Birket-Smith, p. 29, and Mason, p. 17.

Most of the people are nominally Christian, due principally to the labors of Abbé Emile Petitot in the middle of the last century.[2] Christianity and white civilization in general have brought about a considerable breakdown in native beliefs and oral traditions, as can be seen when the materials collected by Petitot himself[3] are compared with those gathered in this century. There is, for example, no evidence of an indigenous belief in a high god or gods in myths obtained in more recent times, but Petitot reported several myths of the "Hare-Skins" (Hare Indians) of northern Mackenzie about Inkfwin-wetay, "he who is at the zenith," including the following creation myth:[4]

> Ifkwin-Wetay sent some young people (servants) down to make the earth. They spread out upon the chaos something soft and pliable, like a tanned moose hide. Thus they made the earth in one place. They repeated the action six more times in other places, and the earth was made completely.

The informant told Petitot that his mother had told him the story when he was a little child. She herself had seen the first white men when they came to the region, but her tales about the creation, he insisted, were not dependent upon any Christian teachings. "She used to say often, 'Inkfwin-Wetay made the earth in the beginning.'"[5]

Another text, somewhat obscure, seems to indicate a belief in the creation of the world by a male and female pair, the offspring perhaps of Inkfwin-Wetay:[6]

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[1] Cf. Mason, pp. 33-35.

[2] Bell, p. 76.

[3] Emile Petitot, Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-ouest (Les Litteratures Populaires de Toutes Les Nationes, Vol. XXIII; Paris: Maisonneuve Freres et Ch. LeClerc, 1886).

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 108-109.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 109.

[6] *Ibid*., pp. 112-113.

> They are called "He Who, When He Lies Down, Reaches the Other Side" and "The Woman Who Is Never Seen When Traveling" (Invisible-Woman). They are said to have created all things by lying down, sleeping, and dreaming, by virtue of their supernatural power. They were clad in finely-dressed furs, and they produced (as offspring?) the beavers and hares.

In the same account, however, it is stated that Inkfwin-Wetay threw the head of a beaver onto the earth, and many beavers appeared, and that he put a hare on earth from which all the others are descended. The man referred to above (does his name mean "overarching"?) may be the same as Inkfwin-Wetay, since it is stated that he resides at the zenith and his wife at the nadir. Perhaps we are to understand that the first animals were produced by them in heaven, and that "samples" of the heavenly prototypes were cast upon the earth. These beings who dream and thus create are eminently shamanistic in structure.

The hares, and, apparently, their Indian namesakes, are descended (according to another account) from a woman who was abandoned by her relatives and married a hare. She is called "The Woman of the Eggs."[1] The Dogribs, similarly, are the descendants of a woman who was married (unwittingly) to a Dog-man.[2]

The Hare Indians had a rather well-defined belief in a land at the "Foot of Heaven" in the southwest, where a Magician lived. This is the place where animals hibernate in winter, and also the land of the souls of the dead. These all live in an enormous cave there, in front of which a great tree grows, and beside which a river flows.[3] At this same place the giant Thunderbird (Iti) dwells. It is he who causes people to die and come to his cave.[4]

The origin of death is attributed by the Hare Indians to a dance at the beginning of the world by a man and a woman, "He who sees and acts before and behind," and his wife. They were going to play a ball game, but all of a sudden the woman began to dance and wail, "alas, alas, our children!" They knew that people were going to die, so they instituted mourning rites. The Frog wished that men should return after death, as frogs come back from winter hibernation, but the Lamie (?) threw a stone into the water and ruled otherwise.[1] It is unfortunate that this story is so obscure. Apparently, it refers to a ritual for mourning, which included playing a ball game. The episode about throwing a stone into the water to divine whether or not the dead should return is the most prevalent account of the origin of death among the Athabascans of the Southwest (see chapter xviii).

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-111.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 311-316.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-132.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

Later investigators do not mention any of these beliefs or myths, but speak only of the veneration of spirits of animals and certain natural phenomena. Each person has his own guardian spirit who has appeared to him in a dream, apparently unsought. This spirit identifies himself and gives a song to his chosen ward. By singing the song, a man or woman may summon his spirit-helper at any time when help is needed. Shamans are those persons who have been chosen by the most powerful spirits, such as those of the Bear, Eagle, Wolf, or a ghost. Shamans are of two kinds, seers and healers. The shaman sings his songs and beats his drum until he enters a trance. He sits alone in a dome-shaped tent, while other members of the tribe stand around outside, also singing, to help him.[2] The tent, obviously, represents the sky or the universe. From such rude and informal beginnings as these, the sacred dance houses and elaborate ceremonials found among other Indian tribes must have developed.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 114-115.

[2] Mason, pp. 37-38; Birket-Smith, p. 82; and Pliny Earle Goddard, "The Beaver Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, X, Part 4 (1916), 226-227.

Those persons having an animal spirit for guardian will not harm an animal of that species. We find the usual hunter beliefs in the necessity of treating the major game animals with respect, so that they will continue to given themselves to men for food. Belief in a caribou master, called "Little Caribou Calf," is reported for the Chipewyan.[1] Mason reports that bits of food customarily are thrown on the fire before eating, though he does not say to whom the offering is made.[2] Doubtless the Indians themselves would be vague in their replies if asked, but such offerings indicate a deep-lying sense of dependency upon the "powers above" who send the game to man upon which he desperately depends.

Apparently, the north-central Athabascans have very little ceremonial life. Dances are in order when people from several bands come together, but such occasions are infrequent.[3] The Beaver tribe, at least, designates one shaman in each band as the director of all religious activities of the band. These Indians observe a semi-annual (spring and fall) ceremony at which time food is put in the fire, with the leader praying that the tribe may be blessed with more such food and with good weather for hunting. Such ceremonies are also in some sense feasts for the dead, evidently.[4] All this, of course, sounds much like the culture of the Paleo-Siberians (chapter i), especially those who, like the Athabascans, depend upon the reindeer for their livelihood.

But whereas the Siberians have a well-defined Culture Hero, the Raven, who is known throughout eastern Siberia, we find no analogous figure among the northern Dene. Instead, there are several culture heroes and many other tales of adventures concerning a variety of anthropomorphic heroes.

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[1] Birket-Smith, pp. 79-80.

[2] Mason, pp. 17-18.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[4] Goddard, pp. 228-230; cf. Pliny Earle Goddard, "Chipewyan Texts," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, X, Part 1 (1912), 3; and Bernard R. Ross, "The Eastern Tinneh," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1886* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), pp. 306-307.

Among those tribes within the coastal sphere of influence, as we have seen, Raven is the principal figure. He has reached all the Alaskan tribes, and the story of his theft of the sun is found as far east as the Loucheaux or Kutchin of the lower Mackenzie River (chapter iii). Rather than having a mythology centered upon one all-important personage, these Indians tell many adventure tales and shamanistic stories of supernatural transports. A number of animal fables are found also, and there are legends about giants and "elves," but few of these are in cyclical form. The woman who marries a bear and turns into one herself, is a typical motif.[1]

Among materials collected in recent times, a clear-cut Culture Hero is not found. Such may have existed at an earlier time, as evidenced by certain myths recorded by Petitot. There appears not to have been a Trickster or Trickster-Fixer combination of any prominence throughout the region. Several animals, especially Raven, Wolf, Fox, Squirrel and Beaver, appear as cunning and tricky, but none stands out as dominant, as does Raven in Siberia and on the Northwest Coast. Among the southern tribes, the Beaver and Chipewyan, Wisaketchek, the Cree Trickster-Hero, has become known and is associated with the Athabascan Trickster-Heroes Crow-Head and Spread-Wings.[2]

The earth diver myth is found pretty generally across the region, and it is a well-known myth. The diving takes place after a flood has destroyed an earlier world composed (usually) of animal-people. The cause of the flood which is most frequently given is that it was due to melting snow following the theft of warmth from the sky.[1] However, other reasons are given, such as the offending of some powerful spirit by the hero.[2] Modern versions do not attribute the supervision of the diving, or the subsequent re-creation of the world, to a Culture Hero: usually, one of the animals, perhaps the diver himself, makes the world. The Kaska, probably under Coastal influences, name Raven as the overseer and earth-maker,[3] as do the Alaskan Yukon ribes. Petitot reported several different personages (in different accounts) as the one who survived the flood, saved pairs of animals on a raft, and recreated the earth by blowing upon a bit of mud brought up by a diving bird or animal: the Dogrib spoke of Tchapewi ("Old Man,"[4] cf. Blackfoot, etc. in chapter vi); Kunyan ("Wise One") was the Hare hero,[5] while the Chipewyans told of an old, white-haired man called Etsie ("Grandfather") and Ennedhekwi ("Old Man").[6] A considerable cycle of adventures was reported by Petitot concerning Kunyan, who was the primordial man, married to his sister. While he slept, one time Mink and Weasel tried to kill him by going up his colon, but he ejected them.

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[1] Livingston Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians (Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, Part 1; Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert, 1900-1908), p. 4.

[2] Mason, p. 41; Robert H. Lowie, "Chipewyan Tales," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, X, Part 3 (1912), 173; Goddard, "Beaver Indians," p. 256.

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[1] Petitot, pp. 373-378; Birket-Smith, p. 187; Robert Bell, "Legends of the Slavey Indians of the Mackenzie River," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIV, No. 52 (1901), 26-28; Ella E. Clark, Indian Legends of Canada (Canada: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), pp. 17-19; and John J. Honigmann, The Kaska Indians, an Ethnographic Reconstruction (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 51; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 72-75, 86.

[2] Petitot, pp. 319-320 (dogrib), pp. 141-149 (Hare), cf. pp. 317-319 where the reason is unclear.

[3] Honigmann, pp. 100-103.

[4] Petitot, pp. 317-319.

[5] Ibid., pp. 141-149.

[6] Ibid., pp. 373-378.

It seems likely that this hero is a more anthropomorphic version of "Smart Beaver," as he is known among some of the Alaskan Athabascans (chapter iii). The Great Beaver is popular also among the Kaska and Slave tribes. He is both a Culture Hero and a Trickster. In none of the traditions reported, however, is he credited with overseeing the earth-dive.

Great Beaver usually is considered anthropomorphic, but on occasion he assumes the guise of a beaver. He killed all manner of monster, often by beating them at their own tricks. He turned himself into a salmon, once, in order to get possession of Kingfisher's spear, apparently for a joke. On another occasion he became a pretty bluebird and let two girls catch him for a pet. He became a young man again while sleeping with them. Later, when he had been unfaithful to his two supernatural wives, they sent a "heat wave" that killed everyone except Beaver and his brothers. It was Great Beaver, according to the Kaska, who released the game imprisoned by Raven. He outwitted the Moon and got his daughter for a wife. The Slave Indians say that the Mackenzie River was made by the Great Beaver (as a giant animal) while escaping from a gigantic evil being. Signs of Beaver's travels down this river are pointed out by the natives. Wolverine stole Beaver's dinner while the latter was sleeping, and when he awoke, he poured the bowl of grease that was left onto the fire and shouted, "Burn forever!" This was the origin of a burning bed of lignite found at a spot on the Mackenzie today.[1]

Great Beaver, it appears, has all the traits of a Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. Just how widespread were his myths over this region it is hard to say, due to the unsatisfactory collections of materials that have been made. In some ways he seems "old": he has an animal name and sometimes an animal-form; but in other respects he is more like the anthropomorphic transformers of the Salish, who are "late" in form, and lack the foolishness of character so typical of the ancient Tricksters. He is not associated with such archaic myths as that of the theft of summer or the determination of the seasons: in fact, he is not mentioned in the tales of the world of animal-people which seem to be the most ancient folk tales. In my opinion, Great Beaver is not the oldest Trickster-Fixer figure of the Athabascans, if indeed they ever had one such figure, but is a character showing development in the direction of pure Culture Hero.

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[1] See James A. Teit, "Kaska Tales," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XXX No. 118 (1917), 429-441; Honigmann, p. 102; Frank Russell, "Athabascan Myths," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XIII, No. 48 (1900) 16-17; Clark, p. 104.

The Raven is an important and obviously ancient myth figure, but his position in northeastern Athabascan mythology is by no means easy to determine. He is mentioned widely in the myth of the painting of the birds:

> The birds wanted names. They called Raven "Black Beak" and he did not like it. They dragged him to the fireplace and rubbed him with soot. When he got free, he rubbed chalk on the other birds and gave them their names.[1]

This tale bears comparison with one told to Petitot by a Hare Indian:

> Two Diver Ducks were playing on a lake. Both were black. Raven came along and was jealous because their heads were like his own. He threw chalk at them and hit one, and since then one Diver has had a white head.[2]

An even more widespread story says that Raven, for selfishness and malice, had stolen all the game animals and had hid them in a cave. The people were starving until a war party of hunters (animals), or Fox alone, managed by trickery to get the gate broken down and the game released. Angry, Raven gave the animals a hard bony armor so people could not shoot them. Soon Raven found he could not shoot them either, so he changed them again and made them soft, excepting on the ribs. He told the Indians they would be able to catch deer if they would leave the liver for him to feed on each time game is killed.[1]

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[1] Birket-Smith, p. 89; Cf. Lowie, p. 184; and Petitot, pp. 349-351. See chap. iii.

[2] Ibid., pp. 296-297.

In this story, Raven appears more as a "Lord of Animals" than a Trickster-Fixer. In fact, in other places where this story is told (and it is very widespread on the Plains and elsewhere), the Trickster is the one who releases the game. The mention of an offering to Raven also suggests that he was regarded as the Animal Master. But in other stories Raven is depicted as a Trickster-Fixer. Perhaps there has been a convergence of two different concepts in one character, as indeed took place in the case of Raven in Siberia (chapter i), and occasionally on the Northwest Coast where Raven was practically deified by some tribes.

Petitot obtained a story about Raven from the Hare tribe that is not paralleled in any other collection. It is part of the Kunyan (Wise One) cycle:[2]

> After the earth had been remade, Kunyan and Raven lived together. Raven stole from the other continually. Kunyan demanded he stop doing this, but Raven replied with a threat, that if Kunyan were to kill him, all the people in the world would disappear. Because Raven kept stealing, one day Kunyan threw him into the fire. Suddenly, as if by magic, all the people disappeared from the face of the earth. Kunyan searched until he found a piece of Raven's bone in the ashes, and from it he restored him to life. Raven, now grateful, promised to restore all the people.
>
> They went to the beach where two great female fish were sunning themselves [*sic!*]. Raven told Kunyan to approach the one, and Raven went to the other. (It is unclear whether the men impregnated or killed the fish.) Out of the body of Kunyan's fish came many men, and out of Raven's came many women. That was how the land was repopulated in the beginning.

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[1] Goddard, "Beaver Indians," pp. 250-251; Lowie, pp. 184-185; cf. Birket-Smith, pp. 184-185; Teit, "Kaska Tales," p. 441; and Petitot, pp. 151-154 (Hare) and pp. 379-382 (Chip).

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 150-151.

This is the only Athabascan account I have found crediting Raven with the creation of people. This, and other unique myths in Petitot's collection (which is all too brief) makes one wish that Petitot had published much fuller accounts of the native traditions, since they evidently existed in much richer quantity then than later.

The story of Raven, the poor man, who disguises himself as a handsome young chief and marries a proud "princess" in order to humiliate her, is told in fine detail by some of the tribes, the Hare and Loucheux, at least. When Raven's disguise is washed off, he flies away cawing loudly, "I have tricked you people again!"[1] (Evidently, he was known as a player of tricks, but these stories have not been reported.)

The anthropomorphic "Crow-Head," known to the Chipewyan and Slave Indians, should be considered, perhaps, as a late development and degeneration of the mythical Raven. He is deceitful, like a Trickster, and for this reason Wisaketcak, the Cree Trickster, sometimes is identified with him by the Athabascans.[2] However, in the stories we have about him, he is not a fun-loving prankster so much as a malevolent wizard who can at other times be helpful. He killed many people and caused the deaths of others less directly, because of personal offenses or insults. For example, two girls laughed at his crow-skin cape, and he caused their deaths; and he killed men who were his rivals in love. He also killed evil giants and restored certain people to life. He was magically endowed, so that arrows could not harm him, except on his finger tips. He is said to have known everything. Sometimes he traveled with a Culture Hero type, "Spread-Wings," who together went far and wide helping people, being related to all the tribes. One tradition says that Crow-Head went to "the place where the sun is close to the earth," and will return from thence at the end of the world. Another story says he died in a fit of anger, hammering his head on the ice all around the edge of a lake which was frozen.[1]

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[1] Bell, pp. 77-78; Russell, pp. 14-15 (Loucheaux).

[2] Mason, p. 41.

These are by no means the only Transformers or Tricksters mentioned in the myths of these tribes. Petitot[2] reported adventures of several heroic travelers, whose names often are long compounds such as "He who crosses rapids in a canoe," the maker of the first boat. The Kaska speak of Kliatata ("Filling-Snowshoes Father") who invented the bow, the snowshoe, and taught people to make nets, and of Gatco (Big Rabbit), who was second in cleverness only to Beaver, and who killed many monsters and thus instituted warfare.[3] Wolverine is a Kaska Trickster.[4] Caribou-Footed, described as a Cree boy and slave of an evil Giant, is a popular hero of the Dogrib who travels far and ascends to heaven on a magically growing tree, becoming eventually the chief of the land of the dead in the north, Beckoning to men with the Northern Lights.[5] Another hero-type occurs among the Beaver and Chipewyan as "Raised-by-his-Grandmother," or "Hair-Scrapings-Man," who is an incarnation of the Buffalo Master.[6] This figure belongs properly to the mythology of the Plains, where he is usually called "Blood-Clot Boy."

All these primarily anthropomorphic heroes and transformers are late types. They are endowed with supernatural power from on high, and they accomplish beneficial things for mankind.

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[1] Lowie,pp. 175-178; Goddard, "Chipewyan Texts," pp. 54-55.

[2] Petitot, pp. 155ff.

[3] Cf. Honigmann, p. 102; and Teit, "Tahltan Tales," pp. 467-470.

[4] Teit, "Kaska Tales," pp. 469-471, 457ff. Cf. Russell, p. 17, Slave tribe.

[5] Bell, pp. 80-84.

[6] Goddard, "Beaver Indians," pp. 237-244; idem, "Chipewyan Texts," pp. 50-51; Birket-Smith, p. 91; Petitot, pp. 385-398.

A myth of much more ancient origin is the widespread story of the theft of summer by the animal-people. Numerous versions have been reported from the Chipewyan, Slave, and Dogrib tribes.[1]

> After enduring several years of continuous winter and snow, the animal-people call a council. All the people come except Bear. They realize that Bear must be the one keeping the summer, so the animals set forth on an expedition to the sky to rob the Bear of his hoarded heat. (Sometimes Squirrel is named as head of the war party; Deer, Lynx, and Fox also are prominent.) They find the bag containing summer hanging in Bear's house (or on a tree), and they escape with it, passing it to one another in relay fashion. A frequent sequel to the theft is a world flood, caused by the sudden thaw of accumulated snow. Another sequel is the ordaining of winter: the Bear agrees to divide the year in halves, so that he may have some months in which to hibernate.[2]

Bear and Squirrel, who are opponents in some versions of the above myth, are pitted against each other in another Chipewyan tradition, as enemy and friend of man, respectively: Bear wanted rocks to float and wood to sink, but Squirrel ordained the opposite, for man's benefit. Bear wanted perpetual night, but Squirrel overruled him.[3] The Kaska version probably is a better one: Fox threw a stick into the River, and said men should rise from the dead as the stick came to the surface and floated; but Bear, angry because fire was stolen from him, threw into the water a stone and decreed permanent death.[4] In the Southwest where the Athabascan Navaho and Apache live, this explanation of the origin of death is found regularly, attributed to different animal-characters; and there is a long myth (and ritual) about the gambling match between the "good" and "bad" animals to determine whether or not the world would be dark all the time. Bear is the chief of the bad animals. (See chapter xviii.)

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[1] It is possible that this is an Athabascan story in origin. See chapter vii.

[2] Cf. Petitot, pp. 373-375 (Chipewyan); Birket-Smith, pp. 84-87; Lowie, p. 187; Bell, pp. 26-28; Clark, pp. 17-19.

[3] Birket-Smith, pp. 83-84; cf. Petitot, p. 115.

[4] Teit, "Kaska Myths," pp. 443-444.

Another ancient motif which crops up all over North America occurs here also: the drinking of all the water by an evil creature (the Bittern, here), and its subsequent release by a hero who pierces the creature's abdomen. Thus rivers and lakes are formed.[1]

The collections of oral traditions available from the Athabascans of Canada are on the whole quite unsatisfactory. Abbé Petitot's material is very good as far as it goes, but unfortunately he reported only select tales, leaving unrecorded many others which he must have heard. Investigators in more recent times have found a dearth of myths, but this deficiency corresponds to the general poverty of the culture of these peoples. Is the scarcity of folk tales and myths due to a lack of development of the same here, or have the Athabascans lost most of a once rich store of traditions due to the hardships of maintaining life in the severe climate of northern Canada and to the influence of Christianity and white civilization? The latter alternative appears to me to be the more plausible, in view of the fact that Petitot was able to obtain far better texts a century ago than are available now, and in consideration also of the fact that several rather "advanced" types of Culture-Hero-Transformers are found.

Was there at one time a single prominent figure who was Trickster, Ordainer, and Culture Hero? I think there is insufficient data upon which to offer even a hypothesis on this matter. On the basis of material from other areas, I believe that the many-sided figure who is the subject of this study is the oldest myth figure to achieve prominence. In the process of time, with the increasing influence of shamanistic ideas of transcendence and religious experience, the Trickster-Fixer degenerates and disintegrates, giving over some of his functions to more "heroic" and spiritually endowed heroes, and retaining for himself only his less admirable traits. Great Beaver, as noted above, is more like the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero than any other character reported, but he is perhaps a little "too heroic" to be our ancient figure.

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[1] Petitot, pp. 141-149 (Hare).

It is tempting to see in Raven, who obviously belongs to the most archaic strata of the mythology, the ancient Trickster-Hero. Raven is still remembered as a Trickster (marries the Chief's daughter in a disguise, and flies off laughing), and as a Transformer (paints the birds, restores people to the world, gives animals "armor" in the form of ribs); and as Crow-Head he is a culture hero and a monster slayer. He is considered a powerful spirit, even being a sort of Master of Animals, in some myths, which may indicate he was an ancient myth figure "reworked" by the shamans. We know that the Tlingit and Haida, among whom the Raven mythology of the Northwest Coast seems to be centered (see chapter ii), are long-separated brethern of the interior Athabascans. We know also that the Raven is Trickster-Fixer of the Paleo-Siberians. It is attractive hypothesis that the Athabascans carried to this continent the Raven as their chief myth figure, and that he subsequently declined in importance among the main body of Dene while retaining his popularity among those tribes isolated along the coast. Unfortunately, the data are not sufficient to establish such an hypothesis, since we have only a few hints as to the actual position of Raven among the interior Athabascans. Neither, I think, is there evidence sufficient to establish any other theory or to disprove the speculative one suggested above.

CHAPTER VI

THE ALGONKIANS

The largest and yet one of the most homogeneous language families of the American Indians is that of the Algonkians, or as Driver calls them, the Algonquian-Ritwin-Kutenai.[1] The overwhelming proportion of these people speak closely related dialects, but the Kutenai of Alberta and Montana, and the Yurok and Wiyot of California show greater variation. This chapter will have to do with the following tribes, reading from east to west (see Figure 3): Powhatan, Delaware, Mahican, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Micmac; the Eastern Algonkians; Montagnais-Naskapi, Cree, Ojibwa (sometimes called Chippewa in older books), Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menomini, Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, which together comprise the Central Algonkians; and the Western group, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kutenai. The Winnebago, a Siouan tribe, will be mentioned in this chapter also because of its geographical and cultural situation. The Algonkian Shawnee will be reserved for discussion with the Southeastern Indians (chapter xix) and the Yurok and Wiyot will be discussed as Northwest California tribes (chapter xv).

At first glance, the mythology of these far-flung Algonkians seems quite diverse, even when we are considering only the Tricksters, Culture Heroes, Transformers, and Creators. In the New England and Malecite-Micmac tribes Gluskap (Gluskabe, etc.) dominates the scene; Tseqabec is the Hero of the

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[1] Driver, p. 576. See also the Language Table in the Appendix of this paper.

Montagnais-Naskapi; Nanabozho or Manabush is the central figure of Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Menomini mythology; the Cree, Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi speak of Wisakejak or Wisaka; and among the Blackfoot, Gros ventre, Cheyenne and Arapaho it is the Old Man or White Man. The careers of these figures are by no means parallel at all points, although there are indeed many resemblances. Most importantly, all of them are anthropomorphic most of the time, but all show "tendencies" to change (shall we say to revert?) to one or another animal form on occasion. All live in a world consisting mostly of animal-people, the familiar myth-times of the Indians, and all participate in the events through which these first beings were changed into their present animal forms and the world itself came to assume its present features. All these personages, moreover, are apt to be tricky and deceitful--some more so than others--and all are regarded as heroes, no matter how foolishly or treacherously they may have behaved.

In addition to these anthropomorphic figures, we find in all the tribes under discussion certain animal tricksters whose deeds parallel and frequently duplicate those of the man-like Trickster-Heroes. These include most prominently Hare, Wolverine, Turtle, Raccoon, Badger, and Martin (a kind of weasel). (Coyote, an animal-man, is the main Kutenai figure.) Sometimes, as we shall see, the principal Trickster-Hero has one of these animals for a companion; often he turns into one of them himself on occasion. Manabus, for example, was a little white rabbit when he was born, according to Ojibwa and Menomini traditions,[1] and indeed the name itself seems to have been derived from "great rabbit," Matc Wapus.[1] Wolverine fell down, while being pursued by a pack of wolves, and arose as a man: "Behold! he was Wisakejak," says a Plains Cree myth.[2]

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[1] J. P. B. DeJosselin DeJong, "Original Odzibwe-Texts" (Baessler-Archiv Beitrage zur Volkerkunde, Beiheft V; Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1913), pp. 5-6; Leonard Bloomfield, Menomini Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. XII; New York: G. E. Stechert, 1928), p. 146; and Alanson Skinner and John V. Satterlee, "The Menomini Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XIII (1913-1915), 241-243.

Leland states of Glooskap: "There seems to have been no settled idea as to what was the totem or innate animal nature of the lord of men and beasts."[3] He is pictured by one Indian in a series of sketches as a woodchuck, like his grandmother; in another Passamaquoddy story he is a "black cat" or fisher, a kind of weasel.[4]

All this suggests that the anthropomorphic figures are later developments, based upon an earlier theriomorphic character. Before elaborating this hypothesis, it will be necessary to examine the myths of the various tribes in greater detail.

Creation Myths of the Western Algonkians

True creation myths are found only among the western or Plains tribes of Algonkians, especially the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho. They are, typically, of the earth-diver type, and often are understood to be "re-creation" myths, telling of the formation of the present world following a flood. There is confusion in the minds of present-day Indians of these tribes as to whether the Trickster "Old Man" (Napi, Napiwa: Blackfoot) or "White Man" (Nix'ant: Gros Ventre; Nih'ancan: Arapaho--also meaning "Spider"; Vihuk: Cheyenne) is the same being who created the earth, or whether the Creator was a Supreme

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[1] Ibid., p. 242, note.

[2] Alanson Skinner, "Plains Cree Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXIX, No. 113 (1916), 344.

[3] Charles G. Leland, The Algonquin Legends of New England (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1884), p. 44.

[4] Ibid., pp. 44-49.

Being, perhaps the Sun. Ethnologists who have investigated the tribes likewise come to different conclusions on this matter.

The Cheyenne, who have tribal Culture Heroes quite distinct from the Trickster ("Sweet-Root-Standing" and "Erect-Horns"), also definitely refer to the Creator as Heamma Wiho, Great Medicine. He appears floating on the water, sends the water-birds diving, and makes the earth out of a bit of mud one of them brings up. He makes next a couple who become respectively Thunder Man and Winter; then he makes all the other things of the earth.[1] For the Cheyenne, the White Man (Vihuk) is purely a Trickster.

The adjacent Arapaho, however, sometimes say that their Trickster, Nik'ancan (White Man) was the man floating on the primeval waters.[2] The "official version" of the creation myth, which is told only during the performance of the Flat-Pipe Ceremony, does not name the first person:

> A man was walking about on the face of the waters, carrying a flat pipe in his arms. He was weeping and fasting, because he did not know what to do to preserve the Flat Pipe, the "Father" of the Indians. After six days he formed the wish that there might be a land where the pipe could be preserved and cared for with reverence. On the seventh day he called to him all the "people" (water birds and amphibians), and asked them if any knew where earth might be found. When the fowls failed to answer, the Turtle said that he had heard that there was land underneath the sea. The ducks of different species dived, but none was successful. Finally, the man announced that he and the Turtle would dive. The man embraced the pipe ceremonially, and it became his body, turning into the form of a duck. They dived and did not return until seven days had passed. Each brought up a bit of clay. The man took the clay, made two heaps of it on the pipe, and spread it in thin layers. Then he let it dry. [These acts are performed in the Sun Dance ritual.] The dirt was cast to the four cardinal points, and then a quantity placed in the center. These grew and became the solid earth. Everyone marveled at

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[1] George B. Grinnell, "Some Early Cheyenne Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XX, No. 78 (1907), 169-172.

[2] George A. Dorsey and Alfred L. Kroeber, Traditions of the Arapaho (Field Columbian Museum Publication No. 81, Anthropological Series, Vol. V; Chicago: 1903), pp. 6-7.

> the Flat Pipe. After this he made the mountains, rivers, vegetation, and ordained the characteristics and habitats of the animals. Finally, a human couple were made, and the ceremony of the Sun Dance was given to preserve the health and well-being of the people.

The Flat Pipe in the myth above is the sacred palladum of the tribe. The mouthpiece resembles a duck's bill. The pipe itself is "really the Creator," according to Dorsey, and is held in greater veneration than the Sun.[2] In one version, the Grandfather up above (presumably the Sun) watched over the whole drama of creation, and because he took pity on the weeping man, the man was able to create the earth.[3]

In the official version cited above, the "man" and the Pipe seem to be almost one and the same. I believe it is likely that in becoming a ritual text in a ceremony dedicated to the Sun, the story of the earth divers has been modified to the extent that the old Trickster-Creator White Man has been crowded out, to give place to a shamanistic-priestly personification of the sacred pipe, the "Father" of the Arapaho. As evidence that the White Man was once highly regarded by the Arapaho, some Indians still say that it was he who supervised the dive, and they have given the name Hixtcaba-Nih'ancan, "Above White Man" to the God of the missionaries.[4]

That the Trickster was also once regarded as the Creator (in some circles, at least) among the western Algonkian is more clearly evident in Gros Ventre and Blackfoot mythology. The Gros Ventre state explicitly that Nix'ant (White Man) was the maker of the present world. In this case, it was a re-creation following a flood:[5]

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[1] George A. Dorsey, The Arapaho Sun Dance (Field Columbia Museum Publication No. 75, Anthropological Series, Vol. IV; Chicago: 1903), pp. 191ff.

[2] Dorsey and Kroeber, pp. 2-4.

[3] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[4] Ibid., p. 6.

[5] This is the third world: the first was destroyed by fire, the second by water.

> The people in the first world were wild and did not do things right. Nix'ant did not like this, and he determined to make a new world. He took the pipe [now the chief Pipe of the Gros Ventre], put it on top of three buffalo chips, and stood upon another chip. He sang three times, shouted three times, kicked the earth, and water came forth, flooding the land. He and the Pipe floated on the chips. A Crow was flying about, and Nix'ant permitted it to rest from time to time on the Pipe. Nix'ant was sad, and he wept. He opened the wrappings on the pipe, and the aquatic animals and birds came out. Various birds and the Turtle were sent diving, and Turtle alone emerged with a few grains. Out of these Nix'ant created a new earth. He named the world "Turtle" in honor of the Turtle's help. After he had created land animals and people out of clay, he gave implements, laws and ceremonies to the people (the Gros Ventre).[1]

This myth also, obviously, is a ritual text. Perhaps we should understand the Arapaho version above as also a re-creation of a world destroyed for wickedness, the world of myth times.

The Gros Ventre tell numerous ribald tales about Nix'ant as Trickster. They offer prayers to Hixtcib-Nix'ant, above White Man/Old Man, and they declare that they did so even before white people came; but the Indians are unable to say whether this High God is or is not the same being as Nix'ant of the myths.[2]

The Blackfoot Indians are even more uncertain about the relationship between Napi or Napiwa, the Old Man, who is Creator and Trickster, and the Sun, whom they address in ceremony by the same term, Old Man (i.e., Venerable One). For several decades, at least, the Blackfoot increasingly have come to consider the Old Man Trickster as an evil, shameful character, definitely different from the Sun. Some nineteenth-century investigators, however, understood the two to be the same.[3] The Blackfoot, unlike the tribes mentioned immediately above, do not have any ritual or ceremonial practices based on the earth-diving myth. It would appear that the worship of the Sun has displaced any ceremonials based on the myth. According to one version of the Blackfoot earth diver myth, the sky beings caused the earth to flood because a sacred fungus (related to a star-divinity) was torn to pieces by a child. Old Man survived on a mountain, and he remade the earth out of particles brought up by the Diver Duck.[1]

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[1] A. L. Kroeber, "Gros Ventre Myths and Tales," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, I, Part 3 (1907), 59-61.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, "Ethnology of the Gros Ventre," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, I, Part 4 (1908), 275.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 14.

The creation, or more properly re-creation, myths of these Western Algonkians have all a common basis, as is obvious. In outline, the stories are the same. The differences are in the identification of the leading character. One group of traditions says that the old Trickster-Hero was the supervisor of the plunge and the remaking of the earth; another group insists that it was some sort of supernatural being: the Sacred Pipe Man, or the Sun or the High God come down to earth. It appears to me that what we have here is a difference of opinion between the common people (laymen) and the religious specialists, the shaman-priests. For the laymen, the most ancient mythological figure is assumed to have created all that is, in the world. The shaman-priests "know" that anything which has been done by an original or creative nature on earth, has been done by the power of the supernaturals. For them, sacred power is always transcendent. But because of the hold of the Old Man on the popular mind, his name has persisted as the name of the Creator; perhaps the shamans knew another, secret name (cf. chapter vii, on the Oglala Dakota wakan lore: the Dakota are neighbors to the Cheyenne and the Arapaho. Note that in the Arapaho myth above, the name of the Creator is never revealed), or perhaps they were forced by popular opinion to use the old name for their new, divine Creator.

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[1] Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall, "Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, II, Part 1 (1908), 19. Cf. John Maclean, "Blackfoot Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, VI, No. 22 (1893), 165, where the Turtle is the successful diver.

We should note also something which seems to have escaped the comment of interpreters of these myths. If they are, as they purport to be, myths of *re*-creation, then we have to do with the beginning of *this* world and the *end* of the myth times, when, presumably, the Trickster went about. The world which was destroyed, which the shamanistic myth declares to have been "wicked," was the world of myth times, the age dominated by the Trickster-Hero. It is this myth-world which the Shaman-priest wishes to destroy, together with its godless hero, the Trickster. All mythologies speak of an end of the mythical age and an event or series of events which produce the present world; but in the older mythologies the Trickster-Transformer brings about the change through *transformation*, rather than by the destruction of the old world and the re-creation of the new. Death and resurrection is a shamanistic, spiritual experience of which the Trickster-Transformer knows nothing.

It is my view, then, that the myth of the earth-diver is "shamanistic" in origin, reflecting the shamanistic apprehension of life as *in need of destruction and recreation at the hands of higher, spiritual powers*. The myth is extremely archaic in form, and is widely distributed.[1] Often it is found as a cosmogonic myth, a myth of the *first* creation, but I believe that this is a projection backward of what was originally a myth of a re-making of the world after the destruction of the myth-world. Quite often there is a conflict or contest between the Trickster (or Devil) and the good God in Eurasian versions, although this kind of dualism is not developed in America.[2] But among these tribes there is a difference of opinion as to whether the Creator is the Trickster or the High God: surely this is an insipient dualism. The Maidu of California also introduce a dualism in connection with the earth diver myth, although not in the form of antagonism between the diver and the Creator; But are not all these "dualisms" and antagonisms basically one in origin, the dualism between the world-view of the shaman and that of the Trickster of mythology? The fact that frequently the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero becomes the overseer of the dive for earth and the re-creation (or creation) of the earth is evidence of the powerful hold over the minds of the people, including the shamans themselves, which this figure possesses. However, whenever we find the Trickster-Fixer in the role of Creator, he seems to be a little "out of character," and quite often in the mythology of that tribe there is a cleavage between the Trickster tales and those of the Creator (as on the Northwest Coast, for example: see chapter ii especially).

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[1] Cf. Mircea Eliade, "Mythologies Asiatiques et folklore sud-est européen," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CLX, Part 2 (1961), 203-207.

[2] Cf. *ibid*., pp. 167-169, 176, 188, 194-195, 198-199.

The Northern and Central Algonkian Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero

The Algonkian tribes located east of the Blackfoot and west of the Montagnais-Naskapi possess a common tradition about the re-creation of the earth after a flood caused by Water Monsters, by the Trickster-Fixer, using materials brought up by an earth-diver, usually the Muskrat. The events leading up to the deluge and re-making of the earth are basically the same in all versions, but there are two major types of "introductions" to the whole cycle: that is, two different accounts of the birth and earliest adventures of the hero. These events, it should be noted, belong to the "myth times," while the flood brings this age to a close.

The Cree version, reported from several different bands, is substantially as follows:

> It happened in the darkness of the primeval world that there existed a being, it is said, who may have been a man. The man had a wife and two sons. One day the man learned his wife was having illicit relations regularly in his absence with the Serpents who lived in a hollow tree nearby. When she was off on an errand one day, the husband killed the snakes and sent his little boys away from the house with articles to throw over their shoulders if they should be pursued (an awl, flint, rock, and beaver tooth). When his wife returned, the man told her what he had done, and killed her also, cutting off her head. Then he went up to the sky to become the Big Dipper. Her body pursued him, and became the Little Dipper. Her head, however, remained on earth, and began to roll after the two boys, calling sweetly to them.
>
> The elder brother, who was Wisakejak, ran faster, carrying his little brother on his back. He threw the objects his father had given him over his shoulder, creating obstacles and delaying the rolling head. However, the terrible thing could not be stopped. By accident, the youth cast the beaver tooth in front of him, and a river sprang into being across his path. A Crane or Serpent aided the boys in getting across, making a bridge for them or ferrying them; but when the skull came the helper dropped it in midstream, and ordained that it should become a sturgeon.[1]
>
> After wandering around for a while, the boys saw a man come up to them in a canoe. He kidnapped Wisakejak, but refused to take the younger boy also. The little one cried, and as they departed he turned himself into a wolf. The man abducted Wisakejak because he wanted him for a husband for his two daughters. However, because he was so young and also ugly, only the younger daughter would have him. He played tricks on the family, and became increasingly disliked by his father-in-law. He bathed in a sweat house and became a handsome youth. Now the elder sister was angry, and persuaded her father to try to kill him. He survived various "father-in-law tests," vanquished giant animals and made them harmless and smaller for future times, and eventually either pacified or killed his wife's father. As a result of his conquests, he obtained material for making the first bow and arrows. Out of the bodies of some of the slain monsters he made all the animals of the world. Then he departed to look for his brother, who had turned into a wolf.[2]

This much of the story is peculiar to the Cree as an introduction to the Wisakejak cycle. It consists of many episodes and adventures often ascribed to "later generation" heroes and Transformers. The "real" story of Wisakejak begins when he rejoins his brother, who is a wolf, and travels with the wolf pack for a while.[1] In one account, which lacks the above introduction but seems to presuppose it, Wolverine is traveling along and meets a wolf pack. The Wolf Chief says to his companions, "I believe that is my eldest brother," and the pack heads toward Wolverine. The Wolverine begins to run, but falls, and when he rises he is a man, none other than Wisakejak. After camping and traveling with them for a while, Wisakejak leaves them, being given for a companion a young wolf, one of his nephews.[2]

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[1] The Reverend E. Ahenakew, "Cree Trickster Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLII, No. 166 (1929), 309-313; Leonard Bloomfield, Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 60, Anthropological Series No. 11; Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1940), pp. 8-10.

[2] Ahenakew, pp. 313-20; ibid., pp. 10-17.

A radically different account of the birth of Wisakejak or Wisaka is given by the Sauk, Fox, and Potawatomi. Among the Ojibwa, Menomini, and Ottawa this second version is given also, but the name of the hero becomes Nanabozho or Manbus (or some variant of this name), which means, apparently, Great White Hare.

This story has been reported many times and the versions vary at certain points, as will be indicated in the composite account given below. Actually, the number and sequence of episodes is surprisingly stable over a very wide area. This cycle seems to have been co-extensive with the Algonkian Midewin, the Medicine Lodge Society (to be discussed below), for which it was the sacred origin myth. However, we shall have to distinguish between two important variants, one of which seems to have been the popular account, the other the esoteric version, of the myth. The latter is the "true" Midewin origin myth, as we shall see. The birth of Nanabozho is a part of the popular version, and is presupposed by the esoteric version.

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[1] Cf. Ahenakew, pp. 320-327; ibid., pp. 18-20, omits the adventures with the pack. (These adventures will be cited below.)

[2] Skinner, "Plains Cree Tales," pp. 341-344; cf. above, p. 171 where reference has been made to this episode.

> The first person on the earth[1] was the old woman Nokomis (Grandmother). She had a daughter (in one version she appears from under a bowl) living with her. The two went out each day digging roots for food. The old woman warned her daughter never to face directly north (or toward any cardinal point) while she was stooped over, digging. One day she forgot the warning, and while she was bending over a wind blew suddenly, lifting her skirts and impregnating her. The Four Winds, underground spirits, had entered her body in order to be born on earth.
>
> When the Winds were born, they tore their mother's body to pieces. The old woman gathered up the pieces (or clot of blood) and placed them under an inverted bowl (or wrapped the clot in bark) and waited. When she looked, she found a little rabbit. This was Manabus, the one destined to be the Hero of the world.[2]

According to one version,[3] the Grandmother tried to cause Manabus to grow rapidly into Great Hare by placing him in a sweat house; but to her surprise he emerged as a man. Other versions depict him as able to change back and forth between human and animal form, especially during his early adventures. Apparently, we have to do here with a shamanistic recasting of an old Trickster-Transformer-Hero, the Hare, who, by being placed in a sweat house, is transformed into an anthropomorphic and spiritually endowed being.

The early adventures of Nanabozho (Manabus, Wisaka, etc.) include his stealing fire from a hostile man living across the lake (he goes in rabbit form, is picked up for a pet by the man's daughters, and thus gains entrance to the lodge . . .); inducing a large fish to swallow him so that he can kill it from inside and release the others it has swallowed (these become the real animals in one account[4]); killing a man who lives on an island and is clogging the sea lanes with pitch; destroying a Giant Beaver who has been endangering life on earth; stealing tobacco for men from Grasshopper; and killing a great Manitou (supernatural being) and having the animals bathe in its fat, thus getting meat on their bones. Manabus travels for a while with his Grandmother, kills her Bear parramore, and becomes angry with her when she has connection with the hind quarters of the animal while they are packing the meat home (this is a widespread motif in North America).[1]

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[1] The creation of the earth is not accounted for in myths of the central Algonkians, except as they have been influenced by the Siouans. The Winnebago (Siouan) origin myth of the Medicine Lodge begins with the creation of the earth by Earthmaker. One Menomini version likewise mentions the making of the earth by the "Great Spirit." (Skinner and Satterlee, p. 241.)

[2] See fn. 1, p. 181, for source-references.

[3] Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 241-243.

[4] Ibid., pp. 227-228.

This much of the story is certainly very old, and must contain some of the most archaic episodes of the cycle of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, Great White Hare. Several of these incidents recur in the traditions of the Eastern Algonkians concerning Gluskap, as we shall see later.

There are some important variants in the above myth at the point of the birth of the children of the wind-impregnated mother, who died in giving birth. It is stated variously that four, three, or two brothers were born, one of whom was Flint and another of whom was Nanabozho. Flint refused to be born in a normal manner, and burst through the side of his mother, killing her. (His head is a sharp flint.) In these versions, Nanabozho is born directly from his mother, in a normal fashion. When three brothers are mentioned, the third is a good brother (called Kiyapata by the Sauk-Fox, Muhawase, Little Wolf, by the Menomini, and Chibiabos by the Ojibwa), who plays an important part in the story subsequently.[2] In Schoolcraft's Ojibwa version, four brothers were born: Manabozho, Flint Man, Chibiabos, and Wabassa, the Great Hare, who fled to the north.[1] This version combines the (probably) old version which said four Winds were born, with the later versions which have been influenced by the Iroquois. Manabozho is here distinguished from the Great Hare, but almost certainly the two are identical in origin.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 241-253, 295-296; DeJosselin deJong, pp. 5-7, 9-11; Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, pp. 132-153; William Carson, "Ojibwa Tales," Journal of Americal Folk-Lore, XXX, No. 116 (1917), 492; and Mentor Williams, Schoolcraft's Indian Legends (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956), pp. 67-80.

[2] Skinner and Saterlee, pp. 239-241; William Jones, "Episodes in the Culture-Hero Myth of the Sauks and Foxes," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIV, No. 55 (1901), 225-229; idem, Fox Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. I; Leyden: Brill, 1907), pp. 336-337; A. F. Chamberlain, "Nanibozho Amongst the Otchipwe, Mississagas, and other Algonkian Tribes," Journal of American Folk-Lore, IV, No. 14 (1891), 201, 204-205.

In certain Menomini versions, Manabus' birth is followed by the birth of the spirits of the four directions and by all the animals, which marched forth in a grand procession, with Flint coming last and killing his mother.[2]

The evil brother, Flint, comes into Algonkian mythology from the Iroquois, and in those Algonkian myths where he is mentioned, one of the first adult deeds of Manabus is to kill his brother, turning him into a flint mountain. The Flint Man as the embodiment of evil in the world is a distinctly Iroquoian idea, as we shall see in chapter xx. His presence in some versions of the birth of Manabus is due to the influence of the neighboring Iroquois tribes, and is therefore to be regarded as a late innovation.

We should note the presence of "agricultural motifs" in the myth of the birth of the Hero. The mother is killed by the births, but from her "sacrifice" new life is given to the world. The hero is, in some accounts, born from the blood or remains of the flesh of the mother. The idea of the Earth-Grandmother and her daughter who is mysteriously or "spiritually" impregnated, and from whom the Hero is born, is found also among the Iroquois and among the Southwestern peoples, all of whom are agricultural. The central Algonquins, it should be remarked, practiced agriculture to a limited degree, especially around the shores of the Great Lakes (farming is impractical much farther north).[1] These "agricultural motifs" must have been added to the older myth of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, whose birth, originally, was not accounted for. At any rate, we have here a myth built up out of several different layers of traditions.

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[1] Chamberlain, pp. 206-207.

[2] Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, pp. 132-135; 136-147. Cf. William Jones, "Ojibwas Tales from the North Shore of Lake Superior," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXIX, No. 113 (1916), 370.

Most accounts from all the tribes, the Cree as well as those groups living around the shores of the Lakes, agree that Wisaka/Nanabozho had a brother (or nephew or companion) who was a Wolf. (Reference to this part of the cycle has been made above.) The Wolf brother was head of a pack with whom Wisaka traveled for a while, having been transformed into a wolf himself. While with the wolves, the Hero-Trickster got into mischief and disobeyed orders. Sleeping one night in a snow bank with the wolves, Nanibozho became cold. The wolves covered him with their tails, and soon he was too warm and angrily threw off his "blankets." This went on all night. He learned from the wolves a magic way of making fire, but lost the power by disobeying the instructions and breaking the taboos. Because of these and other frictions between Nanibozho and the wolves, he departed from them after a while. When he left, he was given a young wolf "nephew" for a companion.[2]

Presumably, this part of the cycle is quite archaic, and shows Trickster as a person incapable of supernatural powers. The Wolf brother, in my view, would represent an early shamanistic hero-type, and in traveling with him

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[1] Cf. Diamond Jenness, The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 78, Anthropological Series No. 17; Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1935), p. 10.

[2] Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 253-255; Williams, pp. 67-80; Carson, p. 491; DeJosselin DeJong, pp. 12-13; Ahenakew, pp. 320-324; Skinner, "Plains Cree," p. 344; idem, "Plains Ojibwa Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXII, No. 124 (1919), 283-284; Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, pp. 175-179; Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 294-297; Paul Radin and A. B. Reagan, "Ojibwas Myths and Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLI, No. 159 (1928), 70-72.

Trickster is invited to acquire spiritual powers which the wolves possess. He proves unsuited to such a life, and even loses the one "power" he has acquired from them, the ability to make fire magically (by leaping over a pile of kindling). He leaves the company of the Wolves, because, obviously, he does not "belong."

From this point onward in the cycle of Nanabozho, we must distinguish between the esoteric Medicine Lodge version of the story and that which was, apparently, known by everyone. The common version may be summarized as follows:

> Wisaka (Nanabozho, etc.) dreams that the Manitous (supernaturals) of the underworld will kill his young companion if the latter ever walks across the frozen lake or leaps over a river. He warns the younger relative not to do these things, lest "something bad" happen. The younger one forgets, and is caught by the Water Beings, killed, and his skin taken to their house in the depths of the sea.
>
> The Hero goes to the shore and learns from a bird where the manitous come out to sun themselves. (The bird is painted as a reward.) Wisaka transforms himself into a stump on the shore, of which the Manitous at first are wary. But failing to evoke any movement or outcry when they scratch and otherwise injure it, they decide it is really a stump, and come out for their sunbaths. When the Manitous fall asleep on the shore, Wisaka resumes his normal form and shoots the chief, a great white creature, with an arrow. The monsters flee to the water (and in some versions cause a flood).
>
> Soon after, the Hero meets an old Frog Woman Doctor on her way to treat the wounded chief under the sea. He talks with her, learns her purpose (and probably her procedure), then kills her and puts on her skin, and goes in her place to the house of the evil Manitous.
>
> Left alone with his enemy to "treat" him, Manabus pushes the arrow which still is sticking in the beast's flesh deeper, and kills him. He grabs the little Wolf's skin drops his disguise, and runs as fast as he can.
>
> The sea monsters make the water rise, and it pursues him to the top of a high mountain, and even to the top of a pine tree. The world is flooded. Clinging to the tree top, or riding on a raft made from the tree, Nanabozho sends some of the acquatic animals which have survived diving for earth. The successful one, in almost all accounts, is Muskrat. Often the divers bob to the surface dead, and Nanabozho has to revive them. Out of the few grains of dirt brought up in Muskrat's claws, Nanabozho recreates the earth. He revives his Wolf relative and sends him out to measure the circumference of the land. When the Wolf fails

> to return, or when he returns as an old man, Nanabozho causes the earth to cease to grow. Then he recreates all the animals, trees, and so forth, and makes man.[1]

While ethnologists have not been careful to separate common versions from the esoteric Midewin myth,[2] the two are quite different. The Midewin myth presupposes knowledge of the popular story, and begins in medias res:

> Manapus (Wisaka, etc.) was put in charge of the world (by the Great Spirit) and given for a companion a "little brother," the white Wolf. The boy hunted each day and brought food to the lodge of his brother and grandmother. At this time the only other beings in existence besides these three were the Powers living in the two tiers of Heaven above and the two tiers of the Underworld. These Powers (Manitous) sometimes came upon earth, especially the Underworld ones. These Manitous became jealous of the powers and authority given to Manapus on earth, and they came together in council. They knew that he would grow stronger and create a race of beings on earth who would destroy the gods, unless something were done to stop him.
>
> According to some versions, the Manitous went to the Grandmother, Earth-Woman, and asked her advice and help. She told them they could not kill Wisaka, and that though they might kill her younger brother, it would only serve to make him a more powerful being. Nevertheless, the Manitous proceeded with their plan, which was to strike at Wisaka through his younger brother, Wolf.
>
> Manabus-Wisaka heard their plans in a dream, and warned the Wolf never to cross the lake on the ice. By a ruse, described differently in different versions, the Underworld Powers contrived to seize the youth and pull him under the waters. (They persuaded the two brothers to go on hunting journeys with them, in opposite directions; or they

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[1] Ahenakew, pp. 324-327; Bloomfield, Sweet Grass Cree, pp. 8-20; Chamberlain, pp. 195-199, 204-205, 207-209; Williams, pp. 67-80; Carson, pp. 491-492; DeJosselin DeJong, pp. 12-16; Radin and Regan, pp. 62-72; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 253-255, 260-263; Skinner, "Plains Cree," pp. 344-346; idem, "Plains Ojibwa," pp. 284-288; S. C. Simms, "Myths of the Bungees or Swampy Indians of Lake Winnipeg," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIX, No. 75 (1906), 337; James C. Hamilton, "The Algonquin Manabozho and Hiawatha," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XVI, No. 63 (1903), 229-231.

[2] Cf. Margaret Fisher, "The Mythology of Northern and Northeastern Algonkians in Reference to Algonkian Mythology as a Whole," in Man in Northeastern North America, ed. Frederick Johnson (Papers of the Peabody Foundation, Vol. III; Andover, Mass.: Phillips Academy, 1946), p. 232, where the two types are recognized, but called respectively the "Ojibwa" and "Potawatomi" types.

sent Wisaka away on a race around Lake Michigan; or they sent a white deer which Wolf pursued so that he crossed the ice or leaped over a stream; or they seized him when Wisaka sent him to the Sea Monsters to protest against their evil doings.) Having separated the younger brother from the elder, they seized Wolf and carried him to their lair. From far away the Hero heard Wolf calling for help, but by the time he reached the place, it was too late. He searched everywhere for him, but could find no trace.

Wisaka began to mourn, and all nature mourned with him. The earth quaked and the animals came and tried to comfort him. In his anger and grief he cursed the Powers of the transcendent worlds: "Now I shall kill all the gods of the four tiers! Yes, all of them shall I fling forth, so that never shall mortal man say the word 'God!'"

He went about weeping. He wept toward the sea, and it nearly dried up. The Underwater Manitous were exposed, and began to shrivel. He looked up and the sky nearly fell. "Now this is the way I mean to deal with you; I intend to slay you, who have done grief to me. So that my uncles [people to come] may draw water, I shall now take it from you. So that they may never say the word 'god' I shall arrange the earth."[1]

Manabus killed all the Manitous he could lay hands upon. The supernaturals decided that they must act quickly to stop him. The Great Spirit (Supreme Manitou) told the Powers Below that they must pacify him, since they had done the wrong. The Underworld Manitous, accordingly, assembled and built a lodge, prepared to enact a ceremony, and sent messengers to summon Manabus. He came at last, after much persuasion, knowing full well what they had in mind to do. There they inducted him into the secrets of the Medicine Lodge (the details of the ceremony take up the major portion of the account), for the purpose of pacifying his anger, and in order that he might pass on the knowledge to future generations. By observing these rites, mortal men would be enabled to live to a ripe old age. Manabus accepted the rites, not for himself, but for the people to come.

He returned to earth (he had been in Heaven), and with the help of his Grandmother he conducted the first Medicine Rite on earth. Grandmother (Earth) said she would give her "hair" (plants, herbs) for the use of mankind in future Medicine Lodge rites.[2]

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[1] Bloomfield, *Menomini Texts*, p. 159.

[2] Alanson Skinner, *Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton Dakota* (Indian Notes and Monographs, Vol. IV; New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1920), pp. 25-83, 137-147, 327-329; *idem*, "Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians," *Bulletin of the Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, V (1923-1925), 38-39; Bloomfield, *Menomini Texts*, pp. 175-179; Jones, *Fox Texts*, pp. 336-379; Chamberlain, pp. 200-201, 210-213; Jenness, pp. 69-70; Jones, "Episodes," pp. 225-238.

This seems to conclude the sacred myth which is taught to persons at their time of initiation into the Medicine Lodge Society. There is a second myth, which establishes the private memorial rites for members of the lodge, which "branches off" from the other story at the place where Manabus' little brother is lost.[1] It is not clear just how it is to be related to the sequence of the narrative above:

> Manabus mourned for his lost brother for four days. The Powers Below were fearful for their existence, because of the power and anger of Manabus. So they sent the Little Brother back to him after four days.[2] He came to Manabus in the night, knocking at his door. Manabus refused to let him come in, because it was now "too late": he had been dead, and now he no longer belonged on earth.[3]
>
> Instead, Manabus told him he must proceed to the west, and live in a land where the sun sets. He gave him things he would need there, and told him to leave a well-marked trail so that in the future those who die would be able to follow easily. Now he lives there as lord of the dead.

It is believed that Manabus finally went away from the earth to dwell either with his brother, or at the north end of the world, where he is still a powerful spirit who gives aid to men. Some say he will come again one day to destroy the world.[4]

There is a tradition which occurs now and again in the collections that a group of men once went to seek power and benefits from Nanabozho at his place far in the North. One man asked to live forever, but he did not realize the danger in such an unreasonable request. Nanabozho granted it by turning him into stone. The others asked for legitimate things and had their requests granted.[1] The same story, we shall find, is told among the Eastern Algonkians about Glooskap.

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[1] Skinner, Medicine Ceremony, p. 102.

[2] Cf. Jenness, p. 70, and Alanson Skinner, The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi Indians (Bulletin of the Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. VI; Milwaukee: 1924-1927), p. 213; where Wolf is brought to life by the Rites.

[3] Skinner, Medicine Ceremony, pp. 103-117; idem, "Ethnology of the Sauk," pp. 38-40; Jenness, p. 70; Chamberlain, pp. 200-201, 210-213.

[4] Cf. Skinner, Medicine Ceremony, p. 114, and above references.

Alexander Henry, who was a fur trader in Canada between 1760 and about 1800, reported that off the north shore of Lake Superior was an island under which Nanabizho was supposed to have been buried. Sacrifices were offered there by all who passed by.[2] Jenness' reference to a stone mountain on the north shore of Lake Superior as his body, probably refers to the same place.[3]

The main point of the Medicine Lodge myth is to show Manabus-Wisaka as the man who brought to earth the knowledge by which men can vanquish the hostile powers of the universe, including even those who cause death--to a certain degree. The anxiety to conquer death is even more prominent in the Siouan Winnebago Medicine Lodge origin myths, as reported by Radin.[4] Here, Hare searches over the universe for some means of obtaining immortality for mankind. His Grandmother tells him it is the Creator's will that men shall live only a fixed span, and then die, lest the earth become overpopulated. Hare cannot accept this decree, and finally Earthmaker gives him the rites of the Medicine Lodge:

> Nephew obtained a (new) life for us, this life is what he secured. We have heard that when he-whom-we-call-nephew secured this creation-lodge, this lodge was completely full; for everything, whatever it is, starts from and begins here,[5]

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[1] Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 332-337; Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, pp. 252-265; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 299-302; Skinner, "Plains Ojibwa," p. 291; Col. G. E. Laidlaw, "Ojibwa Myths and Tales" (Twenty-seventh Annual Archeological Report, Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education; Ontario, Toronto: 1915), pp. 81-82.

[2] Hamilton, pp. 229-230; Cf. Chamberlain, pp. 194-195.

[3] Jenness, p. 38.

[4] Paul Radin, The Origin Myth of the Medicine Rite (Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir No. 3; Baltimore, Md.: 1950), pp. 9-18, 37-56, 64-66.

[5] Ibid., p. 56.

said an informant. Evidently, it was a part of the secret lore of the Siouan Society that the lodge in which their rites were held was a kind of microcosm, representing the world as it was first made by Earthmaker. Similarly, the Medicine Lodge of the Menomini is a duplication of the Lodge made by the Powers of the Above World and the Underworld, and it is painted inside with blue paint, to represent the sky;[1] so it, too, is a kind of minature cosmos.

What the story of Wisaka/Manabus, as told by the Medicine Lodge, is intended to teach, it appears, is the origin of death, and the giving of a partial remedy for it by the supernatural beings who are in fact responsible for the first death. They kill the "little brother" in order to wipe out the threat of a race of immortal beings after the type of Manabus. The little brother represents man's champion, an immortal savior. The characterization of Manabus owes much to shamanistic ideas, and he is the founder of a shamanistic society. However, a surprisingly strong strain of the ancient anti-god Trickster-Hero character remains in the figure. He rebels against the gods of sky and underworld, and vows to destroy them, because they have brought death into the world which he intends to rule. He has the power to destroy them, and is well on his way toward accomplishing his purpose of erasing the name "god" from the memory of man, when the Manitous offer him a "compromise settlement." They do two things: first, they send back the dead brother, but Manabus knows it is too late, and that death is now a permanent part of this world. It is inadvisable for a ghost to return to the land of the living, so Manabus sends him to a place of his own, far in the west, where henceforth all the dead shall go. The other thing the Manitous do is to teach Manabus a life-giving ceremony, the Medicine Lodge Rite, by which disease and too-early death can be avoided, and eternal life assured. (The rites will be described briefly below.)

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[1] Skinner, Medicine Ceremony, p. 140. Cf. Werner Müller, Die Blaue Hutte (Studien zur Kulturkunde, Band XII, Wiesbaden: Frobenius Institut, 1954).

Thus the gods conquered in the end, since they made peace with the Hero who was going to destroy them, and they made him their servant, by teaching him to observe the ritual which they gave him as the reward for his capitulation. The myth shows us, I believe, the victory of shamanistic-priestly religion over the worldly religion of the heroic Trickster-Transformer. The defeated point of view and its champion appear in a very favorable light, and they are permitted to succumb gracefully, without "losing face." The Trickster holds out to the last moment, refusing to come up to Heaven until several messengers have begged him to come. But at last he goes, accepts the gifts of the supernatural Powers, and thereby puts himself under obligation to them. His personal reward is that he has become a spirit, dwelling in the North, able to dispense blessings upon those who come to him. (This development, however, is probably a "popular" one, due to ideas of spirit-helpers taught by the shamans.) Thus, the one who cursed the gods has ended by becoming a god himself.

The older, common version of the myth, which tells of Manabozho's wounding and subsequent slaying of the Underworld Chief for the killing of the little Wolf, with its sequel of a flood and a recreation of the earth, appears to me to be also a shamanistic myth, in origin, and I suspect that it once was the sacred myth of a society of doctors which was a prototype or predecessor of the Midewin. The central point of this now-common version is that the Hero learned by trickery the secrets of curing from the old Frog-Woman, and with this knowledge killed his supernatural enemy, rescued the skin of his little brother, and restored him to life. The daring deed brought about the great flood, which brought the old myth-world to an end, and in its place the Hero made a new world. (Only after the new world has been made is the young Wolf revived, it should be noted. There is a careful parallelism between the death and resurrection of the Wolf-boy and the "death and resurrection" of the earth.)

That the Medicine Lodge, or its prototype, may once have been a fraternity of shamans deriving their powers from subterranean spirits and underwater manitous is suggested by reports of nineteenth-century missionaries among the Dakota, who are Siouan people lying to the immediate west of the central Algonkians. According to these accounts of Siouan religion, the Unktehi (Horned Water Serpents) were the most important gods of the Indians, the ones who received offerings most frequently (from the Siouan Medicine Lodge members). These beings were the reputed givers of the original Medicine Bundle and rites. Myths were reported attributing the creation of the world to the Water Monsters, they serving as the overseers of the dive for mud in the primeval ocean (or flood?).[1]

After having written the above, I discovered a story from the Ponca, a Siouan tribe somewhat removed from any Algonkian tribe in historic times, which exactly duplicates the hypothetical reconstruction I proposed above:

> Ha-xi-ge (who seems to be an equivalent of Nanabozho) was living with his little brother. He warned his brother not to attack the animals living in the water, but one day the Otters enticed him and drew him to the cave of the water monsters (Wakandagi). There he was killed, flayed, and his skin hung up as a door flap. Haxige, in anger, wounded two of the monsters.
>
> Ictinike, the Trickster, disguised as a Buzzard, was summoned to cure the two monsters. Haxige met him on the way, and managed to persuade him to reveal the secrets of his profession. He killed him and put on his clothing. Thus disguised, he gained entry into the cave of

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[1] Cf. James Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults" (Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889-1890; Washington: 1894), pp. 439-440; Skinner, Medicine Ceremony, pp. 273-278; and chapter vii of this paper.

> the monsters, and killed them. He fled, carrying his brother's skin. The monsters pursued him, but he escaped by leaping into a boiling spring which turned him to stone. When the pursuers had gone, he resumed his form and traveled on. He met a Beaver who, not knowing who he was, told him that the Wakandazi were planning to kill Haxige with a flood, darkness, serpents, and snow. Hexige said he would be able to overcome all these things, and killed the Beaver. He restored his brother to life from the skin, but the latter became a ghost shortly thereafter. Therefore, Haxige decreed that the dead shall not return to earth, but their spirits will go to dwell in another place. Haxige turned into a deer and his brother into a wolf.[1]

Practically all the elements of the common version of the Algonkian myth are here, and also part of the esoteric tale of the return of the ghostly brother and the establishment of the land of the dead. After Beaver gives the warning of a flood and other catastrophes, we expect to hear of their occurrence, but these have dropped out of the story as it was told to Dorsey. Presumably, a flood and the other things occurred, and Haxige remade the earth. Then he "went away," or transmorphed, as do all Culture Heroes when their work is finished.

The identification of the supernatural doctor as the Trickster Ictinike is certainly strange, and must be an "error" on the part of the narrator. It would seem more logical for Ictinike to be the hero of the story. However, in Siouan mythology Ictinike is a Trickster and a fallen god, much despised by the Shaman-Priests, who class him and the Underwater Beings among the "evil gods." This fact may account for Ictinike's being identified as the evil doctor. (See chapter vii for a fuller discussion.)

Jenness[2] characterizes the Medicine Lodge Society as a "secret medicinal organization garbed in the mantle of religion," specializing in the use of plants and herbs for curing. The society has an initiation ceremony consisting of a simulated death and resurrection, the candidate being "shot" by a sacred shell supposedly projected invisibly from the medicine bundle of the shaman-priest. The "dead" candidate is resuscitated by means of the same bundle, after which the candidate spits out the shell. Then he is given a bundle of his own, and goes around "shooting" and "reviving" his brothers.[1] The candidate receives facial paintings in blue, the sacred color (resembling the sky).[2]

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[1] James O. Dorsey, "Nanibozhu in Siouan Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, V, No. 19 (1892), 303-304; and idem, The Ȼegha Language (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. VI; Washington: 1890), pp. 226, 244.

[2] Jenness, p. 75.

At the commencement of the rites, tobacco is smoked to the Powers Above (the zenith and four quarters), and prayers are offered. Manabus also is addressed, and likewise the Powers Below, who are offered presents, these being buried in the earth rather than burned. (Some said the Powers Below are worshipped first, since they were the givers of the Medicine Lodge rites.[3]

Four kinds of rites are performed by the Midewin. The first, the initiation, is considered a dramatization of the myth given above, in which Manabus receives the Rite from the Supernaturals. The leaders impersonate the Great Gods Above and Below, and the novice is Manabus. The second rite reinacts the sending away of the spirit of the brother to the land of the dead, and is a private memorial service for deceased members of the lodge, held about a year following the death. The spirit is recalled, feasted, and dismissed forever, according to the command of Manabus, the master. A third rite is the Obliteration Ceremony, a more public memorial service. The fourth rite is for those seeking second, third, and fourth initiations, which give them higher status in the society.[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 71-75; Skinner, Mascoutens, pp. 217-218; idem., "Ethnology of Sauk," pp. 4-46; idem, Medicine Ceremony, pp. 177-181.

[2] Ibid., p. 169.

[3] Ibid., pp. 147, 173, 325.

[4] Ibid., pp. 23-24, 128.

The Medicine Lodge is found among the Central Algonkian tribes and neighboring Siouans, extending northward almost to the shore of Hudson Bay, westward almost to the foothills of the Rockies among the Plains Cree and Ojibwa, and on the northern Plains the Dakota, Omaha, Ponca, Iowa, and Oto have it. The society appears to be of Algonkian, and presumably of Ojibwa, origin. It takes different forms among the Siouan tribes for whom either Earthmaker or the Great Spirit (Wakan Tanka) assume more prominent roles in the myths.[1] The Siouan myths of the origin of the Medicine Lodge are considerably different from those of the Algonkians, and will be considered in the next chapter.

Skinner, attempting to obtain myths from the Prairie Potawatomi of Wisconsin, found the people quite reluctant to recite tales about Wisaka (as they call him). The reason for this aversion, according to Skinner, is that in the first half of the nineteenth century a concerted effort was made by the powerful Shawnee chief Techumseh and his brother, the Prophet, to abolish the Midewin. Wherever they could do so, they destroyed it. Part of their effort proved to be short-lived, but there were certain lasting effects:

> The juggler with his bark lodge and the fire-eater, once well-known, never came back after the Prophet's work. The Medicine Lodge Society returned, the members now attributing its origin, with doubtful success, to the Great Spirit, but retaining some of the Culture Hero complex that everywhere else accompanies it among the Central Algonkian, and the less-sacred stories of Wisaka themselves grew to be considered, if not exactly taboo, at least untrue and unworthy.[2]

The Prairie Potawatomi retain, then, only a "whisper" of the idea that Wisaka inaugurated the Midewin. Other tribes, such as the Sauk, Fox, Menomini, and Ojibwa, attribute the origin of the lodge to Wisaka or Manabozho, the Great Hare, but under the inspiration and guidance of the Great Spirit.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-13.

[2] Skinner, *Mascoutens*, pp. 14-15.

Tension between the Culture Hero and the High God is manifest in some of the episodes of the Midewin myth as outlined above. It was even greater during the period of the Prophet's reform movement, as is shown in the version of the myth obtained by the Reverend Cutting Marsh in the second quarter of the nineteenth century:

> Wisaka met the Great Spirit one day, after the human race had been begun, and the Medicine Lodge Rites instituted. The Culture Hero boasted that he had destroyed the monsters and had made the earth. The Great Spirit opened his Medicine Bundle and showed Wisaka the beginning of his existence, and Wisaka was ashamed. Then the Great One cast him by the heel to the north end of the world.[1]

The Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, although remodeled after the pattern of shamanistic-priestly religion and although attacked by proponents of a cult of the High God, managed to retain his position as the principal figure in the affections of the people. Wisaka/Nanabozho remains for the Central Algonkians the Culture Hero-Transformer, and also the great joker and fool. (The Winnebago, in contrast, have relegated their trickster stories to the Wakdjunkaga, Turtle, and Bladder cycles.)[2]

And indeed there are many fantastic trickster stories told about this one. How are these reconciled with Nanabozho's character as the creator of the earth, the exalted head of the Midewin, the powerful being at the north end of the world, etc.? Chamberlain[3] reports what one narrator said when his native audience laughed during the recital of trickster stories, which is probably typical of popular opinion: "Nanibozho is also smiling and pleased because his great exploits are admired." Another investigator heard a storyteller add these words at the end of a "blundering host" story about Menapus:

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[1] M. R. Harrington, "Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians," University of Pennsylvania Museum Anthropological Publications, IV, No. 2 (1914), 258; Skinner, "Ethnology of Sauk," pp. 77-80; cf. *idem*, *Mascoutens*, pp. 48-213-216.

[2] Cf. Paul Radin, Winnebago Hero Cycles: A Study in Aboriginal Literature (Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir No. 1; Baltimore: 1948), pp. 23, 31.

[3] Chamberlain, p. 195, from a missionary report, 1889.

> Now, let us be silent. Let us pray to Menapus that he may take pity upon us. The reason he did these things was that mortal man might always laugh, whenever the story of him is told, as long as there is an earth. . . . And let us give him tobacco that he may smoke, and let us give him money that he may be pleased and may help us to live.[1]

In the popular mind, as well as in the mind of the shaman, man needs help from the gods, and if the shamans do not do it for them, the common people will make of their Trickster-Transformer-Hero something of a god. But such a god is not solemn and austere: he knows how to laugh, and he wants his people to laugh at him and with him.

The Montagnais-Naskapi

Among the eastern and northeastern Algonkians there has been more of a separation between the trickster characteristics and those of the Culture Hero, so that instead of one, unified character we find two or more embodying parts of the original multi-sided figure. In this section we shall look at the material collected from the Montagnais-Naskapi tribes of norther Quebec and Labrador. Culturally, these people are about on a par with the Athabascans of interior Canada (see chapter v), and our mythological data from them leaves much to be desired.

The principal figure of their mythology is Tcikapis (Tsequebec, etc.). This same character reappears in the myths of the Cree, Ojibwa, and as a brother-sister pair Tsakap among the Kutenai.[2] He is pictured as a dwarf, and his brief cycle is told rather consistently over these several tribes. However, only to the Montagnais-Naskapi is he the Culture Hero. There are some indications in early reports from the Micmac that he was known to them as an older Culture Hero than Gluskap.[1] A Micmac story depicts Glooskap in a "test of powers" with another powerful being, a man much like himself, called "One-born-after-his-mother's-death,"[2] An epithet entirely suitable for Tcikapis. The earliest version of the Tcikapis cycle (LeJeune, 1637) is substantially the same as those collected in more recent times, indicating a fairly long "history" for this figure.[3]

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[1] Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, p. 213; cf. p. 245. Spoken by a man described as a "man of abounding vitality and humor, yet given to philosophical speculation," and a shaman (p. xi).

[2] Fisher, p. 230.

Tcikapis was born posthumously, according to several accounts, being taken from his dead mother's womb by his sister. In another account he lived with his parents. One version describes his father as a sort of Lord of Animals.[4] He remained always small, a diminutive but powerful dwarf. Like Nanabozho, he was a slayer of monsters, and like him he killed a great fish by letting it swallow him so he could cut out its heart. His most important deed was the snaring of the sun. The sun was too near the earth at that time, and all the animal-people were having a hard time because of the heat. Using the pubic hairs of his sister, he made a snare and captured the sun. This made the world dark, and Tcikapis had considerable difficulty in cutting it loose from the snare. He sent various animals to release the sun, and finally one of them succeeded. Now the sun traveled in the proper manner (since he knew that he could be snared by the Hero if he did not behave properly). Tcikapis thereupon became the moon, or went away to live in the moon.[5]

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 229-230. [2] Leland, pp. 74-77. [3] Fisher, p. 230.

[4] Frank G. Speck, "Montagnais and Naskapi Tales from the Labrador Peninsula," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXXVIII, No. 147 (1925), 3.

[5] *Ibid*., pp. 3-5, 15, 26; Fisher, pp. 230-239; cf. William Jones, "Ojibwa Tales from the North Shore of Lake Superior," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIX, No. 113 (1916) 376 ("The Gnome"); Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 375-376 (a boy snares the sun using sister's public hairs); Williams,

There is no myth of creation by earth diving among the Montagnais-Naskapi.

There seems to be some connection between Tcikapis and the "Whiskey-Jack" jay bird. When Tcikapis is coming up to the house of a cannibal woman, according to one tale, in order to kill her and marry her daughters, the girls laugh to see him; and when the mother asks the reason for their laughter, they say they are amused at the antics of a whiskey jack.[1] Another informant said that Wiskedzanabeo, a companion of Tcikapis, ate the scrapings from caribou skins, just as the whiskey jack does; and that he became that bird in the end.[2] Early settlers mispronounced the Cree Trickster-Hero's name, Wisakejak, as "Whiskey-Jack." Was this because he was identified with the bird by the Indians? I have found no explanation given for the name of the Cree figure.

Evidently, Tcikapis is to be regarded as an ancient anthropomorphic or semi-anthropomorphic Culture-Hero. No trickster-type stories are attached to this figure in the collections that have been gathered, except that in the vanquishing of evil monsters he uses strategy. However, he was deceitful in that he never told his parents or sister where he was going when he set out to kill some evil being, but just said he was going to hunt squirrels.[3] In all these respects, however, he does not differ from the Transformer-Heroes of (for example) the Salish, who are deliberately beneficent and never foolish or as tricky as the true Trickster-Culture Hero.

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pp. 256-257 (same story, Ojibwa); Petitot, Traditions Indiennes, pp. 411-412 ("Brother and Sister," Chipewyan); P. E. Goddard, "The Beaver Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, X (1916), 233 (Tumaxale).

[1] Speck, pp. 13-15.

[2] Ibid., p. 16.

[3] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

A Trickster-Fool called Mejo is mentioned in one story by Speck.[1] He is a man who is always talking to himself. He found a beaver asleep on the shore, and said, "Oh, a dead beaver! I'll roast him." While he was looking for a stick to serve as a spit, the beaver got up and swam away. He behaved equally foolishly when he found a sleeping otter. He came upon a bear, and the bear was going to eat him. However, Mejo persuaded the bear to "play" first in a sweat lodge, and there Mejo killed him with intense heat. This was the origin of the sweat lodge. This same person was said to have made the birch trees to have knots, so that their bark would not be perfect, and Indians would not have things "too easy."

Unfortunately, these are all the stories we have about "Mejo," and no explanation for the meaning of his name is given. Obviously, he is a Trickster, but he seems also to have been a Transformer and a Hero.

Our material from these far-northern Algonkians is very meagre, and theorizing on the basis of them is out of the question. It appears, however, that a somewhat "refined" Culture Hero has been developed, and that an equally anthropomorphic Trickster was also known.

These Montagnais-Naskapi also possessed a fairly well defined belief in a High God or Supreme Sky Being, as has been established by John M. Cooper.[2] Cooper gathered data personally about three decades ago from the eastern Cree and Montagnais of the James Bay area, and he has undertaken extensive research into obscure reports of early missionaries, traders, etc. among the Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. All the materials point to the conclusion that these people acknowledged a being called Manitu, aboriginally, as supreme over animals, men, and other spirit-beings. Under Christian influence the being became addressed as Kitchi Manitu, Great Spirit. He was regarded, apparently, under three aspects: Master of Food, Master of Life, and Master of Death. People prayed to him for food, and thanked him with pieces of meat or with grease thrown into the fire at every meal. "First fruits" rites were addressed to him when the first of a species of game was taken in a new season, and when a boy killed his first game. Meat being carried out of doors (as from one tent to another) always was covered, apparently to prevent the sky spirit from seeing it. Manitu would be very angry and would punish anyone who wasted food. It seems unlikely that he was regarded as Creator, and I have found no mention of him in the myths.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[2] See his The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being (The Catholic University of America Anthropological Series, No. 2; Washington: Catholic University Press, 1934), pp. 11-12, 16, 22, 37-43, 65-66.

The idea of a Supreme Being, it appears to me from this data, was not very much developed, but remained always rather vague. Manitu seems to have been first of all a Lord of Animals, and as such a giver of food and protector of the laws of hunting, including the non-abuse of animals and the careful usage of all food. From his station on high, Manitu looked down and saw everything: hence he must have been "omniscient," as are all sky deities. His absence from mythology (at least in our meagre collections) is to be expected, as he is mainly a construct of the shamans, and has to do with the present, not with myth-times.

The Eastern Algonkians

The principal figure in Micmac, Malecite, and Wabnaki (Northern New England Algonkians) traditions, Gluskap or Glooskabe, is a mainly anthropomorphic figure from whom most of the Trickster characteristics have been eliminated. Even though his name, apparently, means "the Liar,"[1] "he never, like Manabozho of the Chippewas [Ojibwa] becomes silly, cruel, or fantastic . . .; he is never low or feeble."[1] There are Trickster stories in plenty among these New Brunswick and New England tribes, but they are attributed to a variety of animal characters, Wolverine, Badger, Hare, Raccoon, Martin, Turtle, etc.

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[1] According to Frank G. Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Religious Beliefs," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLVIII, No. 187 (1935), 6: Gluski, "deceit, lie, nothing," and abe, "person." Hence "liar" or "man-from-nothing."

There are no religious associations or shamans' societies known among these people, nor among the tribes to the north of them. Neither was agriculture practiced, except perhaps marginally in the south of Maine. The people lived mainly by hunting (especially caribou) and by fishing, and they dwelt in bark or skin covered wigwams.[2] Despite long contact with whites, a fairly good store of myths and traditions has been gathered and published--better than would be expected--within recent times, for the four tribes, the Micmac, Malecite, Penobscot, and Passamaquoddy. Virtually nothing, however, is known of the folklore of tribes that lived in southern New England.[3]

The story of the birth of Gluskap shows strong Iroquoian influence:

> Before they were born, Gluskap and his brother Wolf talked about how they would come forth from their mother's body. Wolf said he would emerge from her side (or armpit), while Gluskap said he would be born in the proper way. When Wolf burst forth, his mother was killed.
>
> When they were grown, they asked each other to tell what one thing could kill them. The evil brother wanted to kill Gluskap. Gluskap gave a false answer. When the brother attacked him, Gluskap reluctantly killed him, and turned him into a mountain on the Gaspe peninsula.[4]

The stories about Gluskap's birth are found only among the Micmac and Malecite, and not among the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, or Wawenock.[5] Since Iroquoian influence is patent, we must suppose that there was more intercourse between the tribes at the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the Iroquois than between the latter and the New England tribes.

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[1] Leland, p. 2.

[2] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 2-3.

[3] Wawenock (southern Maine) material has been gathered, but it is very meagre: Frank Speck "Wawenock Myth Texts from Maine" (Forty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1925-1926; Washington: 1928).

[4] Leland, pp. 15-18, 106-107.

[5] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," p. 9.

One account, probably influenced by Christian teachings, states that the Great God made Gluskap out of earth and breathed upon him, at Cape North, Breton. His home was in a certain cave there.[1] A Penobscot tale, which attempts to harmonize native and Christian traditions, declared that the Creator made Adam out of dirt, but not Gluskap. Gluskap made himself out of the dust which was stirred up at Adam's creation. Then Gluskap and the Creator argued about how things should be in the world, with Gluskap's wishes, which were "harder," prevailing.[2] The same kind of dualism has developed in many parts of Indian America when the Trickster-Transformer comes into collision with the concept of a good Creator God.

A Wawenok tradition, showing also reaction to Christian teaching, represents Gluskap as having created himself out of the left-overs of God's creations. Therefore, God declared him to be very powerful.[3]

In most traditions Gluskap is associated with an old woman, a "grandmother," usually a woodchuck or a bear, and with a younger brother, usually a martin or a wolf. One account states that Gluskap came to the old woman after her own son had died.[4] The grandmother raised the boy and taught him everything he knew. As a boy, Gluskap went out hunting, told the animals that the world was coming to an end, and persuaded them all to hide inside his game bag, for "safety." He did the same with the fish. His grandmother told him this was not a good thing to do, and she made him release them, so that future generations would have food.[1] (This "childish prank" may be a memory of a myth about the concealment and release of game, or it may be simply a moral tale to teach children not to kill more game than is necessary.)

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[1] Frank Speck, "Some Micmac Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXVIII (1915-1916), 59.

[2] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," p. 9.

[3] Speck, "Wawenock," p. 186.

[4] Leland, p. 127 (Passamaquoddy).

A Micmac story says that Gluskap, his grandmother, and brother lived on an island. When Gluskap was away one day, an evil being kidnapped the others. Gluskap pursued them, riding on the back of a whale while crossing the water. They went north, stopping at several specific places, till they reached Newfoundland. Gluskap caught up to them eventually, met secretly the little brother, and told him what to do to offend the evil man who was holding him and his grandmother prisoner. The boy did as instructed, and as the man was about to punish the boy Gluskap stepped from hiding and killed him.[2]

This story in its beginning reminds us of the central Algonkian myth of the abduction and murder of the little brother. The following Passamaquoddy story resembles that myth in still another detail: the abductor is a serpent:

> Gluskap's boy companion, Martin, had a magic flute with which he could call any animal to him. Gluskap's enemy, an "evil sorcerer," made himself into the form of a serpent, enticed the boy into the woods one day, and caused him to break his flute. (This happened when Gluskap was far from home one day.) The boy wandered sorrowfully in the woods and was taken captive by the Serpent. Gluskap came home and the Grandmother told him the boy was missing. He vowed to search till he should find him. Soon he heard the boy singing a snake-charm song, and he found him wandering around outside a wigwam, looking for a straight stick. He told Gluskap that the Serpent had sent him for a stick to use for a spit, on which he was to be roasted. Gluskap told him to take a crooked stick, tell the cannibal that he could make it straight by holding it over the fire, and then, when it was hot, to burn him with it. The boy obeyed, and Gluskap easily killed the Serpent when it had been wounded.[3]

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[1] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 38-40.

[2] Leland, pp. 32-33, cf. pp. 104-105; also Silas Rand, Legends of the Micmacs (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), pp. 270-274, 284-288; Truman Michelson, "Micmac Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXVIII, No. 147 (1925), 41-53.

[3] Leland, pp. 104-105.

The latter part of this tale is like a story found often among the Central Algonkians, in which Trickster is captured by a Bear and is sent outside the tent to get a straight stick. Outside the tent he engages a Weasel to help him by running up the Bear's colon and killing the beast's heart.[1]

It is often stated that when Gluskap first appeared, he was riding on a stone canoe, which was like an island.[2] There is no earth-diver tradition among these people (or any other creation or re-creation myth), but the picture of Gluskap's riding upon the sea on a canoe-island is very like that of the Creator floating on the flood. There is a bare reference to a flood in one Passamaquoddy tradition: Gluskap warned people a flood was coming, and they just laughed at him. When it came, they danced and shook their rattles. They were transformed into rattlesnakes.[3] It appears likely that this is a faint memory of an otherwise forgotten myth about a flood which remade the world.

Perhaps a related story is the one in which Gluskap kills a Frog that has been sitting atop a spring which is the source of the water for a river. The people are perishing along its former course, so Gluskap goes to the mountains where the evil Frog is seated, and dispatches him. As the spring is released, the river flows again, and the people living along it dive into it, so eager are they for water. Those who do so are transformed into fish and aquatic animals.[4] This is not so much like a true flood and re-creation myth as it is an episode in the career of a Transformer, who changes things piecemeal from their form in myth times to their present and permanent form. The Frog who sits on the source of water or drinks up all the water in the world is a widespread and very ancient motif in America.

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[1] DeJosselin DeJong, pp. 16-18.

[2] Frank G. Speck, "Malecite Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXX, No. 118 (1917), 479; Leland, p. 28.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 110-111. Leland mentions a "very curious snake dance" as perhaps related to this myth.

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 114-119; Rand, 68-69; Speck, "Malecite Tales," pp. 480-481.

There is a definite localization of most of the Gluskap traditions, with the places where they occurred being named and pointed out by the Indians.[1] Many rocks, mountains, and the like are said to be transformed enemies of Gluskap, and a myth is associated with each one. He opened all the rivers and streams, cleared them of evil monstrous Beavers, etc. He killed all the monsters that formerly inhabited the world, and made the animals as they are now. He gave names to everything, and taught men their arts and crafts.[2] One tale says he made Indians by shooting a tree with an arrow.[3]

In one important myth, Gluskap was fishing on the ocean, and he became very angry because the wind kept blowing continually. He went to the source of the wind: a giant Bird which flapped its wings; and he broke one of its wings. Soon he discovered that with no wind the waters grew stagnant, so he healed the bird and made it agree to blow only part of the time.[4]

Like Nanabozho, Gluskap took tobacco away from a man who was hoarding it, leaving him only enough for his own use: the grasshopper.[5]

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[1] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 6-7.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 7-8, 49-50; Speck, "Malecite," p. 481; _idem_, "Wawenock," pp. 188-189; Leland, pp. 28-30, 36, 66, 92, 122-126; Michaelson, p. 54; E. C. Parsons, "Micmac Folklore," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XXXVIII, No. 147 (1925), 85-86.

[3] Leland, pp. 18-21 (Passamaquoddy).

[4] Speck, "Malecite," pp. 479-480; _idem_, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 40-41; cf. Jenness, pp. 27-28.

[5] Spect, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 41-42.

Again, as man's champion against the forces of nature, Gluskap went to the far north to try to conquer Winter. He was put to sleep (frozen to death) by the Old Man. He did not revive until six months had passed. Then he went south, abducted the "Queen of Summer," and brought warmth to the land again.[1] This myth is intended, apparently, to account for the length of winter (six months), and for the fact that it is not perpetual. Gluskap could vanquish winter only after six months had passed.

This story is related to the ancient and widespread story told across the northland about the theft of summer. An expedition of animals goes to the sky and steals from a hostile being (usually Bear) the bag containing summer (or releases the summer birds who fly back bringing warm weather). Often the bag is passed in relay fashion, as in myths of the theft of fire or of the sun, to which this story obviously is related. The leader of the expedition varies, but it tends to be the Culture Hero in tribes having a well-defined figure of this type. The leaders in Algonkian versions are as follows: Blackfoot, Old Man,[2] Gros Ventre, White Man;[3] Ojibwa, Fisher (a weasel);[4] and Montagnais-Naskapi, also Fisher.[5] The eastern Algonkians lack the story in its usual form, having the above tale in its place, apparently.

The myth of Gluskap's journey to the house of Winter may be related to other traditions about a Great White Hare who lives in the far north. A Penobscot tale tells how this Hare was hiding away all the rabbits in his mountain, and how Gluskap braved terrible blizzards in order to kill the

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[1] Leland, pp. 134-135 (Passamaquoddy); and Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 44-45.

[2] Maclean, p. 166.

[3] Kroeber, "Gros Ventre Myths," pp. 65-66.

[4] Carson, pp. 492-493; Williams, pp. 27-30.

[5] Fisher, p. 252.

Hare and release the rabbits.[1] The land of the Hare is also called, sometimes, the realm of the dead. There a witch is supposed to live who takes out the brains (memory) of all who enter that land.[2] It will be remembered, of course, that Manapus or Nanabozho's name means Great Hare, and that he is said to live now in the North. However, these references to him as an evil being do not fit very well with his character as Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. As hoarder of rabbits, he is more like a Lord of Animals, and resembles the Athabascan Raven. The Great White Hare of the North would seem to be a shamanistic type of being, while the Trickster-Fixer Hare belongs to the mythology of the people.

Gluskap still lives, according to the eastern Algonkians, but opinions vary as to where he lives. He departed this world riding on a stone canoe, or on a whale. He and his Grandmother live somewhere, preparing for a return to the world to destroy the enemies of the Indians.[3] Offerings are made to him by travelers in boats at certain caves along the coast.[4] Some men went to visit him once, as a group once did to Nanabozho (see above), and one was turned to stone for asking to be made immortal. Others have visited him and have received boons.[5]

As we have seen, there are few traditions about Gluskap which can be called "trickster stories," excepting those in which he deceives evil brings in order to kill them. But he is never foolish, like the typical Trickster, except perhaps in one story in which he is vanquished by a baby. He boasted that he could outdo anyone, but a mother said her baby could beat him, and it did. Try as he might, he could not make the baby crawl to him: it just cooed.[1] In a related Penobscot version, the baby eats its excrement, a feat which Gluskap is unable to duplicate.[2] (Similar stories are told of Nanabozho by the Ojibwa and Menomini. A baby puts its big toe in its mouth, and Nanabozho cannot match the trick.[3] Manabus tries to imitate everything some boys are doing, and like them he runs naked and defecates in public, but he cannot bear to follow suit when one boy sticks his finger up his anus and then licks it.)[4]

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[1] Speck,"Penobscot Tales and Beliefs,"pp. 8, 28, 50-53.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 18-19, cf. pp. 46-47.

[3] Leland, pp. 20-21; Rand, pp. 228-229.

[4] Parsons, p. 87.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 87-88; Leland, pp. 18-21, 69-72, 81-91, 98-103, 130-132; Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," p. 47; _idem_, "Some Micmac Tales, pp. 59-60.

While there are major differences in the myth cycles about Gluskap and Nanbozho/Wiska, there are also enough elements in common to suggest that the eastern and central Algonkian heroes had a common ancestry in some remote past. The fact that the eastern tribes' mythology was somewhat decayed at the time of its study may also help to account for the relatively small number of these resemblances. In both regions, however, the Hero is raised by a "Grandmother," and has a little brother who often is said to have been a wolf, and who is abducted by an evil being. Other specific correlates have been mentioned above. The greatest difference between the two figures is that Gluskap is not really a Trickster, while Manabus/Wisaka definitely _is_. Gluskap's name, which seems to mean "Liar," strongly suggests that he may have been more of a Trickster at one time than he is now; but today, all of the usual Trickster tales are attached to theriomorphic figures.

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[1] Leland, pp. 120-122 (Penobscot).

[2] Fisher, p. 247. [3] Williams, p. 178.

[4] Skinner and Satterlee, p. 303.

The Mahican, Delaware, and Powhatan Tribes

Not a great deal is known of the mythology of the important southeastern Algonkians who came into contact with the first white settlers. The Delaware (Lenape) were considered the most important and ancient tribe in the area. They were divided into totemic clans, which in turn were grouped in three phratries, Wolf, Turtle, and Turkey, which may have been more like sub-tribes, living in different localities.[1] The Lenape were largely agricultural, with hunting being of secondary importance, as is generally true of the Southeast.[2] The Delaware lived in individual family houses, but the Mahican, under Mohawk (Iroquois) influence dwelt in communal longhouses.[3]

The Mahichan and Delaware had traditions of a long migration in remote times, from far to the west. The Mahichan version would seem to indicate the west coast of North America as the place of origin: it was a coast where there were tides. They traveled until they reached another place where they again found tides, the Atlantic coast. In their travels they crossed the Mississippi and passed the Great Lakes, according to the account given by Skinner.[4]

There is considerable testimony from early travelers and settlers that the coastal Algonkians believed in a Supreme Being resident in the sky. Reports from 1679, 1683, 1702, 1779, and 1818 all agree on this point.[5] He it was who made the great spirits (the Winds) of the four directions, the Sun, Moon, Earth, Thunders, and other spirits. He caused the earth to be created.[1] The myth of the creation of the earth is the familiar earth-diver story, with a bird, probably, being regarded as the successful diver. A little dirt was placed on the back of the Turtle, as in Iroquoian mythology (see chapter xx). The Turtle, therefore, is highly regarded, and has a prominent place in mythology, clan names, and ritual.[2]

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[1] Daniel G. Brinton, _The Lenape and Their Legends_ (Library of Aboriginal Literature, No. 5; Philadelphia: D.G.Brinton, 1885), pp. 33-39.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 48.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 50; Alanson Skinner, "Notes on Mahican Ethnology," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XXXIV (1921), 92.

[4] _Ibid._, pp. 101-102.

[5] M. R. Harrington, _Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape_ (Indian Notes and Monographs, No. 19; New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1921), pp. 18-21.

There is good evidence, though not great in quantity, that the High God of these Algonkians was equated, at least at times, with the Hare. A Captain Argoll, who in 1610 visited the tribes of the Potomac River (probably Powhatan and Delaware Indians) received the following information when he inquired about religious beliefs:

> "We have five gods in all; our chief god appears often to us in the likeness of a mighty great hare; the other gods have no visible shape, but are indeed the four wynds which keepe the four corners of the earth. . . . Our god, who takes upon him this shape of a hare, conceived within himself how to people this great world, and with what kinde of creatures, and it is true that at length he devised and made divers men and women, and made provision for them, to be kept up yet a while in a great bag. Now there were certayne spiritts, which he described as being like great giants, which came to the hare's dwelling place (being toward the rising of the sun. . . ."
>
> [These creatures wished to eat the people, but he drove them away. He made various features of the earth's surface, and a large Deer. The gods of the four directions came, killed and feasted on the deer, and departed. The Hare, angry, took the hairs of the Deer and spread them out; they became a herd of deer. Then he opened the bag and placed the people in couples at different places. After death, people go to the house of the Hare in the East, beyond the sky. A "woman goddesse" refreshes them on the course of their journey.][3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 25-29.

[2] Brinton, pp. 39, 132-134; Chamberlain, p. 210.

[3] John R. Swanton, "The Indians of the Southeastern United States," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 137 (1946), p. 749; cf. Daniel G. Brinton, American Hero Myths (Philadelphia: H. C. Watts & Co., 1882), p. 45.

This fragmentary account of Powhatan (or Delaware?) mythology in the seventeenth century is fascinating, although it is impossible to make much of it. Evidently, the Trickster-Hero Hare had already been merged with the concept of the High God, supreme over the other spirits. The mention of the four winds as gods second in importance only the Hare recalls the central Algonkian story of the birth of the four wind-gods from the woman from whose blood clot Hare was born (in some traditions). The spirits of the cardinal points always ranked high in priority in ritual gestures among Algonkian tribes. The "primal sacrifice" of the Great Deer is not paralleled in any myth of which I have knowledge, but it sounds like the widespread "Hainuwele" myth of the death which produces food plants. This myth is well-known in the Southeast, and if it did indeed inspire the myth of the Great Deer cited above, then the latter is a hunter's adaptation of what is in origin an agricultural myth. We should note also the reference to Hare as being in charge of the land of the dead, as he is also in some New England traditions.

Recurring Trickster Stories

The most widespread of the Trickster stories among the Algonkians, being reported for all the tribes from the eastern to the far-western except the Penobscot and Sauk,[1] is the tale of the "hoodwinked dancers." The plot details are virtually the same everywhere (and the story, of course, is not peculiar to the Algonkians):

> Trickster comes along with a pack on his back, and calls the waterfowl on a lake to come and dance to the tunes he has in his pack. (Sometimes the birds themselves speak first, and ask him what he is carrying; some-

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[1] Fisher, p. 241 (not taking into consideration the tribes about which we know practically nothing). See this source for a table conveniently listing and comparing all the Trickster stories. Fisher utilized obscure and manuscript materials, as well as most of the sources which were accessible to me.

> times there is no pack, but only an invitation to come and dance.) He warns them that they must dance with their eyes closed, for if they open them, they will get red eyes (or become blind). As they dance, Trickster grabs them one by one, and wrings their necks. Finally, one bird opens his eyes, sees what is happening, and calls out a warning to the remaining dancers. The birds fly for their lives, but the bird which gave the warning has red eyes to this day because he opened them during the dance.[1]

This ancient myth is not only a story of a clever hunter's trick: it is also a story of a transformation. Before the dance the birds were "people" in avian form, but afterward those who survived were real birds of different sorts, transformed by their contact with the Trickster-Transformer. The fact that the change takes place at a dance is significant. All over Indian America there were dances at which the people imitated and impersonated animals and birds. In a sense they became the animals and birds while dancing and singing and uttering their cries. Since as dancers they were both people and animals, they were restoring and reliving the myth times when animals were people. But put in another way, the dancing-impersonators of animals and birds were in a "spiritual" state, since even today the animals have a spiritual essence which is like the human spirit, but more powerful. Shamans alone can perceive this essence in the animal kingdom; but even ordinary men and women can enter into this spiritual condition while dancing. The dancing birds, then, in the myth, are engaging in a sacred activity, dancing; and the dances of humans today are repetitions of dances such as these.

But there is another aspect to this story of the hood-winked dancers: the dance is not really sacred! Trickster often specifically claims that it is a sacred dance, and he implies the same when he warns the birds not to open their eyes (a taboo). But in truth, the dance is just a hoax, a prankish, deceitful artifice of the Trickster to get himself a meal! It would appear that Trickster is profaning a sacred thing, religious dancing. He cares nothing for the "holy," but brazenly uses it for his own selfish ends.

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[1] The Trickster is Badger or Wolverine in the East and Northeast; Wisaka or Nanabozho in the Central region; and Old Man in the Far West. See ibid.

We can imagine that there was a time when this ancient myth was enacted by the dancing of the Indians, in commemoration of the deed of Trickster which transformed the bird people into real birds. Such a dance would be regarded as sacred, even though it commemorated a deceitful trick of the Trickster. Whatever Trickster did would have a "sacred" quality about it, no matter how "profane" the deed in the beginning.

There are a number of different stories telling how the Trickster obtained a meal by deception. Often he kills a Bear, the most powerful of the land animals and one always treated with respect and even reverence by hunting peoples. Sometimes he entices him into a sweat house and scalds him;[1] or he may blind him with berry juice and later kill him;[2] or he may use a more elaborate trick, such as that employed by Raccoon in an Eastern story; hiding in a hollow tree, he tells Bear the only way he can be killed is for Bear to expel flatus into the hole in the tree; as soon as Bear sticks his rump into the hole, Coon wounds him.[3] On the Plains, the Trickster uses a variety of devious devices (some of which real hunters use) to kill game such as the elk and the buffalo.

More often than not, these stories of Trickster's obtaining food by deception are followed by a sequel in which Trickster himself is deceived by a clever animal, and thus deprived of his dinner. There are several different plots, and their distribution is much wider than the Algonkian language. At least four are to be distinguished: (1) theft while sleeping, often including the "anus sentinel"; (2) the handicap race; (3) the spilled grease; and (4) the holding trees. Any of these episodes may follow any of the tales of the deceptive acquisition of food.

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[1] Leland, pp. 190-192; Skinner, "Plains Cree," pp. 347-348.

[2] Ahenakew, pp. 349-350.

[3] Leland, pp. 180-181.

> (1) Theft while sleeping: Trickster buries his birds or small animals in the sand, with their legs sticking out, and builds a fire over them to roast them. He takes a nap, meanwhile, often leaving on guard his anus (which is an eye and a mouth). After wakening Trickster several times when there is no real danger, Trickster scolds his anus, and offends it so that it does not waken him when some hungry animals appears and eats the food. The thief leaves the legs of the animals sticking up, as if they have not been disturbed (or he smears Trickster's hands and mouth with grease, as though he has been eating.) When Trickster awakens, he pulls out a leg, and thinks the game must be well-done, or sees his greasy hands and wonders if he has already eaten and forgotten about it. Discovering at last the theft, he punishes his anus--by burning it with a stick--even though it pains him deeply to do it! The stick he used is made to have a bad smell permanently (a kind of willow) and the scabs which fall from his burnt anus (and which he sometimes eats) become red lichens on the rocks. Sometimes he calls for a wind to blow to cool his anus, and is blown away by it.[1]

This story includes also, sometimes, one or both the episodes of the Lynx's changing the sleeping Coyote's face, and having his own altered when Coyote catches him asleep later.[2]

> (2) The handicap race: While Trickster's food is cooking, a limping Fox or Coyote comes along, and Trickster invites him to race with him for possession of the food. He agrees to tie a stone to his leg, as a handicap, since the Fox has a limp. The Trickster easily runs faster, as he knows he can, but the Fox, who has only been pretending to be crippled, doubles back and eats everything before Trickster comes back from racing.[3]

> (3) Spilled grease: Trickster gets Muskrat or Fox to help him butcher his game. He sends his helper to the nearby river with a bladder of grease, to cool it. The latter eats the grease, and claims he spilled

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[1] This story is not known in the East, but is found elsewhere: Skinner, Mascoutin, pp. 339-340; Wissler and Duvall, pp. 25-27; Kroeber, "Gros Ventre Myths," p. 71; Laidlow, p. 86; Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 278-289; Skinner, "Plains Ojibwa," pp. 280-281; George B. Grinnell, Blackfeet Indian Stories (New York: Scribners, 1913), pp. 180-188; William Jones and Truman Michelson, Kickapoo Tales ("Publications of the American Ethnological Society," Vol. IX; Leyden and New York: E. J. Brill and G. E. Stechert, 1915), pp. 16-19; cf. Fisher, p. 245.

[2] Wissler and Duvall, pp. 37-39, 25-27.

[3] Bloomfield, Sweet Grass Cree, pp. 34-40; Ahenakew, pp. 349-350.

it, or else he actually spills the grease in the water and Trickster vainly tries to scoop it out of the water.[1]

(4) The holding trees: From the Algonquin-proper and Ojibwa westward, practically every tribe tells how the Trickser became annoyed at two trees that were rubbing together and squeeking near the place where he was preparing his dinner.

> He tried to pull the trees apart, and he got his arm caught between them. While thus imprisoned, a Wolf passed near by, paying no attention to Trickster, and the Trickster called to him not to come near. His curiosity aroused, the Wolf approached, and saw a good dinner waiting to be eaten. He called all his brothers and cousins and they had a grand feast while the Trickster wailed and pleaded with them to stop. As soon as they had finished and departed, the trees released him.[2]

What is the point of all these stories? No doubt, in modern times, these tales are told as moral lessons for the young, or simply for amusement and pastime. Did they ever have any sacred meaning? I think these myths tell us something about the character of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero which was a part of the original apprehension of truth that gave rise to the character. As the one who represents man, Trickster must use all his wits to supply his daily need for food. The animals are smart, and the Trickster often must outwit them by underhanded methods. But even when the food is caught, the battle may not be won, for the world is full of Tricksters who will do their best to deprive you of what you have gained. The myths reveal a conception of the "aloneness" of man in his struggle for life. They also make the struggle and its frequent failures appear humorous. It is all a great game, and no one should take his losses too seriously. If one is allowed to victimize others, he must also realize that he himself may be victimized on another occasion. The Trickster has not learned the advantages of social living and cooperation; or perhaps he prefers his freedom: at any rate, he almost always travels alone, and maintains no loyalty to anyone.

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[1] Lowie, Chipewyan Tales (from the Cree); Ahenakew, pp. 337-338; also found among the Passamaquoddy and Malecite, with Wolverine as the dupe: Fisher, p. 244.

[2] Skinner, "Plains Cree," pp. 347-348; *idem*, "Mascoutin," p. 339; DeJosselin DeJong, pp. 16-18; Kroeber, "Cheyenne Tales," pp. 165-167; Jones and Michaelson, pp. 12-17; Ahenakew, p. 332; Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, pp. 244-247; A. F. Chamberlain, "A Mississaga Legend of Naniboje," Journal of American Folk-Lore, V, No. 19 (1892), 291.

The episode of the punishing of his anus deserves special comment. Here we see another aspect of the figure, his "chaotic" condition. This element belongs to the Transformer side of his character. Trickster represents not only man as he is; he also represents man in the process of development. Before the world can be set in order, man himself must be "created." This episode of the burning of the anus, and certain others which will be pointed out later, show the Trickster in the process of "discovering" himself and bringing order out of the chaos which he finds himself to be. This development is a part of the transforming work which the Trickster-Fixer does in the world, which eventually changes it into the world as we know it today.

The "Bungling Host" motif is well represented over the Algonkian area, with most incidents and details being common to all parts of the region. The Micmac, Ojibwa, and Cheyenne tell how Trickster (Hare, Nanabozho, White-Man, respectively) were fed with meat which Bear or Caribou sliced from himself without harm. When the Trickster tried later to imitate the feat while entertaining his former host, he was severely injured. Other hosts whom Trickster fails to imitate are the Woodpecker who gets grubs that turn into good food by pecking on a pole; Kingfisher who dives into the water and spears fish; Squirrel who gets grease or rice from his testicles; the animal who slices meat harmlessly off his wife's rump, or serves up her brains, etc.[1] The point of these stories seems to be, as one Ojibwa version puts it, "It is not your nature to get food that way."[1] That is, man has one way of getting his food, and the different birds and beasts have their own ways, which often appear to man to be magical or supernatural. Man cannot resist trying to do anything he sees others doing, but he cannot be what he is not, nor do what he is not fitted by nature to do.

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[1] Cf. Fisher, pp. 245-246.

One of the best-known exploits of the Trickster in the Plains and the Far West (by no means confined to the Algonkian-speaking peoples) is that of the "long distance copulation." This motif is found occasionally in the East also, and somewhat rarely among the Cree (Plains Cree only) and the Ojibwa. While Gluskap is never a Trickster, as we have stated, he does advise Turtle how he may have intercourse with a desirable girl he sees across the river, in a Penobscot tradition.[2] He tells him to cut off his member and put it on the end of a long stick. A fish eats off the member, however, and Gluskap has to enlist the help of a Fish Hawk in retrieving it. Gluskap puts it back on the Turtle in haste, and gets it on upside down (a popular belief about the anatomy of turtles).[3]

The eastern versions are somewhat different from those of the Plains and the West, but they are enough alike to indicate a common origin. In the latter area, the Trickster sends his own, hose-like penis across a river or under the ground in order to copulate with a girl. The Plains versions usually end in a permanent shortening of the abnormal organ (which previously he had carried coiled up in a pack on his back). The sequel, found regularly in the

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[1] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 48-49.

[2] The same story is told of Panther (ibid., p. 45) and of Wolverine (Micmac: cf. Fisher, p. 247). A Sauk tale Wisaka, Turtle, and a long penis appears to be a garbled version of the same story: Cf. Alanson Skinner, "Sauk Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLI, No. 159 (1928), 155-156.

Columbia River valley and elsewhere in the West, of his coming back later to "doctor" the girl who has the end of his member still inside her vagina, is generally lacking in Algonkian versions.[1] The point of the Algonkian versions, at least, is the reduction and regulation of excessive male sexuality--a part of the proper ordering of the world and man which Trickster as Transformer accomplishes. Trickster, as primal man, is possessed of an enormous and ungoverned sexual and procreative energy--too much for ordinary human life. So also each individual man must learn to control and regularize his sexual desires, which are excessive, if left unchecked. Trickster, in this and many other stories, is shown as an extremely erotic person, who thoroughly enjoys his relations with women, even when his member has been reduced to proper size. So also with human beings: the sex drive is a strong one, and one which is to be enjoyed.

The story of Trickster's pretended death in order to return under a disguise and marry his own daughter/s, an extremely widespread story, occurs among the Algonkians of the Plains, including the Cree and the Ojibwa, but not, apparently, in tribes farther east.[2] Other tales of incest are known: he changes his appearance and rapes his Grandmother,[3] and he tells his Mother-in-law everyone is taking his wife's mother with him on hunting trips (a lie) so he can rape her when they camp together.[4]

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[1] Wissler and Duvall, pp. 28, 34-35, 36; Dorsey and Kroeber, pp. 63-65; Skinner, "Plains Cree," p. 351; Skinner and Satterlee, p. 304; Truman Michaelson, "Notes on Peoria Folk-Lore and Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXX, No. 117 (1917), 494.

[2] Cf. Fisher, p. 242; Henriette Schmerler, "Trickster Marries His Daughter," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLIV, No. 172 (1931), 196.

[3] DeJosselin DeJong, pp. 25-27.

[4] Dorsey and Kroeber, pp. 75-77. These last two plots appear to belong to Plains and Far-Western mythology, rather than to Algonkians.

Most of the tribes tell of his killing some children of an animal-woman, and leaving their heads propped up, as if they were alive.[1] The eastern and western Algonkians (but not the Central group) tell of his race with a rolling rock. In the East he teases and taunts a Rock till it chases him; in the West he gives a blanket to a Rock (in jest), then takes it back when he becomes chilled, and thus offends the Rock.[2] The western versions end with Trickster's being rescued by a diving Hawk who shatters the rock with his wind. Then, instead of rewarding him as he had promised, Trickster claims that he was enjoying his game with the Rock, and twists (permanently) the Hawk's beak.[3] Trickster does not like to admit that he needs help from anyone!

The ubiquitous story of Trickster's flight with the geese (which here ends with his falling when he breaks the taboo against looking down, or when he is shot by hunters because he cries out too loudly in flight) is well represented, with examples from the Cree, Blackfoot, Ojibwa, and Menomini.[4] A more bizarre story of Trickster's flight, in this case on the back of the Buzzard, is found among the Cree, Ojibwa, Sauk, Menomini, and Winnebago:[5]

> Having inspected everything on earth, or simply because he envied the flying skill of the beautiful Buzzard, the Trickster called to the bird and asked it to take him for a sky ride. The bird reluctantly took him up, but Trickster could not be satisfied. He kept urging the Buzzard to take him higher. He laughed--he was enjoying himself immensely. But he offended the Buzzard by his domineering attitude (or he disobeyed Buzzard's injunction not to look down) and the bird dropped him into a hollow tree.
>
> Trickster was imprisoned. He heard some girls outside and called to them. Putting his coon skin robe against a small hole in the tree,

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[1] Fisher, p. 242.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 243; Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 99-100.

[3] Grinnel, *Blackfeet Indian Tales*, pp. 164-167; Bloomfield, *Sweet Grass Cree*, pp. 20-27.

[4] Fisher, p. 245.

[5] Radin and Reagan, pp. 87-89, 91-92; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 292-293; Jones and Michaelson, pp. 8-13; Skinner, "Plains Ojibwa," p. 282; Paul Radin, *The Trickster* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956), pp. 21-21, 35.

> he said he was a fat raccoon waiting to be caught. They enlarged the hole, then went to get a stick to club him with. While they were gone, Trickster made his escape.
>
> He turned himself into a decaying carcass of an elk and lay down on the prairie, to attract the Buzzard. Eventually, the Buzzard took the bait, but not until Trickster had had most of his flesh pecked away by other birds. He allowed the Buzzard to feed upon him until he had gotten his head deep inside the body cavity. Then Trickster resumed his true form and stood up, his body closing in around the neck of the hapless bird. He walked around for a long time with the Buzzard's head imprisoned inside his anus, his wings flapping all the while. At last Trickster released him, but his head and neck to this day show the effects of the Trickster's revenge.

A somewhat different casting of this motif of flight, fall, and dismemberment occurs in an Eastern Algonkian myth:[1]

> After Badger (Micmac version) or Wolverine (Passamaquoddy) had killed the children of some hospitable birds, the father bird carried him to the sky and dropped him. He fell a whole day, and as he fell he waved his arms as if he were flying, and sang a song, as though enjoying himself. Just before he hit the ground he said, "Oh, spare my poor backbone!" His body was shattered, but the spine was uninjured. His brother came by a long time afterward, called to Trickster, and the spine called to the other parts of the body to reassemble. The bones, one by one, returned, until Trickster's body was whole again.

All these stories of Trickster flying are parodies of the supernatural flight of the shaman, and the dismemberment and reintegration of Trickster's body is likewise a caricature of the shamanic experience of seeing his body reduced to a skeleton, taken apart, and put together again (death and rebirth). The Eastern version even adds the singing of the shaman: Trickster sings and pretends to fly while he is falling. Trickster greatly enjoys the flight: for indeed it is wonderful for man to do what the birds alone are fitted by nature to do. But as is the case always when Trickster tries to "transcend the human condition," he comes to grief. It is the viewpoint of the Trickster that man is not meant to have supernatural powers, and that he always makes himself look foolish when he acts as though he had such powers. The shaman, of course, is one who claims he does possess more-than-human powers, through the gifts of his helping spirits, and he manifests them in amazing feats of "magic," and in trances when he says he flies. Of all these claims Trickster is skeptical, and he never misses a chance to ridicule the shaman and his ways.

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[1] Leland, pp. 155-158.

Trickster is never killed, really, by the fall, for he always has another trick up his sleeve. His pretense of death in order to get revenge on Buzzard is to be compared with the disintegration of his body which occurs as the aftermath of his fall from the sky in other flight myths. This, too, obviously is a mocking of the shamanistic experience. The Buzzard-flight story has been made into an etiological myth, but this should not blind us to the importance of Trickster's letting himself be pecked to a skeleton. Trickster can endure in his own power anything that the shaman can, who has helping spirits. He can command his backbone not to be injured, and it can later call his other bones to reassemble and walk again. Trickster laughs in the shaman's face: he is as strong as the "spiritually endowed" man, and he relies on no powers except those with which he was born!

The same ridiculing of the supernatural seems to be the theme of the story of Trickster's getting his head stuck inside an elk skull. He pokes his head inside the old bony thing to watch some Mice doing a dance (usually stated to be the sacred Sun Dance). He makes his head small in order to do this, but once he gets inside, his head resumes its normal proportions, and he is caught. He runs around blindly (much as in the tale of the juggled eyes), bumping into things, until at last he falls into a river. He half-walks, half-swims in the current, with the frightful skull bobbing up and down on the surface. Some people see him, and are terrified. In the Winnebago version, he lets the people think he is a supernatural being, and offers to bless the people who make offerings to him. At last he falls and breaks open the skull on some rocks--and runs away laughing![1] In this story, not only are shamans ridiculed, but also the popular belief in supernatural beings. We should not forget that dancers frequently put on their heads the antlers of deer, or masked themselves to represent some animal-spirit. No sacred custom is immune to Trickster's ridicule.

The sacred custom of dancing all night is mocked in the little story of Trickster's being deceived by some waving reeds. Wandering over the prairie one night, Trickster thinks he has come upon some Indians dancing. He dances furiously with them, for the others never seem to tire, and he has a wonderful time. But in the morning he finds he has been dancing with some waving marsh reeds![2]

Hunting rites and chieftain's headdresses are abused humorously in the story of Trickster's bear hunt. He made some weapons out of an old dead log, and teased a bear until it chased him. His weapons soon broke, and the two went running round and round a tree. Bear kept chasing and Trickster kept running until a trench was being worn out of the ground around the tree. Trickster noticed that the horns of a long-dead Buffalo's skull were being uncovered. He seized the skull, put it on his head (like a great chief or medicine-man's hat), and turned to face the bear. The bear halted, turned tail, and ran in terror, while Trickster just laughed. (Or sometimes, he even chases the bear for a while.)[3]

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[1] Dorsey and Kroeber, pp. 107-109; Wissler and Duvall, pp. 32-33; DeJosselin DeJong, pp. 27-28; Kroeber, Gros Ventre, pp. 68-69, 71-72; Radin, The Trickster, pp. 32-35; Chamberlain, "Mississaga," p. 291.

[2] Radin and Reagan, pp. 90-91; Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, p. 251.

[3] Wissler and Duvall, p. 32; Ahenakew, pp. 333-335; Bloomfield, Sweet Grass Cree, pp. 48-52.

> Trickster went to visit Skunk one day, and he marveled at the way Skunk shot game with his musk. He begged the Skunk to load him up with a few shots of that wonderful gas, so they backed up, rump to rump, and Trickster received three "shots." On the way home he tested his new powers, partly because he doubted he really could do it, and partly for fun. He broke huge rocks, but he used up all three "rounds" of his ammunition. When he came home, he summoned his people, called up some game, and tried to demonstrate what he now had power to do--but his power had been exhausted.[1]

This story illustrates the themes of the "bungling imitator" and the "misuse of power," and shows how the two really belong together.

Trickster always gets into difficulty when he tries to handle sacred medicines or imitate shamanistic tricks. The following stories are further illustrations of the same themes:

> Going along one day, Trickster comes upon some little birds juggling their eyes (throwing them up in the air and calling them to fall back again into their sockets). Trickster thinks it would be fun to do this too, so he begs the birds to teach him. They are reluctant to do so, since they know he will not do it right (in one version they say it is a sacred remedy for curing headache and must be used only for that purpose). Finally they teach him to do it.
>
> Trickster continues on his way, merrily throwing his eyes into the air and letting them fall back again. But he keeps throwing them higher and higher each time, until at last they refuse to come back (or they stick on a tree, or a bird steals them). Trickster now goes about groping through the forest, bumping into trees and asking them their names, until he finds one with gum on it, out of which he fashions new eyes. (In some accounts, he borrows the eyes of another creature.)[2]
>
> On another occasion, Trickster asks a plant (or root) if it is good to eat (or the plant calls to him). The plant tells him he must not eat very much of him, because he causes flatus to the one who eats him. Trickster scoffs at the harmless-looking little herb, and eats all he can hold of it. Soon he begins to break wind. He is propelled higher and higher into the air with each "explosion." He hangs onto bushes,

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[1] Radin, The Trickster, pp. 46-49; Skinner, "Sauk Tales," pp. 147-148; Bloomfield, Menomini Texts, pp. 193-196.

[2] Ahenakew, pp. 347-349; Kroeber, Cheyenne, pp. 168-169; Dorsey and Kroeber, pp. 50-52; Kroeber, Gros Ventre, p. 70; Maclean, pp. 168-169. The sequel found farther west, in which Coyote kills an old woman, dons her skin, and recovers his eyes from a game or a dance, does not occur here except among the Kutenai: Franz Boas, Kutenai Tales (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 59; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1918), pp. 183-186, 302.

trees, rocks, people, and even has a whole village piled on top of him, but nothing will hold him down. Finally, he falls limp, the power of the herb being exhausted.

But soon he comes upon another plant which says it will make a man defecate if eaten. Again Trickster scoffs, and soon he is defecating at every step. His excrement begins to pile up. He climbs a tree to escape it, and soon the pile has mounted to the tree top. The perch becomes slippery and he falls into his ocean of filth. When he comes out of it, his eyes are plastered shut. He bumps into trees, inquiring of them the way to the water. At last he falls into the river and cleanses himself.[1]

The story of the "Little Startlers" is told by the tribes of the central region, and is known from many other areas. Trickster laughs when the little Grouse children say their "other name" is "Little Startlers." "You couldn't scare anyone!" he says, and he defecates all over them, making them (and their descendants) brown. Later, the parents (or mother alone) frighten Trickster off a cliff, and he nearly drowns in the stream below.[2] Thus Trickster is taught to have some respect for the powers of others who really do have powers.

"There are lots of stories about Manabozho--so many that in the old times the people used to commence telling them in the early fall and continue to tell them till late spring, yet they would not be through," said a Nett Lake Ojibwa informant.[3] It is not practical to recount every Trickster story here, nor is it necessary, since we have already cited the most important and typical ones, and since others, also found here, will be mentioned in connection with other areas in other chapters. However, one final widespread myth will be cited before we enter upon another aspect of Algonkian mythology:

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[1] Radin, The Trickster, pp. 25-28; Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 272-277; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 296-297; Kroeber, Gros Ventre, p. 69; cf. also the Eastern story of Raccoon's eating some berries which warn him they will make him itch: Leland, p. 185.

[2] Bloomfield, Sweet Grass Cree; Ahenakew, pp. 332-333; Skinner, "Plains Cree," p. 281; Radin and Regan, pp. 96-98; Fisher, p. 243.

[3] Radin and Regan, p. 92.

> Trickster disguises himself as a woman, goes to the village where the proud son of a chief is living, and the son takes Trickster for his wife. They live together for some time, and at length Trickster pretends to give birth to a little animal he has had concealed in his bosom all the time.[1]

The theme of this story seems to be the humbling of the proud, and it is a popular theme in Indian folklore, occurring in many stories other than those of the Trickster. It is natural that Trickster, the Great Common Man personified, should engage in trickery in order to humble the proud son of nobility. But hidden beneath this obvious theme may be an ancient one, a story in which Trickster wants to be a woman, and be able to give birth. To be both man and woman, however, is not granted to creatures in this world: the division of the sexes is one of the primary facts of life. Trickster, perhaps is made to discover this by a process of trial and error.

The Relationship of the Animal Tricksters to the Major Trickster-Hero

As has been remarked already, the Culture Hero of the Eastern and Northeastern Algonkian groups is a relatively "refined" character, with most of the "trickster" characteristics missing. The Trickster stories, as a consequence, are related to other figures, who lack most of the traits of Culture Hero and Transformer. Among the tribes of New England and New Brunswick, for which we have the most data, Hare, Raccoon, Badget, Turtle, Martin, and Wolverine are the most important of the Tricksters. In our discussion immediately above of the principal trickster themes, we have seen that stories told of Wisaka, Nanabozho, Old Man, etc., often have their counterparts in stories of the Eastern tribes which are told concerning one of these animal Tricksters.

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[1] Bloomfield, "Plains Cree," pp. 295-297; Skinner and Satterlee, p. 303; DeJosselin DeJong, pp. 19-20; Dorsey and Kroeber, pp. 96-97; Leland, pp. 160-162. Cf. also chap. i, where a similar story is told of Raven and Miti.

It is possible to regard these various animal characters as degenerate versions of one original figure who embodied the full range of character traits of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. On the other hand, some of the animals, especially Raccoon, Turtle, and Wolverine, seem to have cycles of their own, suggesting that each of them may be a very ancient Trickster-Hero, and that "in the beginning" there was not just one, but several similar figures among the Algonkian. The evidence, I believe, points to such a conclusion.

We know that when an anthropomorphic Transformer-Culture Hero is developed, embodying the ideals of the shamans and the hero-worshipping common man, most of the trickster traits are eliminated from his character, and remain with the old, theriomorphic figure. Since we have several such among the Algonkian, it is natural to suppose that the Algonkian had never made one single myth figure the hero of all the myths which embody the ancient apprehension of man and his place in the cosmos which the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero typifies and reveals. On the Northwest Coast and Eastern Siberia the Raven dominated the mythology, and in a great part of the West the Coyote did the same. In the Southeast the Hare undoubtedly was the principal figure at one time, being Trickster, Transformer, and Culture Hero. But among the Algonkians there were, evidently, several myth-figures who were all these things. With the rise of "purer" and more anthropomorphic heroes, these figures tended to become mostly Tricksters, suffering the fate to which the Coyote in the West and the Hare in the Southeast fell victims.

A fairly consistent cycle of stories is told about the Raccoon in both Eastern and Central Algonkian tribes. The Raccoon is pictured, typically, traveling along a river and playing tricks on men he meets along the way, and going into the houses (wigwams) to deceive women and aged people. He killed some children and set their bodies up as if they were living, and fixed grins upon their faces.[1] He told some women he could make sons grow up quickly by putting them under the ice, and he demonstrated the "trick" with one boy, successfully. But when he went away and the women tried to imitate him, their children were drowned.[2] These two episodes may be parodies on religious customs: initiations, puberty quest trials, etc. One of Raccoon's favorite pranks is to deceive two blind men (or women), and get them to fighting with each other, not realizing a third person is in the house with them.[3] Raccoon makes a cake of excrement and deceives another animal into eating it for food. The usual sequel to this incident is that the duped animal trees the Coon, but later falls asleep; Coon comes down the tree, plasters the sleeper's eyes shut, and runs away.[4] A version of the hoodwinked dancers story is told about the Raccoon. He pretends he is dead, lies on the beach, and lures the Crawfish to come out of the water and dance around their "fallen enemy." When many are dancing, the crafty Coon rises up and kills enough of them for a good dinner.[5] On another occasion Raccoon showed some women an "easy" way to make a bag: instead of painstakingly stitching the pieces together, he just put them under the coals of the fire, and when he took them out later he had a finished bag. Like the trick of the quick way to make babies grow, this one too failed to work for the women, and their materials were destroyed.[6]

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[1] Leland, pp. 181-183; Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," p. 98.

[2] Leland, pp. 183-184; Bloomfield, Menomini, pp. 342-345; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 417-418.

[3] Bloomfield, Menomini, pp. 346-349; Skinner, Mascoutin, pp. 358-359; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 413-415; Leland, pp. 174-178 (Micmac).

[4] Skinner, Mascoutin, p. 361; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 424-425; Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs, pp. 97-98.

[5] Skinner, Mascoutin, p. 360; Bloomfield, Menomini, pp. 338-343; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 421-423; Fisher, p. 252; cf. Coyote and the Praire Dogs in the Southwest, chap. xviii.

[6] Leland, p. 184; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 415-417.

According to Skinner, Raccoon is regarded as the Trickster of the Menomini, in contrast to Manabus who is respected as the Culture Hero, despite his many tricky deeds.[1]

Wolverine as a Trickster occurs in the mythology of many Algonkian tribes. Sometimes, as we have seen, Wisaka travels with the Wolves as a Wolverine for part of his early life, and the story of his "cold night" in the snow bank with them turns up among the Passamaquoddy with almost the identical details as told in the Central and Western tribes, including the sequel, the trick of making fire by jumping over it.[2]

Manabozho is closely related to the Hare, as we have seen. In the East, Hare is regularly an important Trickster and dupe. The "bungling host" stories usually are told about him, and he is a master of assuming disguises when being pursued, as is Coyote in the non-Algonkian West.[3]

One other animal trickster deserves special mention, the Turtle. Reference has been made already to the amorousness of the Turle (long-distance copulation). Several such tales are told. Turtle gets the Culture Hero's aid in winning the admiration of a chief's daughter. The Hero gives him power to leap over a wigwam, but he persists in showing off the skill too long, and falls into the fire: hence his hard shell.[4] This is an Eastern story; among the Central tribes Wisaka/Nanabozho obtains the sacred war bundle of the Medicine lodge from the Turtle, by means of an underhanded trick. The Culture Hero sends his dog in the disguise of a beautiful girl to sleep with

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[1] Ibid., p. 236.

[2] Leland, pp. 170-174.

[3] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 101-103, idem, "Penobscot Tales," p. 53; Leland, pp. 223-226.

[4] Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Beliefs," pp. 48-49; Leland, pp. 51-55 cf. Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 300-315.

Turtle. He is delighted with her, not knowing who she is, and he gladly shows her where he keeps the Bundle. When Turtle is off on a fool's errand for her, she soils his clothes and steals the Bundle for her master. When Turtle comes looking for his wife and his Bundle, Wisaka refers him to his kennel.[1] This story is part of the sacred traditions of the tribe, and probably indicates that at one time Turtle was held to be the originator and giver of the Sacred War Bundle.

One of the most persistent stories in Plains and Southeastern traditions, as well as among the Algonkians, is that of Turtle as the leader of a fantastic "war party." It is found with endless variations in plot and character details, but almost always the theme is the foolish Turtle's attempt to be a great warrior. When he and his "men" attack the village, they are quickly dispatched or captured. When the people are about to throw Turtle into the fire, he pretends to be pleased so they say they will throw him in the river to drown him, and he seems to be terrified. They toss him into the river, his "element," and he swims away laughing and claiming he is the victor![2]

The turtle is an important totem[3] among all the Algonkians, and is the

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[1] Skinner, "Sauk Tales," pp. 152-154; Bloomfield, Menomini, pp. 158-173, 179,183; Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 314-331. Cf. the following Micmac story: Turtle wanted to seize power over the animals from Gluskap, and called a council to learn how to kill him. Gluskap came disguised as an old woman, and foiled the plan. (Leland, p. 108.)

[2] Kroeber, Cheyenne, p. 189; Skinner, Mascoutin, pp. 356-358; Bloomfield, Menomini, pp. 292-302; Speck, Wawenock, pp. 187-188; Fisher, p. 262.

[3] The word "totem" comes from the Ojibwa (tudem or dodem) and is a way of referring to the animal (or other symbolic name) of the clan. To say, "He is a relative or clan brother of mine," the Indians say ototeman. Since the clans bear mostly animal names, the term "totem" came into popular English usage. Cf. Claude Levi-Straus, Totemism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 18-19; Jenness, pp. 7-9.

Algonkians are divided into exogamous, partilineal, and partilocal clans mostly of animal name. Ojibwas seldom have any explanation for the origin of their clans, but those living along the western shore of Lake Michigan and those farther south have a better-developed clan and moiety system, leading one among the Delaware. It is also prominent among the Iroquois. A Menomini said, "Everybody who has Turtle for a totem likes to talk about him."[1] What connection, if any, there may be between the totem animal and the animal nature of the leading Trickster-Fixer it is impossible to say. It may be the case that the animal which finally comes to predominate in a tribe or group of tribes is the totem or crest of the dominant clan in the tribe. However, we have no evidence to support such a hypothesis here, for hare, wolverine, raccoon, and martin are not reported to have been important clan totems among the Algonkians.

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and for them clan origin traditions are more important. This seems to be due to the influence of the Plains. (Cf. Jenness, p. 9; Skinner, *Mascoutin*, pp. 17-22; *idem*, *Ethnology of Sauk*, pp. 9-13; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 9-11.)

There is no relation between the clan animal and the animal spirit-guardian acquired in the puberty fast, among the Algonkians. (Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 42-43; Jenness, pp. 48-53).

[1] Skinner and Satterlee, p. 397.

CHAPTER VII

THE GREAT PLAINS

History and General Culture

The movement of the Indians in pre-historic times (i.e., before their discovery by the whites) is little known, even today, after considerable archeological work has been done; and knowledge of the pre-history of the Great Plains tribes is no exception. It appears probable, however, that in the centuries immediately preceding the discovery of America, various agricultural peoples, Siouan, Caddoan, and Algonkian, encroached upon the Plains from the Southeast and the Northeastern Woodlands. The Algonkians were then relatively new to agriculture, but the Southeastern tribes were the bearers of an ancient agricultural heritage deriving, probably, from the "Mound Builders." The fertile soil, especially along the Missouri River Valley, afforded excellent sites for gardens and even fields where Indians raised corn, squash, beans, and pumpkins. They settled in villages, and, when not engaged in farming they undertook (on foot) hunting expeditions against the big game of the Plains, especially the buffalo (bison).

The movement to the Great Plains appears to have begun as early as 500-1300 A.D., but fairly intensive settlement of the region did not occur until the three centuries following this time. After the Spanish settled in Mexico and explored the Southwest (from the sixteenth century), horses became a revolutionary innovation for the Plains Indians, bringing about far-reaching changes in their way of life. Mounted on horses, the Indians now were able to hunt bison with much greater success than had been possible before. Some tribes which up to this time had been primarily sedentary agriculturists, now became primarily nomadic bison hunters. Hunting with the bow and arrow, even by the farmers in the Southeast (see Chapter xix), now assumed first place in the way of life of a number of tribes once again.

The roving, equestrian way of life seemed to engender a warlike spirit, so that warfare, with its colorful and savage rituals, became a prominent feature in Plains Indian culture. But even though some tribes abandoned agriculture entirely, some did not; and these village farmers provided products not only for themselves but also for the nomadic, warlike hunters who were willing to exchange meat for corn. The place of agriculture in the economy and mental culture of the Plains tribes should not be underestimated. However, it should be remembered that the agricultural influence was from the East and Southeast, and not, until quite modern times from the Southwest which was an even older agricultural region than the Southeast.[1]

The agricultural heritage of the Plains Indians, as we shall see, is reflected in their mythology.

The social organization of the Plains tribes presents a wide variety of patterns. For the hunters, the band was the local unit, while for the sedentary or semi-sedentary farming peoples the village was the corresponding unit. Membership in these groups could be changed at will. Probably all the tribes except the Pawnee had clans, but for some tribes (Crow, Mandan, Hidatsa, Oto, and Missouri) the descent was reckoned matrilineally and for others (Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Iowa, Kansa) patrilineally. (Information for some tribes, including the important Dakota, is inconclusive.) The Pawnee had no clans, but instead had endogomous village units.[1] Often the clans were divided into moiety groups of "above" and "below" or "sky" and "earth," depending somewhat upon the nature of the clan animal.[2] The above-below dualism finds expression also in mythology, as will be seen later.

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[1] Cf. Paul S. Martin, George I. Quinby, and Donald Collier, Indians before Columbus, Twenty Thousand Years of North American History Revealed by Archeology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 319-320, 333; Oliver LaFarge, A Pictorial History of the American Indians (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956), pp. 84-89; Robert H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains (Anthropological Handbook No. 1, American Museum of Natural History; New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954), p. 18; Matthew Stirling, "Indians of our Western Plains," National Geographic Magazine, July, 1944, p. 73.

The guardian spirit quest was practiced all over the Plains, with individual boys and girls being sent out in late childhood or early youth to fast and wait for a supernatural visition. Self-mortification was practiced by the seeker in order to attract the pity of the spirits and move them to come to his aid.[3]

The transcendent religious experience, therefore, was shamanistic in pattern; but religious specialization in some tribes had reached a stage in which we may truly speak of a priesthood. Mythology and ceremonialism were developed to a correspondingly high degree. These developments probably had taken place while the tribes resided in the Southeast, and were preserved after migration to the Plains. The Dakota, as we shall see, were capable of highly abstract "theological philosophy," the Winnebago had developed a fairly systematic series of myth cycles around their Medicine Lodge, and the Skidi Pawnee, who "represent the acme of development within the area,"[4] had a true priesthood with an astral theology or mythology, and a true concept of a Supreme Being. Most tribes practiced in some form or other a ceremonial known commonly as the Sun Dance, while the Medicine Lodge, which has already been discussed in its Algonkian form in the previous chapter, was of central importance in many Siouan tribes. Across the whole region, under a variety of names, the Figure of the Trickster holds a prominent position in the mythology and folklore of all the tribes.

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[1] Lowie, pp. 88-94.

[2] Cf. Ronald Olsen, "Clan and Moiety in Native America," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXIII (1933), 395-96

[3] Lowie, p. 157.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

The Sun Dance, apparently, has no relationship whatsoever to the Trickster-Culture Hero, but its prominence in this region makes it necessary to offer here a brief description of it. The ceremony is given in fulfilment of a vow made by an individual in time of distress, but the whole tribe participates in it, and its performance is considered essential to the general welfare of the group. The ritual is held in the summer, timed so as to coincide with the summer buffalo hunt. A camp circle is formed in a prescribed order, symbolic of a circle of tipis in the sky. (Compare the village square of the Southeast which is said to copy the heavenly prototype, chapter xix.) A tipi is pitched in the center, and secret rites are performed inside it by the shaman-priests who direct the ceremony and the pledger/s of the Dance. At this time, and perhaps for a period of weeks before the ceremony, the pledger/s is instructed in the esoteric myths of the shamans and the significance of the performance.

Meanwhile, others are busy gathering materials for the ceremony. Bison are killed to provide hides and tongues for the rituals, and meat for the feasting. Others cut a tall center pole, shorter poles, and brush-wood out of which a "Sun Lodge" will be constructed. When the pole, stripped of its bark, has been set up, with offerings attached to it and symbols of the Thunderbird affixed at the top, the people dance around it. An altar or fireplace is constructed at the base of the pole, and offerings are made here.

The pledger and his associates gaze at the sun while they dance. The rites around the pole culminate in the self-torture of the pledger and others who desire to attain unusual spiritual benefits. They are tied to the pole by long cords which are fastened to wooden skewers in their flesh, and they dance and pull until the skewers tear loose from their bodies.

The most essential features seem to be the erection of the pole within some type of encircling structure, and the dance around the pole. The torture-element, while prominent in recent times and quite spectacular, appears to be a secondary development. Tribes having a "Sun Dance" are: Blackfoot, Sarsi, Kutenai, Gros Ventre, Assinboin, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa, Arikara, Hidatsa, Crow; Wind River and Fort Hall Shoshoni; Bannock; Unitah and Southern Ute; Oglala, Wahpeton, and Sisseton Dakota; Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa. The Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala have the most elaborate rites and appear to be the nucleus of the ceremonial.[1] The ritual is offered to a High God, variously conceived by the shamans of the different tribes, but loosely and popularly identified with the Sun, the giver of buffalo and of warriors' powers.

Wakan, High Gods, and Creators

In most of the Siouan dialects there occurs a word which refers to the supernatural, and may be translated "mysterious," "sacred," or "powerful." The root word is wakan, and it and its cognates occur alone or in compounds in all the Plains Siouan dialects except that of the Crow-Hidatsa. In the latter, the word mahpé designates the supernatural; and this term is found also in cognates in the Winnebago, Omaha, and Biloxi Siouan dialects.[2]

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[1] Clark Wissler, ed., "Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XVI (1915-1921), 459-461, 491-492.

[2] Robert H. Lowie, "The Religion of the Crow Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXV, Part 2 (1922), 315.

Among other Siouan tribes of the Plains the root word wakan occurs as follows:

> The Dakota and Assinboin: Wakan, mysterious, wonderful, incomprehensible.[1] The esoteric lore of the shamans is said to be wakan, a mystery.[2] The names of many of the gods are compounds of wakan, as are also the terms for lightning, serpent, mysterious being, etc. However, the Dakota word for water monster is apparently unrelated to wakan, unktehi.[3]
>
> ¢eghia dialect: (Omaha, Ponca, Kansa, Osage, Quapaw): The name Wakanda has been used for the God of Christianity since the coming of missionaries. The name means literally "the powerful one," and was, apparently, used in reference to a high Power or God, rather vaguely conceived by the common man, but probably well-defined by the shaman. Sometimes the Thunder-being was called Wakanda. The ¢egiha peoples called the water monsters Wakandagi. Myths or sacred stories were designated wakan-data¢ian.[4]
>
> Winnebago: There are a host of words compounded from the root wakan: Wakunze, an alternate name for Manunna, "Earth-Maker"; wakwanx, wizard, witch; wakanna, serpent; wakantca, thunder; wakan-tcankara, shaman; waktceqi, water monster; and waikan, myth, sacred story.[5] The Iowa have similar terms, being but a branch of the same tribe.[6]

I have seen no attempt made to analyze the word wakan. It is apparent that the first element, wa, means "old" or "ancient." Wa-zi means "Old Man" (the name of the Wizard of Oglala myth and ritual) and Wa-kanka means "Old Woman" (she is his wife).[7]

The belief in a high god or hierarchy of high gods among the Siouan groups is confined to those having the root word wakan. We do not have sufficent data to say that all these tribes definitely hold beliefs of this character; but materials from the Oglala and Canadian Dakota, Assinboin, Winnebago, Iowa, Osage, Omaha, and Ponca indicate that in these tribes the shaman-priests, at least, had developed a concept of a hierarchy of spirits or "wakan beings" who are headed by a Supreme Wakan. On the contrary, among the Crow and Hidatsa who lack the _wakan_ root word, and among the Mandan who were long-time neighbors of the latter, no such belief existed, and there is considerable confusion in these tribes concerning the relationship between the Culture Hero and the High God Creator. The Caddoan tribes, the Pawnee, Arikara, and Wichita, also recognize a Supreme Being, who is even more definitely personalized than the Supreme Wakan. The Skidi Pawnee, about whose beliefs we know the most, have a complex hierarchy of celestial, mainly astral, gods. Supreme over them all is _Tirawa_, the Heavens, who has for his wife the Corn Woman.

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[1] James Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 11 (1894), p. 366.

[2] J. R. Walker, "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," in Wissler, p. 155.

[3] J. O. Dorsey, p. 366.

[4] Ibid., pp. 366-368.

[5] Ibid., pp. 367-369. Cf. Radin, The Trickster, p. 118.

[6] Alanson Skinner, "Ethnology of the Ioway Indians," Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, V, No. 4 (1926), 252-253.

[7] Walker, pp. 90-91.

J. R. Walker, medical doctor, was for a number of years on familiar terms with the Oglala branch of the Teton Dakota. He appears to have had a genuine appreciation for the culture of these Indians, and he was allowed to become initiated into the shamans' fraternity, thereby acquiring information about the beliefs and mythology which an ordinary investigator never would have been able to obtain, since much of the lore is esoteric. In fact, the shamans concealed the myths from the laymen by couching them, in part, in a secret _wakan_ language. Consequently, with the passing of the shamans, the traditions and doctrines which they alone knew have been lost, for the most part. (This was true already in 1917 when Walker published his account of Oglala beliefs.)[1]

According to the secret teaching of the shamans, which is taught to those who vow to give a Sun Dance and/or become a shaman-priest, _Wakan-Tanka_

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 55-56.

(literally, "Great Mystery") is the collective name for a class of deities, the "good gods." The degree to which Wakan Tanka is thought of as one being, however, is difficult to state. While the name is used today to refer to the God of the Bible, "in old Lakota Wakan Tanka . . . designates a class of gods and through them all the gods. It is never used to designate a single god."[1] And yet, as we shall see below, all the gods are said to be really One.

The following is the list of the hierarchy of wakan deities, the Wakan Tanka Waste or Benevolent Gods:[2]

I. The Superior Gods (Wakan Ankantu)[3]

1. Wi, the Sun, Chief of Gods (Wikan, secret name)[4]
2. Skan, the Sky, or Nagi Tanka, Great Spirit.[5]
3. Maka, the Earth, Mother of all.
4. Inyan, Rock, Father of all.[6]

II. The Associate Gods (Wakan Kolaya)[7]

1. Hanwi, Moon.
2. Tate, Wind.
3. Wohpe, Beautiful Woman.
4. Wakinyan, Winged God, the Thunder.

III. The Subordinate Gods (Wakan Kuya)

1. Tatanka, White Bison God.
2. Hunonpa, Bear God.
3. Tate Tob, Four Winds (or Tob Kin).[8]
4. Yumni, Whirlwind.

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[1] Ibid., p. 57.

[2] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[3] Each of these has a color associated with it: 1. red, 2. blue, 3. green, and 4. yellow. (Ibid., p. 82.)

[4] Ibid., p. 57.

[5] This is the moving force behind everything, according to one old shaman. (Ibid., p. 154.) This god is known to the laymen by the common term Taku Skanskan, the Blue Sky. (Ibid., pp. 152, 154.)

[6] Some shamans consider the last two man and wife, while others do not. Rock, is the eldest, the first being in existence; the next is Earth, then Sky, and finally Sun. The common people think the Sky and the Sun are the same. Sun is the "youngest," yet is the chief over the gods. (Ibid., p. 155.)

[7] These are closely associated with their corresponding number in the previous group. (Ibid., pp. 154-155.)

[8] Ibid., p. 153.

IV. The "Like-Gods" (Wakan Lapi)[1]

1. Nagi, Spirit.
2. Niya, Ghost.
3. Nagali, Spirit-like.
4. Sicum, Imparted Supernatural Potency.

When these groups of four are read horizontally, they constitute four groups of four. That is, Sun, Moon, Bison, and Spirit are one "Chief God." The second from each group are together "Great Spirit," the third "Creator," and the fourth, "Executive God." The great and culminating secret truth is that these last four are really one: Wakan Tanka, the Great Mysterious.[2]

The shamans, consequently, frequently address the Benevolent Gods as Tobtob Kin (four-four Gods), and the expression is equivalent to Wakan Tanka, or, more precisely, to Wakan Tanka Waste, the Associated Benevolent Gods.[3]

Additionally, there are several important individual malevolent gods or spirits, and several lesser groups of the same, all called collectively Wakan Tanka Sica. These, however, are "dissociated," i.e., not ranked hierarchically or arranged in interlocking quadrads. The more important ones are:

Iya or Ibon: As Iya he is a giant man, a sucking, cannibal monster. He is lord of the malevolent gods, the great causer of disease. As Ibon, he is the cyclone. He is the last-born son of Rock (Father); his mother was a monster. He hates the rites which the good gods like, and he flees from them.[4]

The Unktehi: The Horned Water-Monsters, a class of beings who dwell under the waters or earth. The Winged God is forever at war with them.[5] However, according to the reports of some nineteenth-century investigators, the Unktehi were the creators of the world. They dived into the primeval waters and brought up mud from which land was made. The people made frequent offerings to these monsters, calling them grandfathers and grandmothers. To them were ascribed also the origin of the Medicine Bundle and they prescribed also the ritual for the Medicine Lodge. The Reverend G. H. Pond, an early missionary to the Dakota, understood that the Unktehi was the most significant deity of the Indians.[1]

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[1] These are the constituents of the personality.

[2] Walker, pp. 80-81. [3] Ibid., p. 153. [4] Ibid., p. 88.

[5] Ibid., p. 89. These correspond to the Algonkian Water Monsters that carried off Manabus' brother (see chap. vi).

Skinner, in reporting the Medicine Society myth of the Wahpeton (Canadian) Dakota,[2] likewise gives prominence to two water monsters. According to this account, Wakan Tanka created from two of his ribs a pair of white water monsters who supervised the dive for earth, and who later taught the rites of the Medicine Lodge. Then they went underground, from whence they hear the prayers of men. Their hairs are our grasses and healing herbs, the medicine plants so prominent in the rites of the Mitewin. Four times each year a dog is sacrificed to them (thrown into the water).

We have discussed the Algonkian form of the Medicine Lodge in the previous chapter, and also we cited some Siouan myths of this Society. We shall have occasion to speak of the Mitewin again in this chapter, but for the present it is enough to note that these dark powers or spirits of the underworld evidently were regarded as the most important Powers by the members of the Medicine Lodge. In the case of the Algonkian (see chapter vi) there has been a development which has given prominence to the "Great Spirit," a high-god type. The shamans responsible for the "Wakan Theology" of the Sun Dance have relegated the Unktehi monsters to the category of evil beings or demons, who are to be avoided, not worshipped by men.

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[1] Cf. J. O. Dorsey, pp. 439-440; and Gosta Kock, "Is 'Der Heilbringer' a God or Not?" in Ethnos, Vol. VIII (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1943) pp. 64-66.

[2] Alanson Skinner, Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton Dakota (Indian Notes and Monographs, Vol. IV; New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1920), pp. 273-278. Some Christian influence seems indicated.

Other malevolent gods are:

Wazi ya: The Old Man, the Wizard; a being who lives in the north and who sometimes comes from thence to interfere with shamans' ceremonies. His presence at the rites will "chill" them, and make them unacceptable to the gods. Formerly he was Chief of the Buffalo People, the People of the Sun (spirits of the Bison), who live under the earth, but now the White Buffalo God (III, 1 in the list above) is their lord.[1]

Wa-kanka: The Old Woman, the Witch, wife of Wazi. She appears to young men and women, and if they treat her well she will foretell for them a good future.[2]

Angog Ite: The daughter of the Old Man and the Old Woman, formerly the wife of Wind (Tate). She is the "Two-faced Woman," and with one of them, which is beautiful, she lures, and with the other she drives her victims mad. She foments illicit romances and scandals, and torments pregnant women.[3]

There are several classes of elves, goblins, water sprites, and the like which are included in the category of malevolent beings.[4] The shamans have not left out any spiritual being from their system, it would seem.

Finally, there is Iktomi, the Trickster. According to the Sun Dance Shamans, Iktomi began as a god, the son of Rock and the Winged One (Thunderbird, who was the mother), but because of his incurable bent on deceit and scheming, he was expelled from the fellowship of the gods and other spiritual beings of the transcendent worlds, and condemned to wander over the earth. His presence at a (shamanistic) ceremonial, like that of Wazi, is feared, since he will scheme to make the rites ridiculous and therefore offensive to the gods. The shamans, fortunately, know how to drive him away.[5]

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[1] Walker, pp. 90-91.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 91.

[4] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[5] Ibid., p. 90.

We shall have considerably more to say about Iktomi later when we examine his myths in this and other Plains tribes, but it should be noted here how the shamans have "assumed control" over the ancient myth-figure, the Trickster-Hero. After first making him into a supernatural being, an idea they can understand, they have thrown him out of heaven and numbered him among the evil spirits. Of course, his presence would not be welcomed at shamanistic rites, for the Trickster has no use for the gods; and ceremonies for him are something to be ridiculed! He represents the world view that needs no gods or rites, which prefers to accept man's capacities as given, considering them sufficient to meet any challenge which the world may present.

According to Lowie,[1] the Assinboin who are closely related to the Dakota smoke to Wakan-Tanga, the Sun, the Thunderbird, and the Earth, in that order, at their ceremonies. These four can be equated with the primary four wakan of the Oglala, if Wakan Tanka is equivalent to Skan. In another place,[2] he states that these four, plus the four quarters and Water, are addressed in prayer at the Sun Dance. These also are duplicated in the Dakota list. It seems likely that the Wakan-Tanga concept here has been influenced in the direction of greater personification, due to Christian teachings. The same may be true of the Wahpeton Dakota, as mentioned above. Wallis[3] states that offerings are made to Water, Earth, Stone, and Iktomi, in that order, by the Canadian Dakota, since that is the order in which Wakantanka made them.

The Winnebago and Iowa speak of Wakanda as the Creator and High God, a thoroughly personal being. According to their myths of the origin of the

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, "The Assinboine," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, IV, Part 1 (1909), 57.

[2] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[3] Wilson D. Wallis, "Beliefs and Tales of the Canadian Dakota," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXVI, No. 139 (1923), 37-38.

Medicine Lodge, Wakanda or Manuna (Ma-on, Iowa), "Earth-maker," created the earth and everything in it. (No creation myth was obtained from the Oglala.) The Winnebago myths begin with Earth-maker's "coming to consciousness" and beginning to weep (for loneliness, apparently). From a piece of his flesh, or "from what he was sitting on," or simply by the power of thought, he made the earth. One version says his tears became the ocean. He placed mountains, rocks, trees, grass, etc., on the earth, and finally stabilized the spinning creation by placing four beings at the cardinal points. Then he proceeded to make animals and finally men. But there were evil beings in the world, and since man was made mortal, there was danger that the race would be destroyed. Earth-maker, according to the Winnebago Medicine Lodge myths, therefore sent a succession of beings to help men: Wakdajunkaga (Trickster), Turtle, Bladder, Red Horn (He-who-wears-human-heads-for-earrings), and at last Hare, a figure based on Nanabozho, but whose cycle is an entirely-heroic series of acts. He slays all the monsters, and gives mankind the Medicine Rite (or does so in conjunction with the earlier Trickster-Heroes and his Grandmother) before he departs.[1]

I have cited this myth at some length here to show the place of Earth-maker or Wakanda in Winnebago-Iowa mythology. He creates the earth, sends the heroes (old mythological figures) to earth to help men, but only the last, Hare, accomplishes much. To Hare Earth-maker gives the Medicine Lodge rites, as a substitute for immortality which Hare really wanted for mankind. Perhaps we are to account for the personalization of Wakan among these Siouan tribes as due to their contact with the Algonkians and the "Great Spirit reform movement" of Techumseh's brother, the Prophet (see previous chapter).

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[1] Paul Radin, The Origin Myth of the Medicine Rite: Three Versions (Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir No. 3;

The Iowa, who once were one tribe with the Winnebago, also speak of Earth-maker (Ma-on) as the Creator and ultimate source of all things. Christian influence is evident in their version of the Medicine Lodge myth which we have, which states that Earth-maker sent his "son" to earth with clear weather, tobacco, maize, squash, and the Medicine Lodge rites.[1] Ma-on appears to be the more ancient name, and Wakanda, "Great Spirit," a more recent designation.[2] A report from a missionary to the Iowa in the second quarter of the nineteenth century states that they sometimes used a term meaning "creator of the earth," but that they had no supreme god, but referred to a group of gods, perhaps seven, as _Wakanta_.[3] This agrees more closely with Walker's account of Oglala beliefs, and probably is a better indication of Siouan concepts before Christian and other outside influence.

The report of Dorsey from the latter part of the nineteenth century for the Omaha and Ponca suggests that these Siouans held similar views. An Indian told him:

> ". . . The Omaha and Ponca believed that there was a Supreme Being whom they called Wakanda. . . . They did not know where he was, nor did they undertake to say how he existed. There was no public gathering for the purpose of offering him worship and prayer. Each person thought in his heart that Wakanda existed. Some addressed the Sun as Wakanda, though many did not so regard him. Many addressed Wakanda blindly, as it were, or at random. Some worshipped the Thunder-being under this name."[4]

While the Indian seems to have been anxious to impress the missionary Dorsey that his people believed in one God, his "explanations" betray him. People

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Baltimore: 1950), pp. 10-66; _idem_, The _Trickster_, pp. 63-91; _idem_, "Winnebago Tales," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XXII, No. 85 (1909), 188, 307.

[1] Skinner, _Medicine Ceremony_, pp. 189-192.

[2] Skinner, "Ethnology of the Ioway," p. 252.

[3] In Dorsey, p. 423.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 372.

believed in different beings as Wakanda or manifestations of Wakanda. An early traveler among the Kansa said, "They say that they have never seen Wakanda so they cannot pretend to personify him; but they have often heard him speak in the thunder."[1] Another Indian told Dorsey that there were seven great Wakanda: Darkness, Upper World, Thunder, Sun, Moon, Morning Star, and the Earth. The chief of these was Upper World. Wakanda, he said, was addressed only on particularly important or crucial occasions.[2]

General creation myths seem to be lacking from these southern Siouans, but this deficiency may be due to our rather poor collection of myths. Clan origin legends, however, are found in their place. These myths were secret, and were known only to clan members. In those which have been obtained from the Oto (relatives of the Iowa-Winnebago) and from the Osage (¢eghia dialect), only brief references are made to a Creator-God, while the emphasis is upon the ancestors and the ceremonies and names they obtained from the clan. The situation resembles in some respects that which obtains among the Kwakiutl (chapter iv) where clan origin traditions are the all-important myths.

The sky-earth moiety division finds expression in the clan traditions. The legends begin, typically, with four ancestors (some bird or animal species), who emerge out of the earth or water, or else descend from the sky. Ordinarily, they turn into human beings upon reaching the surface of the earth.[3]

One of the Buffalo Gens origin legends is noteworthy for its "Hainuwele" theme:

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., pp. 372-373.

[3] Cf. William Whitman "Origin legends of the Oto," Journal of American Folk-Lore, LI, No. 200 (1938), 174-202; Francis LaFlesche, "The Osage Tribe: Two Versions of the Child-Naming Rite," Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 43 (1928), pp. 49, 52-53, 32-33, 59, 87; Williams, pp. 263-265 (Osage); Skinner, "Ethnology of the Ioway," p. 193.

> Four Buffalo came down from the sky, rolled over, and three of them became men. The fourth, who did not change, returned to the sky (as the Buffalo Master?) The third Buffalo died and was buried. Out of his body grew the corn.[1]

The origin of corn and game animals is thus, apparently, accounted for in this myth of the beginnings of the Buffalo clan.

These Siouan peoples also speak of Wakonda (Osage) or Wakhonta (Oto). LaFlesche, himself an Osage Indian, related some of the priestly teaching about cosmology in connection with his account of the Child-Naming Rite:[2] Evidently, the Osage were influenced by Caddoan "star theology." He states that the wise men of old studied the movements of the heavenly bodies, and noting that they moved with precision, they reasoned that there must be some Power back of them. "This creative power which to their minds was the source of life, they named Wa-kon-da, Mysterious Power, and sometimes "E-a-wa-won-a-ka, the Causer of Our Being."[3] When the heads of the clans are assembled, LaFlesche continues, and are seated in their proper order in the house which represents the sky, some of them represent the sky and the stars, and the others the earth and its creatures, so that the whole is a symbol of the universe. It is in this kind of a setting that the Child-Naming Rite tales place, and thus: "The whole ceremony is an expression of a longing desire that Wakonda who dwells in the universe will favor the little one with long life and an endless line of descendants."[4]

LaFlesche, of course, was an Indian educated in white schools, and how much of his non-native learning is reflected in his statements it is hard to say. However, I am inclined to take his remarks on the whole as a pretty fair example of the high shamanistic-priestly philosophy of which the Siouans were capable.

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[1] Whitman, pp. 195-196.

[2] LeFlesche, see fn. 3 p. 243.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 30.

[4] *Ibid*.

To summarize: the concept of Wakan among the Siouan tribes who had it must have been, before the advent of the whites, not one of a personal Supreme Being, but of a mysterious potency which is one yet manifests itself in many forms. These ideas were worked out systematically by the shaman-priests in some, if not all the tribes, but were much more vague in the minds of the common people. With the coming of the whites and their talk of one God, the decline of the shamans, and the influence, perhaps, of the Prophet, some tribes evolved the idea of a Creator and fully personal High God who was called Great Wakan.

Belief in a high god is quite confused among the Crow Indians, the most westerly Siouan Tribe. Lowie says,[1]

> The Sun approaches as closely as any Crow deity to our concept of a Supreme Being. . . . [However] there is a marked discrepancy of opinion as to the identity of the Sun and Old Man Coyote. There is at least a strong tendency to regard them as one and the same, yet in his cosmogonic accounts Medicine-Crow, one of my most conservative informants, constantly vacillated as to the identification.

Another man specifically denied that the two were the same, while others still, said that Old Man Coyote was the Creator, indeed, while the Sun, to whom they prayed, was separate.

The confusion, here, is quite like that among the Algonkian neighbors of the Crow, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfoot (see chapter vi). These tribes speak of Old Man or White Man, who is a Trickster, but who is also sometimes regarded as the Creator and in this role haltingly identified with the Old Man Sun. The Crow, like their Algonkian neighbors, have the earth-diver myth. For the Crow it is, apparently, a true first-creation story.[2]

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[1] Lowie, "The Religion of the Crow Indians," pp. 318-319.

[2] Robert H. Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXV, Part 1 (1918), 14-17; S. C. Simms, Traditions of the Crows (Field Columbian Museum, Publication No. 85, Anthropological Series, Vol. II, No. 6; Chicago: 1903), pp. 281-282.

We encounter again, then, an example of the collision of the Trickster-Fixer and the High God. To whom shall the creation of the world be attributed? The answer of the common man, for whom the Trickster-Fixer is a god, is the Trickster: he gave us everything we have; he made the world as it is today; he must have made the earth in the beginning. The answer of the shaman is, the highest Spiritual Power: he is the source of all potency in the universe!

Lowie recognizes that there is a coalescence of two concepts here, but he fails to realize the religious value of the Trickster. He says:[1]

> The culture hero and trickster as exemplified in Old Man Coyote is of great antiquity, but has literary and philosophical rather than religious significance. He is the deus ex machina, to whom the Crow almost automatically attribute the origin of most tribal institutions.

Lowie tells us that the Crow, unlike the Dakota, have no priestly caste,[2] and that the tendency toward abstract thought, which is so characteristic of the Dakota, is here "strangely lacking."[3]

Even though he is called Old Man Coyote, in the myths he never appears in Coyote form, but is always anthropomorphic. Often he is accompanied by a younger companion, Cirapé, who is a Coyote! My guess is that the Crow tribe was the earliest Siouan group to reach the Plains, and over the course of their long residence there have lost more of their Southeastern heritage and acquired more of the Plains mythology than other Siouan groups. From the Algonkians and the Shoshoni they have learned to call the Trickster-Hero "Old Man" and "Coyote," and yet they have much confusion in their mythology about exactly which character is Trickster-Culture Hero, which simply Trickster, and which High-God Creator.

Sometimes the Crow call Old Man Coyote, "First Worker," which is the name usually given to one of the pair of creators in the myths of the Hidatsa, close relatives of the Crow.[1] (The Crow and Hidatsa were once one tribe.) First-Worker is none other than Coyote in Hidatsa and Mandan myths, since it is said that after finishing his creative work, he became Coyote.

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[1] Lowie, "The Religion of the Crow," p. 319. [2] Ibid., p. 318.

[3] Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of the Crow," p. 7.

The Hidatsa and Mandan tribes have long lived in agricultural villages along the upper Missouri River, as neighbors to a small Caddoan tribe, the Arikara (an offshoot of the Skidi Pawnee).[2] Their mythology shows Caddoan influences as well as a deeper "agricultural coloring" which may well be old Siouan. If this last guess be correct, then the reason for their retention of the ancient Southeastern traditions would be their perpetuation of the agricultural way of life, while the Crow who split off from them abandoned agriculture and lost the old traditions.

The unique feature of the Hidatsa-Mandan creation myth is that there are two creators. These two do not, however, embody a good-evil dualism, as in the case of the Iroquois, and the nature of the dualism is difficult to fathom. It may be simply a dualism of the topography of the two sides of the Missouri: one side rough, the other a prairie; or it may be a dualism of hunting and agriculture; or the dualism of "our people" and "others." All these alternatives are suggested in the myths. Or it may be that the Mandan and the Hidatsa each contributed a Creator to a mythology that became more or less common to both tribes. The old dualism between the Trickster-Hero and the "pure" Hero-Transformer may be at the root of the dual Creators, since First-Worker (Coyote) is also a Trickster, while Lone Man, the other, is consistently a benefactor. The gist of the creation myth is as follows:

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[1] Ibid., p. 7.

[2] Martha Warren Beckwith, Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII; New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938) p. xiii.

> The world was nothing but sandy wasteland. Lone Man found himself alone there in darkness. He wondered, "Where did I come from?" He retraced his footsteps to a plant growing by a marsh, which was at the edge of a great expanse of water. The stem of the marsh-flower was broken and bleeding. "This must be my mother!" He said. Seeing an insect flying about he exclaimed, "This must be my father!"
>
> Walking on, he met First Worker. The two argued as to which of them was the elder. First Worker thought he was born from an ocean wave. They agreed to a contest which would decide who was the elder and therefore the superior.

The exact nature of the contest, unfortunately, is obscure in the versions given, but these details are certain:

> First Worker lay down for a long time. He lay there four years, until he was reduced to a skeleton with weeds growing through it. Lone man supposed he was surely dead, and he removed a feathered cane or bow which had been set up beside First Worker. This marked the end of the contest of endurance. Much to Lone Man's surprise, First Worker stood up, a living being and whole again, thus proving his superiority.[1]
>
> The two men, either following or preceding this contest, divided up the work of creating the world. They sent a waterfowl diving for mud in the water, and from it each made a part of the earth, with the Missouri River as the dividing line. First Worker made the hills, wild animals, trees, and the like to the southwest, and Lone Man made level land, cattle, and (presumably) cultivated crops (but domestic plants usually are accounted for in other ways: Lone Man found tobacco at a place where a buffalo urinated, and Corn Woman, who appeared later, gave corn). According to one version, First Worker made the Indians and Lone Man the whites. Each was pleased with his own work. First Worker turned into a Coyote and wandered off.[2]
>
> Lone Man just went away, never to be heard from again, according to some versions, or else he returned later to be a helper to the Indians. In the latter instance, Lone Man turns himself into some small food particle and is eaten by a virgin, from whom he is subsequently born. (This appears to be a Mandan tradition only.) He grew up to become the killer of water monsters, the bringer of game and rain for the crops, and the giver of ceremonials which overcame the flood caused by the water beings.[3]

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[1] It is unfortunate that this part of the myth is so obscure, since it is supposed to account for the origin of death. But there is another tradition about the origin of death: Frog Woman wishes for death so that the population will be kept in check. The Creators do not like it, but the word has been spoken. Frog's child is the first to die. (Ibid., p. 14.)

[2] Ibid., pp. 1-3, 7-10, 13-17; Robert Lowie, "Hidatsa Texts," Prehistory Research Series, No. 6 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1939), pp. 173-174.

[3] Beckwith, pp. 3-7, 10-13.

It is surprising, but certainly only a coincidence, to find the Culture Hero being born in the manner employed by Raven in his theft of light on the Pacific Northwest Coast. Lone Man's combats with the water monsters suggest some connection with the Medicine Lodge myth; however, the ceremony which Lone Man gives is not the Midewin.

The Caddoan Arikara tribe which spearated from the Skidi Pawnee about 1832[1] has a quite different concept of its origin from that of its neighbors, the Mandan and Hidatsa:

> At first there was a giant-race on the earth, who were proud and laughed at the gods in heaven. There were also some smaller people who were good. Nesaru, the "Chief" in heaven, decided to destroy the wicked race with a flood. (In some versions, he first sends heat which petrifies them, then a flood.) He warned the animals to hide, and he enabled them to turn the good people into grains of corn. In this form the animals carried the people into a great underground cave. There they lived together until the flood was passed: a very long time. The people, however, knew nothing of the flood, because they were just grains of corn.
>
> Nesaru planted corn in heaven to help him remember his people in the underworld. When his heavenly crop matured, he made a woman out of an ear of corn. He sent her down below to lead the people out of their subterranean cave. They rejoiced to see her, because they knew she was Mother Corn.
>
> Mother Corn asked the burrowing animals to help her find a way to lead the people out of the cave to a better world. The Badger and Mouse (and in some accounts also Mole and Fox or Bear) started to come out, leading the people. Just then, lightning struck the earth and split it open, and some of the people were thrust out suddenly.
>
> Mother Corn (or the four animals) led the people on a journey westward. The migration continued, with many pauses, for long years. At each stopping place some people remained behind and turned into animals. The remnant came to Pawnee land and settled in a village. Mother Corn went away for a while to heaven, according to some accounts, and returned at length with a man who instructed the people in war customs, selection of a chief, and shamanistic performances. Mother Corn gave the sacred Bundle and the ceremonials. "Thus, Nesaru gave three things to his people: Mother Corn, the office of Chief, and shamanism."

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[1] George A. Dorsey, Traditions of the Arikara (Carnegie Institution Publication No. 17; Washington: 1904), p. 5.

> In a variant tradition, Mother Corn asked to be thrown in the river, after the people had established their village. Thus she returned to the place of origin at the river's mouth. She came back to the village many years later to teach the people about their emergence and migration. She brought them other ceremonies obtained on this journey. She gave the people, as a symbol of herself, a cedar tree, which stands in front of the sacred lodge. (In some versions, she becomes the cedar tree; in others, it falls from heaven.) Beside it stands a rock to represent Nesaru (or it is a star fallen from heaven). Before departing (or transforming) Mother Corn promised to help the people when called upon, and to appear to them in dreams.
>
> In one account, just before departing, Mother Corn vomited up the different varieties of corn. She taught the people to smoke to the four winds, and to herself, but because the people did not smoke to the Whirlwind, he brought disease and death into the world. (Presumably, the ceremonies of Mother Corn counteract the baleful influences of Whirlwind.)[1]

This story shows many influences, as might be expected in view of the known history of the tribe. The "race of giants" who were impious to the gods must be a reference to the myth-age heroes, headed by the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, who finds no place in this story. The High God (a true one) destroys this myth age and its people, except for some "little people" who are good, the forerunners of the human beings of the next world. The flood which destroys the old world in order that a new one may come to birth, is here plainly a way of disposing of the old folk-heroes and making way for a god-fearing race. As I have suggested above, the idea of death and rebirth for the world is a shamanistic myth theme, but here it is combined not with an earth-diver story, but with an agricultural motif: the emergence of people from the underworld. I know of no other tradition which so literally identifies the people under the ground with seeds. This shows how thoroughly the Arikara had assimilated their view of the life-processes to the vegetable world and its cycle of planting ("burial") and germination ("rebirth"). The Corn Mother is a prominent figure in all Southeastern and Southwestern mythology, as we shall see (the influence here probably is purely from the Southeast, from whence the Arikara originated, but the ultimate source is the Southwest and Mexico). Her request to be thrown into the river, which is followed by her return with gifts to the people, may be a faint memory of the "Hainuwele" motif of the self-sacrifice of a man or woman which brings new life (vegetables) to the world. (See chapter xix on the Southeast where this motif is common.)

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[1] Ibid., pp. 12-17 (the best versions), 18-23, 23-25; 27-30, 31-32, 32-35, 35-36. Cf. George B. Grinnell, "Pawnee Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, VI, No. 21 (1893), 123-125.

The whole myth is shamanistic in tone: the Heaven-God is in charge of everything, and from him even Mother Corn takes her origin and derives her power. Certain "Dema deity" features remain: In at least one version Mother Corn turns into a cedar tree (evergreen), symbol of life, which is her "presence" in the world, together with the corn itself.

While the Skidi Pawnee, brothers of the Arikara, tell much more elaborate creation stories, one myth reported from this tribe is rather similar, at least in its beginning:

> The first race of giants was made by Tirawa, the Heaven God, but the giants mocked him and his associates. They would break wind at the dawn, and call the clouds insulting names. Tirawa destroyed them with a flood. Bluebird was sent out to see if the land was dry, and thus he became Tirawa's messenger. When the earth was dry, he sent Lightning-God down to the land with a sack of people (see this story below), and he told the Star-Gods to create mankind upon the earth. Evening Star created the first pair, then the others followed suit.[1]

We note the complete absence here of an emergence tradition. Lightning, as will be explained in a myth below, brought a race of immortals to earth; these were the ancestors of human beings, but after death had entered the world (due to the murder of the Wolf-Trickster) they lost their immortality. Human beings, then, are descendants of Stars. It is my guess that the priests with their lofty Star-Gods and sky-centered mythology have in fairly recent times surpressed the old emergence traditions, which have been preserved by the Arikara who separated from them when the emergence myth was still remembered.

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[1] George A. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. VIII; Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1904), pp. 23-24.

This hypothesis gains strength from a myth of the Wichita, a Caddoan tribe to the south of the Pawnee. This story, as G. A. Dorsey has seen, properly follows the many tales of myth times, since it has to do with the end of that era and the beginning of the present world. In this account, a man and his wife hide all the animals and seeds (of plants) in a hollow reed, in which they too take refuge from the flood. Thus they survive the deluge, and afterward emerge from the cane to replenish the earth with the things they preserved in the cane. They are instructed by a voice from the sky. The man becomes a hunter and the woman a planter of corn.[1] In another version, Spider Woman and a Boy-Hero preserve the seeds in twelve canes when the flood comes to destroy the evil monsters.[2]

The Wichita and Pawnee, especially the Skidi Pawnee, have elaborate, true creation myths. The Skidi have perhaps the richest ceremonial life of any North American Indian tribe. Each local village unit has ceremonials centered around the sacred bundle which it possesses, which is believed to be the gift of the tutelary god of that village. When the whole tribe assembles for a major ceremonial, the villages seat themselves in a circle according to the relative position of their patron gods (i.e., stars) in the heavens. Thus Skidi Pawnee religion is a highly-developed star cult.[3]

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[1] George A. Dorsey, The Mythology of the Wichita (Carnegie Institution Publication No. 21; Washington: 1904), pp. 290-294.

[2] George A. Dorsey, "Wichita Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XV, No. 59 (1902), 223-226.

[3] Dorsey, Skidi Pawnee, p. xx.

The Skidi Pawnee myth of creation begins with Tirawa, the all-powerful Heaven-God, existing in Tirawahut, the heavens, with his spouse Atira ("Born-from-Corn") who is the Vault of Heaven and also Corn Mother. Around them sit the gods, in council.

> Tirawa told them of his plans for making the world. He stationed the Sun, Moon, and Star Gods in their positions, and assigned them their functions. North Star he made chief of the gods, and told him to give the office of Chieftainship to mankind, later on.[1] The stars of the four quarters were given power to create people. Morning Star was commanded to drive the people westward. The Northeast Star was to create animal-gods on earth, and the Black Star was to give these gods power to communicate their mysteries and powers to men.[2] Evening Star would be known as the mother of all things.
>
> Tirawa was now ready to create the earth. The gods shook their rattles and sang, the clouds gathered, the winds blew, and thunder and lightning resounded. Tirawa dropped quartz pebble into the storm, and when the clouds passed there was water, filling space. The gods of the quarters were sent to their places. They struck the water with their war clubs and it parted, and dry land appeared. The storm clouds returned, lightning struck the earth, and it became a living thing.
>
> (In similar fashion other things were created by Tirawa and fertilized or animated by the lightning bolt.)
>
> The Morning Star (male) lay with the Evening Star, and a girl was born to them in the winter. Morning star said a female buffalo calf should be sacrificed to him as a memorial to the fact that a girl was the first-born in creation.[3]
>
> The Sun overtook the Moon and lay with her, and from them was born, in summer, the first boy. The girl and boy were sent to earth. They met, but were "lifeless," and paid no attention to each other. Tirawa sent the lightning, and after it fell they "awakened" and "Knew what to do." When their child was born they instinctively cared for it. They built a house, and for the first time were hungry. The woman had seeds, and she planted them. The gods gave the man a bundle of male things, and taught him his role in life. . . .

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[1] Cf. the man from the sky in the Arikara story above.

[2] A reference to archaic shamanism with guardian spirits. Shamans danced in imitation of animal guardians and demonstrated their "powers" at a great fall ceremony. (Lowie, Indians of the Plains, pp. 161-162.)

[3] Evidently this is a veiled allusion to the former sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star, for which has now been substituted the offering of a female calf. (Dorsey, Skidi Pawnee, p. xix; Stirling, p. 107.)

(The people increased, various ceremonies were performed for the first time, etc.)[1]

No extensive creation myth has been obtained from the other three divisions of the Pawnee. An abbreviated version from one group states that after Tirawa had created the earth, he spoke and a woman came into existence. She was unhappy, so he made a man for her companion, and then taught them their respective roles in society, their ceremonies, etc.[2]

The Wichita named their heavenly Creator Kinnekasus, "Man-never-known-on-earth." The creation itself is scarcely described in the versions collected, except that the Creator makes everything out of primordial darkness, forming first a little land to float on the water. The main part of the story has to do with the first man and woman, who receive knowledge of their roles in life through dreams. The first man became Morning Star, and the first woman Evening Star.[3]

From these creation stories we can gain a good idea of the "flavor" of Caddoan belief in gods, and of the place of the high-god Creator. There is no doubt that Tirawa and his counterparts Nesaru and Kinnekasus are fully-personified sky deities and Supreme Beings. The High God was the object of worship: in the ceremonies he received always the first tobacco smoke.[4] He is living and active: he is said to speak to men through the thunder, his voice.[5] Beneath him are arranged in hierarchy all the gods, who are equated with heavenly bodies and other celestial phenomena. The heavenly pattern is duplicated on earth, both in the political order and in religious ceremonials.

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[1] Dorsey, Skidi Pawnee, pp. 3-14.

[2] George A. Dorsey, The Pawnee Mythology (Part I), (Carnegie Institution Publication No. 59; Washington: 1906), pp. 13-19.

[3] Dorsey, Mythology of the Wichita, pp. 25-29; and idem, "Wichita Tales," pp. 215-219.

[4] Cf. Dorsey, Mythology of Wichita, p. 19. [5] Dorsey, Skidi Pawnee, p.xvii.

(We shall find the closest parallels to this near-theocracy in the Southeast, especially among the Natchez, who have carried this development to its logical conclusion: see chapter xix.)

Mother Corn has been elevated (by the Skidi at least) to the place of Spouse of the High God. Evening Star (female) is given the role of Mistress of the Game and of food plants, and she is said to maintain a perpetually-bearing garden and herds of buffalo, and to be keeper of the source of all the "streams of life."[1] The female element, in other words, is quite prominent in this agricultural-type religion, as we should expect.

The human sacrifice formerly carried out to the Morning Star by the Skidi is like ancient Aztec rites, and is one further indication of the ultimate origin of the religion of the agricultural Indians of the southern states. As Jensen has suggested,[2] the "sacrifice" probably is a survival of the enactment of the "Hainuwele Myth," the self-sacrifice of the dema deity which brings food plants to the world. This myth, seems to have been lost to the Caddoans, although it is well-known in the Southeast.

The necessity for lightning to strike the earth before the created things "come to life" probably is related to the idea, which is more explicit in myths of other peoples, of a sexual union of Sky and Earth which produces by generation the things of the world.

Most of the important deities of the Skidi Pawnee have been mentioned in the creation myth cited above. However, one Star-God has not yet been named, the Fool-Wolf or Fool-Coyote. He is a heavenly god who felt slighted at the council and came down to work mischief soon after creation. He brought death into the world, against the wish of Tirawa and his representative, the Lightning-God, according to an important myth. This myth and the Pawnee attitude toward Coyote (or Wolf) will be discussed in the next section. We should notice here only that the religious systematizers, the priests, have made Coyote, the ancient Trickster-Hero, into a star-god, identifying him with the Fool-Coyote star (a star which rises just before the morning star in the summer, "fooling" the Coyote into thinking the sun is about to rise, so that he howls at it: the folk-explanation).[1] As we shall see later, there are many Coyote stories told among the Pawnee and Wichita, a large percentage of which seem peculiar to these Caddoan peoples, and many of which stress Coyote's pride and self-reliance--precisely those traits which would be offensive to the "religious" mind which exalts humility and dependency upon the gods.

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[1] Ibid., p. xix.

[2] Adolf Jensen, Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 162-180.

The Kiowa, the only other important tribe to be considered in this chapter, have no high god, but have instead a Trickster-Culture Hero, Sendeh, around whom their mythology is built. He will be considered in the next section.

The Trickster as Culture Hero

Several references have been made already to the Trickster-Culture Hero on the Plains. The stories told about him here can for the most part be duplicated in the traditions of the Algonkians and Far-Western tribes. However, it is quite instructive to see how each group of tribes regarded the Trickster-Hero, particularly in view of the relatively high cultural and religious stage of development here.

The Plans Siouan tribes, with the exception of the Crow-Hidatsa, Mandan, and Osage-Quapaw, have as their principal Trickster-Hero an anthropomorphic figure. The Crow-Mandan have Coyote in this position, and most of the tribes in the region know and tell some stories about Coyote. Coyote is prominent also in the Caddoan tribes, although it seems possible that he was recently substituted here for Wolf. Hare or Rabbit plays an important role parallel to that the the principal Trickster-Hero in all the Siouan tribes south of the Dakota group (Teton, Yankton, Santee, etc.). The Kiowa call their composite figure Sendeh. There are several other minor figures who will be mentioned later in the discussions of particular groups of tribes.

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[1] Dorsey, Skidi Pawnee, p. 15.

The Soiuans give their anthropomorphic figure several different names. The Winnebago alone call him Wakdjunkaga, a word which today has no meaning except "the tricky one." However, this meaning seems secondary and derived from the character of the myth-man. The etymology of the word is quite unknown, and there are no cognates for it in any other Siouan tongues.[1]

Among all the other Siouans of the Plains, except the Crow-Hidatsa, Mandan, and Osage-Quapaw as noted above, the main figure is named Iktomi or a cognate:

Teton: Ikto, Iktomi.
Santee: Unktomi.
Assinboin: Inktomni, Inktumni, and Inktomi. (He is also called Sitconski alternatively.)
Iowa, Oto, Missouri: Ictcinke, Ishjinki.
Osage: Itsike. (Here he is not the principal Trickster.)
Omaha: Ictinike.
Ponca: Ishtinike.

These names have no meaning, apparently, except that in Dakota Iktomi means "spider." This fact appears to be only a coincidence or an accidental homonym in the opinion of the investigators, who insist that Iktomi is always regarded as having the form of a man, never that of a spider.[2] There is one Santee myth on record which states that Iktomi was on one occasion in the form of a spider. In his rage at having been robbed of a dinner, Unktomi committed suicide by jumping in a fire, but the small charred bit of him that remained turned into a spider.[1] The Dakota have a superstition against killing spiders, and when they do so, they say first: "O Grandfather Spider, the Thunderbirds kill you!" This makes the spider feel powerless to inflict revenge on the real killer.[2]

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[1] Radin, The Trickster, p. 132.

[2] Ella Deloria, Dakota Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. XIV; New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1932), p. 5.

Material collected by Wallis in 1914 among the Wahpeton Dakota in Canada gives the impression that these Indians more closely identified Iktomi with the spider than other investigators have reported. They hold him to be a spirit who knows men's thoughts,[3] who is possessed by great powers given him by Wakanta, especially the power of making a web[4] and of walking to the surface of the water.[5] "Spider" and Stone once argued about which was the first on the earth, and Spider proved himself elder by walking on the water, so showing he could live before land had been made.[6] In numerous encounters with powerful animals (Eagle, Buffalo, Bear, Rattlesnake, Raccoon, etc.) Spider prevailed by spinning his web and using it as a lasso or net.[7] However, all these stories are unique and peculiar to this one collection, and all came from one old man.[8] They must, I think be regarded as one family's own series of stories about Iktomi, which have their origin in the homonym of his name and "spider." However, the possibility remains that at some remote time these tribes did consider the Trickster to have been the Spider; Nik'ancan, the name of the Arapaho trickster, means both "White Man" and "Spider," as was mentioned in chapter vi.[1]

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[1] James O. Dorsey, "Nanibozhu in Siouan Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, V, No. 19 (1892), 300; cf. Deloria, p. 5.

[2] J. O. Dorsey, "Nanibozhu," p. 300; Martha W. Beckwith, "Mythology of the Oglala Dakota," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLIII, No. 170 (1930), 429.

[3] Wallis, "Beliefs and Tales of the Canadian Dakota," p. 38.

[4] Ibid., p. 59.

[5] Ibid., p. 38.

[6] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[7] Ibid., pp. 60-70.

[8] Ibid., p. 73, note.

We have seen already in the section before this one that the priestly systematizers of the Oglala Dakota have made Iktomi into a fallen god. In popular belief, evidently, he was regarded as a spiritual being, a "grandfather," to whom the Wahpeton Dakota, at least, offered smoke.[2] Similarly, Coyote among the Crow is regarded as a spirit-being or advisor, sometimes.[3] One Crow Indian said, "Old Man Coyote in later days was much wiser, and the people had respect for him."[4] In two other myths of the Crow, Coyote is the messenger of the Sun (with whom he is confused in other traditions) who is hostile to men, withholding the game; but Coyote contrives to aid mankind secretly, acting against his Master.[5] Thus the old conflict between Trickster-Hero and the High God reasserts itself in a peculiar form.

But we know that the Trickster-Culture Hero is not, in structure, a spirit-being. His personal life is past; his present "life" is in the on-going world that he has ordered, and in mankind, his "children."

There are a goodly number of myths attributing to Iktomi or another Trickster the origin of the order of the world and certain aspects of human culture. The Siouans only exceptionally make Iktomi the creator of the world, and when they do so, it is by the familiar earth-diver story. The Assinboin, whose mythology shows a strong coloration from the Cree, say that Inktonmi or Sitconski superintended the dive for mud, in which Muskrat succeeded in obtaining the precious particles.[1] An early nineteenth-century missionary to the Iowa reported a similar Ictcinke story from that tribe,[2] but it has not been reported subsequently.

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[1] However, Delora says that "All Dakota know that Coyote is the embodiment of Ikto. . . ." (P. ix.)

[2] Wallis, pp. 38, 58, 60.

[3] Simms, pp. 294ff.

[4] Ibid. p. 299.

[5] Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of the Crow," pp. 99-107.

The Crow, who have Old Man Coyote for their Trickster-Hero, make him the director of the dive for earth (but some consider that he was the Sun).[3] The Hidatsa and Mandan, similarly, have a modified version of creation by diving, with First-Worker (equals Coyote) as the man in charge.[4]

It has been noted in the previous section that the Mandan and Hidatsa-Crow tribes have a simpler mythology than other northern Siouans, lacking the wakan concept and having a theriomorphic Trickster-Culture Hero figure. It is just these tribes, plus the Assinboin who are under strong Cree influence, who have the earth-diver creation account.

The Trickster-Fixer often is credited with having arranged the seasons. The Assinboin have a myth (showing evidences of having been remodeled by a shamanistic mentality) to the effect that the spirits of the sky called Iktomi to heaven and promised him great powers of deception if he would steal the summer for them from a man who was keeping it in his tipi. When he had accomplished this feat, with the aid of certain animals, he was then permitted to preside over a council of animals and determine the length of the seasons.[5] The Canadian Dakota know a similar story.[6] Only these most northerly "wakan-believers" possess (or retain) the story of the Trickster-Fixer as the thief of summer and arranger of the seasons. The Crow, who lack the wakan concept, attribute the theft of summer to Old Man Coyote, as we might expect.[1] They also know the Athabascan story of the great gambling match for daylight.[2]

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[1] Lowie, "Assinboine," pp. 100-101. [2] Dorsey, "Nanibozhú," p. 300.

[3] Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," pp. 14-19; Simms, pp. 281-283.

[4] Beckwith, Mandan-Hidatsa Myths, pp. 1-3, 7-9 (see above).

[5] Lowie, "Assinboine," pp. 101-~~105.~~

[6] Wallis, p. 73.

The Hare, in Omaha mythology, made winters to be milder by going to the house of Winter-Man and killing him, leaving only his (weaker) wife alive.[3]

The Kiowa have the sun-stealing myth in much the form in which it occurs in the western Plateau region (the sun is being used as a game hoop when it is stolen). In one version Coyote steals it; and in another Sendeh; in both cases it is passed in relay by several animals.[4]

The Pawnee, who have little good to say about Coyote, have an old tradition enshrined in a song which children sing when they see a coyote, to the effect that Coyote gave salt to the people. He alone had it at first, but because the people sang the song about salt over and over, he led them to the place where they could obtain it.[5]

Rarely, in this region, is the Trickster-Fixer involved in an argument or "dualistic discussion" about how things are to be in the world. The Crow have such a tradition, however: in one version the discussion is between Coyote and his wife; in another between Coyote Woman and "Red Woman." In both versions, Coyote's wife decides for the more difficult alternative--that is, the way the world is.[1]

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[1] Simms, pp. 283-284.

[2] Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of the Crow," pp. 25-27.

[3] J. O. Dorsey, ¢eghia Language, pp. 11-12; cf. Alanson Skinner, "Traditions of Iowa Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXVIII, No. 150 (1925), 502.

[4] Elsie Clews Parsons, Kiowa Tales (Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, Vol. XXII; New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1929), pp. 11-13, 13-14.

[5] Dorsey, Pawnee Mythology, p. 462.

A myth about the origin of death usually occurs among those myths concerning the establishment of the world order. The Assinboin say that when Inktomi presided at the Great Council the animals argued for a long time about the subject. Finally, Inktomni decreed: "Let there be people to enjoy the world, but when they die they shall not return."[2] The Candian Dakota likewise ascribe the decree of mortality to Iktomi, who ordained it thus to prevent overpopulation.[3] The origin of death as the Mandan and Hidatsa teach it has already been mentioned in connection with their creation myth, above.

The Winnebago and Iowa versions of the Medicine Lodge myth attribute death to the will of the High God-Creator, as his plan from the beginning. Hare, who for these people is almost a pure hero, searches the earth and sky for some remedy for death, and finds none. So he gives the Medicine Lodge rites as the best possible substitute for immortality, since these rites assure long life and health on earth.[4]

The Oglala shamans (of the Sun-Dance fraternity) depict Iktomi as a maliciously-evil god or demon. After Iktomi had been cast out of the world of the gods (see below), he grew weary of causing misery to animals (the only creatures then on earth besides himself and three other fallen gods), and he longed to play tricks on human beings.

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[1] Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of the Crow," pp. 25-30.

[2] Lowie, "Assinboine," pp. 103-104.

[3] Wallis, p. 73.

[4] Radin, "Origin Myth of the Medicine Rite," pp. 12-14, 40-41, 50-56, 65-66; idem, The Trickster, p. 90; idem, "Winnebago Tales," pp. 311-312; Skinner, Medicine Ceremony, pp. 189-92; idem, "Ethnology of Ioway Indians," p. 247. Sometimes heroes other than Hare are said to have searched for immortality.

> He connived with the young Double-Faced Woman, a Siren type, to entice the people out of their good home under the earth. [Thus Oglala mythology teaches a subterranean origin and emergence for mankind.] They prepared a pack of bison meat and hides and other worldly wealth, and sent it to the underworld cave, by means of Wolf (whom Iktomi never thereafter deceived). When some of the people below tasted the meat and clothed themselves in the hides, they began to want very much to come up to the world above. Wolf returned and reported that soon some scouts would be sent up.
>
> Iktomi made himself look like a handsome young man, and the Double-Faced Woman put her "best face forward." They made everything in the area around the cave entrance appear beautiful and luxurious. Four Youths came out to explore the world. Iktomi told them that he and the girl remained perpetually youthful by eating meat (something the underworld people evidently did not enjoy).
>
> The young men returned giving glowing accounts of what they had seen and heard. They persuaded a few others to emerge with them, despite the warnings of the old chiefs that the world was really cold and hard, and that once out they could never return. Six couples in all left, with their children, led by Wolf. Wolf, on orders from Iktomi, guided the people to a desolate place and abandoned them.
>
> They were cold and hungry. Iktomi, no longer youthful in appearance, came and laughed at their misery. Double-Face came to try to comfort them, but they fled in terror when they saw her other face. The next day the Old Man (Wazi) and the Old Woman (Wakanaka) came and helped them, teaching them to hunt, build shelters, etc. The descendants of these people are the Lakota (Dakota).[1]

While this myth does not state specifically that death was a consequence of the people's coming upon earth, there is no doubt that the myth intends to present a very pessimistic view of life in this world. Man entered upon life in this world through a trick of the evil Iktomi. He was lured away from an idyllic underworld existence ("Paradise") into a life of struggle in a cold, cruel world above. It is perhaps significant that the taste of meat was the "bait" that drew them out. Apparently, there was no killing of game in the world below. (If the people ate, they must have been vegetarians, and likely agriculturalists.) It is possible that part of the background of the myth is the conflict between a former predominantly agricultural way of life, and a later increased dependency upon hunting. We know that the history of the

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[1] Walker, pp. 181-182.

Siouans followed such a sequence. However, I am inclined to think that the conflict or dualism implied here is one between an optimistic, world-affirming view of life and a pessimistic, other-worldly one. The priestly authors of this story are saying that the view of this world as good is a lying trick of the Trickster-Culture Hero. This world is not good; it is the realm of Iktomi, the Deceiver. The Good lies in the transcendent realm, "the *wakan* world," the kingdom of the celestial gods. A more pessimistic philosophy than this one is hard to imagine.

The Oglala myth of the "fall of Inktomi," which logically precedes the one above, shows that Iktomi was a "liar from the beginning":

> In mythical times, *Wazi* (Old Man) was chief of the people who dwelt under the earth, and his wife *Kanka* (Woman) was a seer. Their daughter was the beautiful *Ite*, wife of *Tate* (Wind). The younger couple gave birth to four sons, the winds, who proved to be gods, yet the grandfather, Wazi, was not satisfied: he wanted the powers of a god himself.[1] Iktomi knew of Wazi's ambition, and he plotted how to turn it to his own advantage. Iktomi was a god, son of Rock and the Winged God, and he promised to invest the Old Man and Woman with divine powers if they would help him play a trick. They were suspicious, but they yielded to the temptation.
>
> Iktomi told the daughter Ite that she was as beautiful as the Moon, wife of Sun, and that she could be made even more beautiful above all others. He said she ought to be seated among the gods and goddesses. He gave Kanka a charm for her daughter which increased her beauty. *Wi*, the Sun, heard about her and invited her to sit beside him at the feast of the gods. She was seated beside him when Moon, his wife, came in, and Moon was disgraced. Everyone laughed at her, but especially Iktomi who had planned it all. Tate, Ite's husband (and one of the gods), was also disgraced and went home and painted his face and the faces of his sons black.
>
> Moon took her plight to *Skan*, the Great Spirit, the Sky, who questioned all parties. Then he decreed that the Sun and Moon should be separate forever; that Ite, the beautiful, should become the Double-Faced Woman and live on earth; that Kanka should become *Wakanka*, Old Woman, a witch, in the world; that Wazi must also henceforth dwell upon earth as wizard, no longer chief of the people; and finally that Iktomi, the perpetrator of the whole affair, should be expelled from the heavenly and underworld regions to wander forever over the face of the earth, despised by the gods and men. (Iktomi had told Skan that he plotted against the gods

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[1] "The first being to attain maturity in the world." (Dorsey, "Siouan Cults," p. 472.

> because he was tired of being laughed at because of his misshapen form: the result of having been born of the Winged-One, who is shapeless. Since everyone laughed at him, he would laugh at them!)
>
> When Skan had uttered his decree, Iktomi laughed, for Skan had forgotten to include the birds and the beasts as despisers if Iktomi. He said he would therefore dwell among these creatures and converse with them in their own language, and that he would still enjoy himself, playing tricks on them and on mankind.[1]

Nothing remotely resembling this myth or the previous one has been reported from any other source. The reporter, as has been stated, obtained these myths as part of the secret training he received when he was admitted to the fraternity of the Sun Dance Shamans. The myth shows how the shaman-priests had skillfully worked Iktomi, the ancient and popular Trickster-Hero, into their pantheon and "theological system." Iktomi, for the Oglala shamans, is an evil being, not so much because of the "bad" things he does in the gross folk tales, but because his whole nature is opposed to the shamanistic godly world-view. He is portrayed by them as a god by birth--the first-born of the two original gods, Rock and "Winged-One" (Thunderbird—lightning?). But he sets himself in opposition to the gods from the first, while they, for their part, laugh at him: he just does not "belong." Soon his conduct brings about his expulsion from the transcendent worlds, so that he becomes (together with Wazi, Wakanka, and their daughter) the first anthropomorphic being on earth, and the only divine being on earth. His only friends are the birds and the beasts, an accident due to Skan's mistake in not including them in his decree. He becomes then, at the hands of the shaman-priests, a "fallen god," a true Satan, cast out of heaven but becomes prince of this world at the age of animal-people. (We are to assume that all the old Trickster stories, etc., occur in this period.) Then, by a terrible trick, Iktomi brought that age to an end by deceitfully leading the ancestors of the Dakota out of their underground home. Thus the shaman-priests accommodated to their doctrines the popular tradition which knew

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[1] Walker, pp. 164-167.

Iktomi as the first being, the one who gave names to all the animals and trees and established their ways of life and uses, who first used human speech,[1] and in general established the conditions of life on this earth.

The shamans never missed an opportunity to debase the reputation of Iktomi. The myth of the origin of the Sun Dance, the two youths who are on a quest to obtain the dance encounter Iktomi along the way, and Iktomi tries to make them fail by means of a lying trick. He succeeds in deceiving one of them, but fails with the other who goes on to the supernatural world of the Buffalo and obtains the Sun Dance.[2] Likewise, in the myth of the origin of the Buffalo Ceremony, Iktomi is depicted as a cheat, this time trying to play a trick on the White Buffalo God (Tatanka). It appears likely that the present myth is a reworking of an older tradition which attributed the dance to the help of Iktomi.[3] I have already remarked that, in the view of the shamans, Iktomi, as an evil spirit, is regarded as an ever-present danger at religious ceremonials, and that the shamans never fail to take precautions to drive him away lest he turn the solemnities into a farce and an offense to the gods.[4]

The Skidi Pawnee have an entirely different mythology and theological system, and one which has reached a development as high as, or higher than, that of the Oglala. It is interesting to see how the priestly thinkers here have dealt with the Trickster, who is Coyote (or Wolf). The following myth should be compared with the Oglala myth of the deception of mankind. It is not clear how this myth fits into the account of creation given above.

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[1] Cf. statements about Iktomi made in Dorsey, "Siouan Cults," p. 472; idem, "Nanibozhu," p. 300; also Walker, p. 90. No doubt the Oglala had a myth of the creation of the world, but it has not been reported.

[2] Ibid., pp. 212-215.

[3] Cf., ibid., pp. 217-219.

[4] Ibid., p. 90.

> After the earth had been created Tirawa sent Lightning (a god) down to earth with a bag of stars, the offspring of the major Star-gods, who were to become an immortal race of people. Evening Star and Morning Star had given him the bag, and the Council of the Gods had agreed to let this race live on earth, with Lightning as their chief. Lightning traveled around on earth, carrying his people on his back in the bag. Periodically, he would stop, open the bag, and the people would come out and set up a village. They would live there for a while, and the people would serve him as their chief. Then he would pack them up again and travel on to another place.
>
> One Star-god above, however, Fool-Coyote, was jealous of Lightning, and angry because he had not been consulted about the decision to start a new race on earth. So he made a rival creature to dwell below, the Wolf (or Coyote). One day Wolf found Lightning sleeping, with his unopened bag beside him, and he stole the bag of star-people. He supposed merely that the bag contained food, not knowing anything of the doings of the gods. He was surprised, therefore, when he opened the bag and a tribe of people came out and began to set up a village and serve him as their chief. There was a beautiful girl among them, and Wolf took her for his wife. He was quite happy with his amazing good luck, and he did not ask any questions.
>
> When Lightning awoke, he tracked the Wolf and found the village. The people now realized they had been serving a false chief, and they rose up and killed Wolf. Lightning was sad at this turn of events. He told them they had done a bad thing, for now death had come into the world, and henceforth people would quarrel and fight and die. Lightning had Wolf skinned and his body buried according to proper rites (the first funeral). The hide was put into the sacred bundle which Lightning gave to the people before leaving them.
>
> Lightning still goes about the sky carrying his sack on his back (the clouds). Rain is inside the sack, and the beautiful girl, whom Wolf married, is Rain-Girl, Tirawa's own daughter. The gods never die, but the people below are like Wolf: they are mortal.[1]

The Skidi (and probably other Pawnee) attribute death and other worldly sorrows, then, to the first murder, committed by the people. But ultimately, the god, Fool-Coyote, is the cause, since he opposed the will of the gods and sent a rival creature to earth, the Wolf (or Coyote). Once again we see how priestly systematizers have felt constrained to list the Trickster-Culture Hero among the gods; but at the same time they have had to make him the enemy of the gods, one who is at odds with all the others. The primal sin, as always, is insubordination to the gods, and opposition to their will. From this sin spring all the evils of life--that is, the world-as-it-is. This is the view of the shaman-priests, who see the real world as profane and full of bad influences which can be combated only by the aid of the gods and holy men, through observance of holy ceremonials and offerings and prayers. The Trickster-Culture Hero, the one who made the world-as-it-is and who asks only that people accept the world and themselves, and enjoy life--he is, to the priestly mind, an enemy, and his work "in the beginning" can be conceived only as an evil thing.

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[1] Dorsey, Skidi Pawnee, pp. 14-20.

Nevertheless, the shaman-priests cannot extirpate from the folklore of the people all memories of the beneficial things accomplished by the Trickster-Fixer. Among the Plains tribes there are persistent traditions about the Trickster's conquests against certain evil monsters that roamed the world in early times. These stories usually combine both trickster and culture-hero elements, as well as ending in some transformation, since the basic plot is that Trickster overpowers the monsters by a trick, thus freeing men from danger, and transforms them into some harmless or useful thing known today.

The Winnebago have confined their heroic, monster-slaying deeds to "pure hero" types, especially to Hare, whose cycle is mainly a series of monster-slaying episodes.[1] The Trickster (Wakdajunkaga) cycle contains only a faint echo of a killing of a monster: he tricks the Bear and kills him, but only in order to obtain a meal.[2] The Winnebago have also for heroes such characters as "He-who-wears-human-heads-for-earrings" (Red-Horn), Bladder, and the Twins.[3] These heroes appear also in Iowa and Santee (?)[4] mythology. The Iowa, for example, say that the Man-with-Human-Heads-for-Earrings was the last of ten brothers, who alone was successful against such fearful monsters as the

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[1] Radin, The Trickster, pp. 63-91.

[2] Ibid., p. 36.   [3] Ibid., pp. 118-124.

[4] Louis L. Meeker, "Siouan Mythological Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XIV, No. 54 (1901) which appears to be about the Santee.

Giants with Runny Noses (the causers of common colds?), Giant Bears, Wrestling Giants, etc.[1] On Siouan tribe, probably the Santee, say that Bladder and a Monster fought a great duel, each slicing off the head of the other alternately, four times. Each time the heads were struck off, they flew up to the presence of the High God, and asked his permission to kill the other. Then they fell back in place. Finally, Bladder was given the approval of the Supreme Being, and when he for the fourth time struck off the head of his opponent he moved the body so that the head did not fall back on the neck when it returned to earth! Instead, it hit the ground and bounced to the sky, becoming the sun. The ending of this story is secret, known only to those who give the Sun Dance, which was instituted by Bladder. Likewise, only the initiates know that the sky is Bladder, and that we humans on earth live in his thorax.[2]

The Siouan tribes on the eastern perimeter of the Plains give a prominent place to Hare as a slayer of monsters. The fact of his prominence has been attributed to Algonkian influence, since Hare is the Culture Hero of the Algonkians (at least those around the Great Lakes),[3] but I think it is just as likely that Hare was the ancient Trickster-Hero of the Siouans, since he is found in that role everywhere in the Southeast (see chapter xix). At any rate, a considerable cycle of Hero stories are told about him by some of the tribes.

The Iowa say that Hare killed the "Vulva of the World," (a sucking monster-mountain) and the terrible God of the North.[4] The Siouans speaking the ȼeghia dialect (Omaha, Ponca, etc.) have a veritable Hare Cycle, which includes the above stories (the swallowing hill, when vanquished, releases many tribes of men)[1] and also the killing of the Black Bears and a Giant who had enslaved the people.[2]

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[1] Skinner, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," pp. 456-458.

[2] Meeker, p. 162. [3] Cf. Radin, Winnebago Hero Cycles, p. 34.

[4] Skinner, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," pp. 498-499, 502.

The Oto-Iowa-Missouri group also tell similar stories. In one of their myths Hare, Big-Turle, Ictcinke, and Hawk join thirteen other heroes in a contest and war against the Black Men (cannibals): surely quite a mingling of traditions.[3] The story of the snaring of the sun, apparently Algonkian in origin (see previous chapter), occurs here attributed to Hare.[4]

The Mandan-Hidatsa have a series of episodes concerning Coyote as the corrector of the world, which are related to monster-slaying myths. Dogs used to speak, and tell women when their husbands had sweethearts, so Coyote struck them dumb. He burned the evil Raven who used to spoil meat, and the black-colored birds that emerged from the ashes are not harmful to mankind. He made the bison to have less-keen eyesight than formerly, and made the elk unable to kill men as they were first able to do.[5]

A well-known Dakota myth attributes to Iktomi the slaying of the monster Iya, one of the four winds (whirlwind), chief of the evil gods and causer of disease.

> Iya was known to be approaching a village. Iktomi volunteered to go out and trick him. The people hoped that Iktomi would be killed (Iya swallowed his victims). When they met, each one talked about eating the other. (Iktomi, of course, was bluffing.) They discussed which one of them was the elder. Iya said, "Earth was made first, the Sky second, and I third,"[6] Iktomi, lying, said, "I made the earth first, then sky,

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[1] J. O. Dorsey, Ȼeghia Language, pp. 31, 34-35.

[2] Ibid., pp. 18-20, 24-25, 576-577.

[3] Dorsey, "Nanibozhu," pp. 294-295.

[4] J. O. Dorsey, Ȼeghia Language, pp. 14-15; Skinner, "Traditions of Iowa Indians, p. 449; Lowie, Hidatsa Texts, pp. 200-203 (Hare and Coyote together).

[5] Beckwith, Mandan-Hidatsa, pp. 300-302.

[6] This seems to be approximately correct shamanistic doctrine.

> then I had a little material left over and I made something foolish--that must have been you!"
>
> Iktomi walked on the surface of the water, but Iya could not. This "proved" Iktomi's claims.[1] Iktomi learned that Iya feared loud noises, drums, rattles, whistles, etc. They paralyzed him with fear, and then he could be killed easily. Iktomi said he, too, feared the same things.
>
> Iktomi went ahead, saying he would spy out the village and then they would both get a meal. Really, Iktomi went to the town and told the people to get ready to raise a clamor. When he and the monster came into the village a little later, Iya was frightened and killed.[2]

In another version, when Iya is cut open, whole tribes of people come forth and scatter over the earth.[3]

This story, despite shamanistic touches, still discloses Iktomi as the slayer of a most evil monster, and therefore as a Culture Hero and benefactor of mankind. He seems to have instituted a ceremony--a very primitive one--of making loud noises to drive away the whirlwind or malign influences in general.

A few Pawnee stories retain memories of Coyote as Culture Hero and slayer of evil beings.

> Coyote and his wives are traveling when they sight a monster ahead of them. Coyote has his wives dance, as they go along, and sing that Coyote has killed an evil being of just the same kind as the one ahead. The trick works: the monster hears them and runs away. Coyote and his wives then flee in the opposite direction.[4]
>
> When Bear is about to kill Coyote, having caught him just before dawn, Coyote says, "Don't kill me until my father can see!" The Bear, thinking Coyote's father must be the Sun, is terrified and goes meekly to Coyote's house to be his slave--until he realizes he has been duped.[5]

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[1] Cf. Discussion above about Iktomi as spider.

[2] Cf. Beckwith,"Mythology of Oglala Dakota," pp. 434-437; and Walker, pp. 190-191.

[3] Deloria, Dakota Texts, pp. 5-8. Cf. Hare and Swallowing Mountain, above.

[4] Dorsey, Pawnee Mythology, pp. 432-433.

[5] Dorsey, "Wichita Tales," pp. 287-288; Cf. idem, ibid, pp. 455-456.

The Kiowa attribute a similar strategy to Sendeh. He wins the confidence of a family of "little cannibals" who live in the mountains by convincing them that he, too, is a cannibal, in a vomiting contest (he switches the piles of vomit--a widespread motif). When he learns the hiding place of their "hearts," he goes there and kills them. "That's the way I am! I always cheat people. I am a big man!" he boasts.[1]

One final culture-hero deed attributed to the Trickster in this region, occasionally, is the release of the imprisoned game animals. This far-known tale usually involves the hoarding of the game by Crow and its release through the strategy of the Trickster, who often takes the form of a little pup to gain admission to Crow's camp. So the story is told by the Kiowa,[2] and the Wichita;[3] aberrent versions are reported from the Crow,[4] the Hidatsa,[5] and the Oto-Iowa-Missouri group.[6]

The Trickster as Trickster

An extensive listing of trickster stories in the previous chapter on the Algonkians makes it unnecessary to say much about these stories in this chapter, since very few trickster tales occur among the Siouans, Caddoans, and the Kiowa that are not found in Algonkian mythology. It will be sufficient here to list some of the more prominent, general motifs: Trickster is the guest, then the bungling host, of animals that feed him by means of their special "powers";[1] he pretends to die in order to marry his own daughter;[2] he rapes or seduces his mother-in-law or grandmother;[3] he hoodwinks dancing birds or small animals;[4] after obtaining a meal by trickery, he loses it to a thief who often tricks him in some additional way;[5] he gets his head caught in an old skull;[6] he offends a Rock and is pursued by it.[7] He flies with geese or on the back of a single bird, and falls or is deliberately dropped;[7] he is tricked into falling over a cliff;[8] gets a few shots of gas from a Skunk and wastes them;[1] eats plants with secret names and strange powers, and expels flatus in great explosions, or passes a vast quantity of excrement;[2] loses his eyes by juggling them;[3] rapes a girl at a distance by means of an enormous, hose-like penis;[4] kills the children of women who have befriended him;[5] and pretends to be a woman and marries a chief's son.[6]

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[1] Parsons, Kiowa Tales, pp. 40-41.

[2] Ibid., pp. 21-24.

[3] Dorsey, "Wichita Tales," pp. 191-194.

[4] Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," pp. 99-107.

[5] Beckwith, Mandan-Hidatsa, pp. 144-148.

[6] Dorsey, "Nanibozhu," p. 294.

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[1] Skinner, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," pp. 491-493; Radin, *Trickster*, pp. 41-45; J. O. Dorsey, *¢eghia Language*, pp. 557-558; Dorsey, *Traditions of Osage*, pp. 12-13, 15; *idem*, *Skidi Pawnee*, pp. 267-268; Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of Crow,"pp. 39-41.

[2] Beckwith, *Mandan and Hidatsa*, pp. 287-289; Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," pp. 41-43; Dorsey, *Pawnee Mythology*, p. 430.

[3] Skinner, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," p. 497 (Hare), ~~J. O.~~ Dorsey, *¢eghia Language*, p. 60; Deloria, *Dakota Texts*, pp. 10-11; Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," pp. 49-51.

[4] Radin, *Trickster*, pp. 14-16; J. O. Dorsey, *¢eghia Language*, pp. 65-68, 579; Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa*, pp. 296-298; *idem*, "Mythology of Oglala Dakota," pp. 432-433; Wallis, p. 93; Deloria, pp. 23-25; Dorsey, *Tradition of Osage*, pp. 9-10; Parsons, *Kiowa*, pp. 27-29.

[5] Radin, *Trickster*, pp. 16-17, 31-32; J. O. Dorsey, *¢eghia Language*, pp. 68, 565-566; Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa*, pp. 296-298; *idem*,"Mythology of Oglala Dakota," pp. 432-433; Wallis, pp. 93-95; Deloria, p. 30; Lowie, "Assinboine," pp. 108-09; 112-113; *idem*, *Hidatsa*, pp. 209-211; Parsons,*Kiowa*, pp. 29-30.

[6] Radin, *Trickster*, pp. 32-35; Deloria, pp. 30-32, 45-46; Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," p. 22; Dorsey, *Traditions of the Arikara;* Parsons, *Kiowa*, pp. 36-37.

[7] Lowie,"Assinboine," pp. 108-109, 120; *idem*, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," p. 37; Beckwith, "Mythology of Oglala Dakota," pp. 431-432; Dorsey, *Traditions of Arikara*, pp. 143-147; *idem*, *Skidi Pawnee*, pp. 260-262.

[8] Radin, *Trickster*, p. 20; Skinner, "Traditions of Iowa Indians," pp. 486-487; J. O. Dorsey, *¢eghia Language*, pp. 77-78; Beckwith, "Mythology of Oglala Dakota," pp. 431-432; Deloria, pp. 41-43; Lowie, "Assinboine," p. 110; idem, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," p. 38.

[9] Lowie, "Assinboine," p. 110; *idem*, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," p. 48; Dorsey, *Pawnee Mythology*, pp. 459-460.

The Siouan Trickster, especially, is characterized by an enormous penis. The Winnebago, Iowa, and Omaha tell that once, while sleeping under a blanket, Trickster had an erection. He awoke to see his blanket waving high above him. In the Iowa version he thinks it is a flying raccoon, in the Omaha a buzzard,[8] and in the Winnebago he mistakes it for the chief's banner which, when flying, announces a sacred feast.[9] Customarily, Trickster carried his member coiled up in a pack on his back. The Iowa, the only tribe except the Oglala to give an account of the birth of Isjinki, say he was born posthumously of a virgin impregnated by the Sun. His grandfather who raised him made him the raccoon skin pack in which he carried his coiled organ.[1]

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[1] Radin, Trickster, pp. 48-49; Lowie, "Assinboine," pp. 128-129; Dorsey, Osage, p. 12.

[2] Radin, Trickster, pp. 25-27; Skinner,"Traditions of Iowa Indians," pp. 487-488; Wallis, pp. 84-85; Simms, Crow, pp. 286-287; Lowie, "Assinboine," pp. 126-128; Dorsey, Pawnee Mythology, p. 464; idem, Traditions of Arikara, p. 139; idem, Skidi Pawnee, pp. 272-273; idem, "Wichita," pp. 280-281.

[3] Meeker, p. 163; Deloria, p. 36; Lowie, "Assinboine,"pp. 117-119; Parsons, Kiowa, pp. 33-35, 42.

[4] Radin, Trickster, pp. 19-20; Skinner, "Traditions of Iowa Indians," p. 482; Lowie, "Assinboine," p. 119; idem, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," pp. 43-46; Dorsey, Pawnee Mythology, pp. 464-465.

[5] Radin, Trickster, pp. 29-31; Skinner, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," pp. 488-489; J. O. Dorsey, Ȼeghia Language, pp. 562-563; Simms, Crow, p. 287; Beckwith, Mandan-Hidatsa, pp. 293-295.

[6] Radin, Trickster, pp. 22-23; Skinner, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," p. 490; Lowie, "Assinboine," pp. 125-126; Dorsey, Skidi Pawnee, pp. 266-27.

[7] Skinner, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," p. 585.

[8] J. O. Dorsey, Ȼeghia Language, p. 551.

[9] Radin, Trickster, pp. 18-19.

In the Winnebago, Iowa, and Omaha versions, the penis is reduced in size eventually by a chipmunk, who bites it off in small pieces when Trickster sticks it into his hole. The amputations are not painful--in fact, Trickster says it "feels good." At first he is alarmed when he discovers what has happened to his "wonderful organ," but he makes the best of the situation: out of the pieces he creates various wild food plants, such as blackberry, grape, gooseberry, potato, turnip, rice, etc. Because this happened to Trickster, men's organs are not very long today.[2]

As the first man, Trickster is the embodiment and the epitome of male sexuality and fertility. He is possessed of great sexual desire and potency, and he gratifies his desire without inhibition. But such ungoverned passion and virility is unsuitable for men living in civilization, and so Trickster's penis must be reduced, even as men must learn to govern their natural impulses. No Indian tribe, to my knowledge, practiced circumcision: this is not a ritual myth for a circumcision rite. It is rather a mythical apprehension of the necessity of "cutting down to size" the passions and desires.

However, the "transformation" theme of the myth has other facets. There is more than a hint here, I think, of the "Hainuwele" motif. Trickster does not sacrifice his whole body, but he does give up pieces of his sex organ in the process of bringing wild food plants to men. True, Trickster had no intention of creating something useful in the beginning of the episode, but that is the way Trickster creates: haphazardly, by chance, by trial and error without advance planning. At the end of the episode two changes have been

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[1] Skinner, "Traditions of Iowa Indians," pp. 481-482.

[2] Radin, Trickster, pp. 38-40; ibid., pp. 494-495; J. O. Dorsey, Ȼeghia Language, p. 551; Dorsey, Pawnee Mythology, pp. 464-465.

made, which have made the world more like it is today: the male organ has been reduced to its proper size, and wild plants have been provided for food. It seems to me that a formerly-agricultural people who once had the Hainuvele myth as a living tradition, as the Siouans probably did when living in the Southeast (see chapter xix), might very well have adapted the motif of "plants from the human body" in this way to account for wild food plants. There is also the possibility that the Trickster is here being thought of as an androgenous being who can "give birth" to things by himself, from segments of his sexual organ. The myth may, rather than being dependent upon agriculture, be a pre-agricultural apprehension of sexual potency which later merges into the apprehension that gives rise to the agricultural myths in which sexuality is of central importance.

One trickster myth which seems peculiar to this region is the one which might be called "Hare tricks the Trickster":

> Hare and Trickster agree to a contest: they will tell stories, and the one who can stay awake the longer will have the privilege of sexually using the other. Trickster soon dozes, and when he is sound asleep Rabbit "rapes" him and runs away. When Trickster awakes, he travels on, angry. Soon he has to defecate. A little rabbit hops away from his voidings. This happens several times. Trickster decides he will catch the next one, and he throws his blanket on top the pile as soon as he defecates. When he lifts it, there is no rabbit, but his blanket is badly soiled.[2]

This tale seems to have no other meaning than to show what happens when two Tricksters get together. Both of them, we might notice, are overly-potent sexually. In this story Hare, who may be the older Siouan (Southeastern) Trickster-Hero, or who may be an Algonkian import, appears the more clever, and Ictincke or Coyote, the Plains Trickster, is badly duped.

Also peculiar to this region is the tale in which Trickster begs a

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[1] J. O. Dorsey, Ȼeghia Language, p. 41; Dorsey, Osage, pp. 13-14; Lowie, "Assinboine," p. 123; idem, "Myths and Traditions of the Crow," pp. 36-37; Beckwith, Mandan-Hidatsa, p. 293; Dorsey, Arikara, pp. 147-148; idem, Skidi Pawnee, pp. 269-270.

bull buffalo or elk to make him into a buffalo (or elk) too. Trickster wants to be able to eat grass, which he thinks will be a much easier way of living than trying to catch small game. The buffalo transforms him by butting him. But as a buffalo, Trickster misbehaves and sometimes narrowly escapes being killed. He meets a friend (usually another Coyote) and tries to transform him too, but instead Trickster is changed back into his old form again.[1] This myth seems to be another development of the theme of the "foolish imitator," which has the function of teaching men not to want to be something they are not meant by nature to be.

In a number of stories Trickster is depicted as the rival of a youthful hero, whom he cheats in some way in order to get the girl intended for the hero, or in order to steal his wife. There are several different plots, but the theme is basically the same in them all. The motif of sending the youth up a magically-growing cliff or tree, so prominent in Northern California and the Plateau region of the West, occurs here also in several tribes.[2] Trickster, mythologically, must always contend for his central position in the affections of the people against younger heroes who enter into folklore. These heroes lack the "low" characteristics of the Trickster: they are less human and more "god-like" in their personality and deeds. They partake of the virtues which the shamans exalt, and like the shamans they derive their power from a supernatural experience. When Trickster sends the youth away to the sky, he thinks he has gotten rid of him, but very often he has only launched him on an adventure in a transcendent realm from which he returns endowed with spiritual power. The conflict between the two is a conflict, basically, between two world-views: the Trickster represents the view that man can and must live by his wits alone; the boy-hero represents the "religious" view that man is weak and must be blessed by the spirits if he is to live a significant life.

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[1] J. O. Dorsey, *¢eghia Language*, pp. 68-69; 105-106; Wallis, pp. 97-98; Walker, pp. 437-438; Dorsey, *Osage*, pp. 10-11; *idem*, *Pawnee Mythology*, pp. 449-451; *idem*, *Arikara,* pp. 138-139; *idem*,"Wichita Tales," pp. 278-280.

[2] J. O. Dorsey, *¢eghia Language*, pp. 55-57; Wallis, pp. 78-83; Walker, pp. 192-193; Beckwith, "Mythology of Oglala Dakota," pp. 411-413; Lowie, "Myths and Traditions of Crow," pp. 46-47; Simms, *Crow*, pp. 290-294; Parsons, *Kiowa*, pp. 49-56.

The eye-juggling myth is associated with Hare, rather than the anthropomorphic Trickster, among the Siouans. Meeker reports a unique tradition, the secret lore of the Medicine Lodge (of the Santee?), that one eye which Hare lost by throwing it too high in the air became the sun.[1] One Indian suggested to Meeker that perhaps at one time the story had said that the other eye became the moon. This interpretation, associated as it is with the Medicine Lodge, appears late, and yet it might also be a memory of an ancient tradition of the creation of the sun and moon by Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. More likely, the eye-juggling story is another tale of "foolish imitation" and a mockery of shamanistic powers.

The Caddoan tribes relate a number of trickster stories peculiar to their own tribes. Their myths, which probably are priestly in origin, stress the irreverence of the Trickster (Wolf or Coyote), and his lack of humility before the supernatural. As a result of his attitude, whenever he gains any supernatural power or blessing, he soon loses it.

> Coyote is thirsty. He offers to give his tongue, his heart, and other vital parts of his body to the four gods if they will send a little rain. The rain comes, and Coyote refuses to pay his vows. The gods send more rain and a hail storm, and Coyote is killed.[2]
>
> Coyote is given power by the "Little Men" to kill an evil being who has been terrorizing a village. He is told not to take any reward for what he does (since the spirits gave him the ability to do it). He kills the demon, and then basks in the glory of a hero. The grateful people make him chief and give him a beautiful girl for wife. But

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[1] Meeker, p. 163. [2] Dorsey, Pawnee Mythology, p. 434.

> the "Little Men" are angry at his disobedience, and soon turn him into an ordinary Coyote again.[1]

Similarly, Coyote obtains supernatural powers from Spider-Man, but, because he disobeys an injunction to remain continent, he soon loses them.[2]

Coyote's irreverence is brought out in a delightful line from the myth, "Trickster pretends to die in order to marry his daughter," as told by a Pawnee. When giving instructions for his burial (so he will not suffocate) he says: "Leave my head sticking out of the grave, for you know that I was always very religious and looked to Tirawa for assistance"![3]

While these stories of the Caddoans do not show as much originality and plot development as those of the Oglala, perhaps, the purpose of the stories is the same: to debase the Trickster and make him appear an undesirable person to admire or emulate. It is his lack of respect for sacred things, and his refusal to admit that he needs any help from the spiritual realm that makes Trickster despised by the spiritually-minded leaders.

Sendeh, the Trickster-Culture Hero of the Kiowa, is regarded in an entirely different way. In this tribe there is no knowledge of a High God, and Sendeh is the beloved, paramount myth-figure. Parsons says concerning him:[4]

> Sendeh is our human prototype. He hits at a tree he is angry with, that is why we have bumps or knuckles on our fingers; he kicks a tree, and we have joints on our toes. Because Sendeh in one of his escapades became possessed of dog eyes, we men have dog eyes. Sendeh is an arbiter on death. Sendeh is a medicine man and is called upon to revive the moribund. It was Sendeh who said to use sage with every kind of medicine. But Sendeh is "more than a medicine man." The constellation we call Orion's belt is Sendeh's hand. The games are Sendeh's medicines to be played, Sendeh decree, in winter only.

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[1] Dorsey, "Wichta Tales," pp. 252-257. [2] *Ibid*., pp. 177-187.

[3] Dorsey, *Pawnee Mythology*, pp. 430-432.

[4] Parsons, *Kiowa*, p. xvi.

Sendeh is fond of laughter. A child may be named after him because he seemed to be laughing when born.[1] Sendeh will bite off your nose if you tell his stories in the daylight, but if you tell them at night, Sendeh laughs with you, the Indians say.[2] In the eye-juggling myth, the birds do not wish to teach Sendeh the trick. "You are too crazy!" they say. He retorts, "We are all crazy, but I want to do what you are doing!"[3]

Evidently, the Kiowa have not been affected by the "high mythologies" of their Siouan and Caddoan neighbors. Linguistically, they are distant kin of the Shoshoni. Their mythology indicates that they have preserved the ancient optimistic world-view of the worldly-religious Trickster-Culture Hero. By so doing, their culture stands out as unique on the Great Plains; they are an "old-fashioned" group in which the folk hero has not been displaced or degraded in mythology by the shaman-priests.

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[1] _Ibid_. [2] _Ibid_., p. xvii; cf. p. 35. [3] _Ibid_,, p. 33.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT BASIN SHOSHONEANS

General Remarks on Culture, Religion, and Mythology

The Indians known as the Ute, Paiute, Mono, Bannock, and Shoshoni inhabiting the plateau region of Nevada, Utah, and parts of neighboring states, the basin of the Colorado River, form a fairly homogeneous unit in language, culture, and mythology. Linguistically, they are a part of the great Uto-Aztec family, which is represented in Mexico by Aztec tibes, and has examples as far south as Panama. Probably 5,000 years ago these groups began to disperse from a single place,[1] perhaps southern California. The Shoshoneans of Uto-Aztecs in the United States are classified linguistically into four main divisions, as follows:[2]

1. Plateau (Great Basin): Mono-Bannock, Shoshoni-Comanche, Ute-Chemehuevi.
2. Kern River or Tubatulabal, a small tribe in south-central California.
3. Southern California: Serrano, Gabrielino, Luiseno-Cahuilla.
4. Pueblo: Tanoan, Keresan, and Hopi.

The Kiowa tribe is a distantly-related Shoshonean stock also, and might constitute a fifth major division.[3] It is with the tribes of the first division above that we shall be concerned with in this chapter.

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[1] Driver, p. 579.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 78; Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1925), p. 577.

[3] Cf. Driver, p. 576, and Language Table in the Appendix of this paper.

One non-Shoshonean tribe, the Washo of the Lake Tahoe region of California-Nevada, an isolated Hokan people, will be included here, since their mythology and culture belong more to the Great Basin than to California.[1]

In a cultural sense, the Great Basin area may be considered a cultural unit, or it may be included in a single "Ultramontaine" culture area including California, Oregon, and Washington State.[2] The affinities of these peoples are especially strong in non-material cultural elements. We shall see, for example, that Coyote is the main myth figure everywhere, as Trickster, Transformer or even Creator, and Culture Hero. Moreover, Coyote often becomes the embodiment of evil in a dualism that is more or less latent but sometimes quite explicit over the entire region.[3]

In material and non-material culture, in social organization and ceremonial development, the Great Basin Indians are much impoverished. Hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild vegetable foods are the only sources of the daily bread of these people, as agriculture is quite unknown.[4] Only a few tribes marginal to the region, Shoshoneans of the southwestern Basin in contact with Californian tribes, have a clan organization. The struggle for survival in this semi-desert region is a hard one at all times, and in their nomadic state of life the local band is the only social unit. The bands consist of one or several families, and are known by the type of food they (supposedly) eat characteristically: for example, certain Northern Shoshoni bands are called "Salmon-Eaters," "Squirrel-Eaters," "Sheep-Eaters," etc.[1]

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[1] Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Ethnographic Notes on the Washo," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXVI, No. 5 (1939), 301.

[2] The view of Robers H. Lowie in "The Cultural Connection of California and Plateau Shoshonear Tribes," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XX (1923), 155-156.

[3] Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, II, Part 2 (1909), pp. 235-236.

[4] The Owens Valley Paiute irrigated but did not plant wild grains. See Julian H. Steward, "Ethnology of the Owens Valley Paiute," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXIII (1933), 248-249.

The Northern Shoshoni have two simple dances whose purpose is to insure a good supply of foods upon which the people depend, chiefly berries, salmon, and grass seeds.[2] As throughout the region, men and women dance together in a circle, singing and imitating animals and birds. No drums or masks are used. The tribes of the upper reaches of the Snake River, a tributary of the Columbia, have first-salmon rites.[3] Those tribes bordering on the Plains have a form of the Sun Dance. An annual ceremony for mourning the dead is reported for the Washo.[4] The guardian spirit quest is practiced all over the region, and shamanism is, of course, the definitive religious experience.[5]

Mythology and cosmological ideas are poorly developed here, as might be expected. Over most of the area no god is mentioned prominently, and the chief figures of mythology are Coyote and Wolf. Occasionally, however, some Indian will speak of a High-God type of being. For example, Lowie heard the name _A'po_ (or _Nomono_ _A'po_), meaning Father (of the Indians),[6] and Kelly was told a myth in which "Star" (Sun?) was cast in the role of the Originator of all things.[7] The Owens Valley Paiute (east-central California) men pray to the "Great Spirit" in their sweat house-men's house.[1] The nearby Washo speak about "This-Man-Up-Here" who appears to shamans and is said to own the thunder and lightning.[2] The Northern Paiute men pray to the Sun in their sweat houses, perhaps under the influence of the Sun Dance religion of the Plains.[3] Christian influence is suspected in some of these instances, and in other cases there has been a transference of ideas from California and the Plains. Another explanation is, of course, that the Shamans know more about these matters than the common people, and here and there an investigator has heard of a shamanistic belief in a Supreme Spirit or God of the sky, who would perhaps be unknown or vaguely known by the layman. Such a figure rarely enters into the mythology of the region. Sometimes investigators report that a High God type is more or less identified with Coyote or Wolf: A'po and the Man-up-Here are so identified by some Indians. We have met with this sort of thing before. For the common man, the Culture Hero of mythology is a kind of god, and easily becomes confused with the Supreme Being of the shaman, who is of an entirely different origin and structure.

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[1] Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 206-208.

[2] S. A. Barrett, "The Washo Indians," _Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee_, XI, No. 1 (1917), 8-9.

[3] Lowie "Northern Shoshone," pp. 217-218.

[4] Barrett, p. 9; cf. Steward, p. 320.

[5] Cf. Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 224-225.

[6] _Ibid_., p. 233.

[7] Isabel T. Kelly, "Northern Paiute Tales," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, LI, No. 202 (1938), 437.

Fox and Coyote, who live and travel together as a pair in most myths, are the principal figures in the mythology of the Basin. Coyote is pictured as foolish, in contrast to his "elder brother," but in many stories, as we shall see, Coyote is a true Culture Hero. Fox takes the place of Coyote, apparently, in the few Lone Pine Shoshoni tales obtained by Steward.[4]

Any old woman, the mother of the people according to one of the two myths of origin told in this region, appears to have been regarded as something of a goddess. A Southern Paiute man said she can see what people are doing, and knows all (like a sky deity). When Indians die they go to her and she makes new ones to send back to earth.[1] This female being is said by others to be the source of nuts, roots, and other wild vegetable products.[2] According to the myths in which she appears, she (and her husband) departed to the south, weeping. Her tears became springs. She is also said to have become a cloud, and her husband the thunder, in one myth.[3] The husband of the woman sometimes is identified, rather hesitantly, with the Wolf.[4] He is more often a separate figure, and in one myth is associated with a particular mountain. Probably these two figures are shamanistic in origin, and are a true pair of deities of the sky. The fact that the "owner" of wild vegetable products is said to be a female being suggests influence from an agricultural region. It may be that the Shoshoneans were at some remote time agriculturalists. It is known that the now-arid Basin once was a well-watered and fertile region. The husband of the woman would seem to be a rather poorly developed god of meteorological phenomena (the woman also is associated with weather, perhaps).

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[1] Steward, p. 265-266.

[2] Lowie, "Ethnological Notes," p. 319.

[3] Kelly, p. 376.

[4] Julian H. Steward, "Myths of the Owens Valley Paiute," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXIV, No. 5 (1936), 434-436.

Origin Myths

Before examining the myths of the origin of the people, we should inquire into a more basic myth, that of the creation of the world. The general conception of the creation or re-creation of the earth is by means of a dive for a "seed" of dirt under the waters, the familiar "earth-diver" myth. However, no extensive or fully coherent version of this myth has been reported for the region. The following examples illustrate the fragmentary quality of this myth here:

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXVII (1924), 159.

[2] Dangberg, pp. 239-241; *ibid.*, pp. 159 (S. Paiute) and 201-202 (Paviotso).

[3] Lowie, "Ethnological Notes," pp. 335-337; in Dangberg, pp. 239-241, the woman turns into the thunder.

[4] Kelly, p. 368: "Maybe he was Wolf."

> Our Father (A'po) made us. He made the animals first, then the birds, etc. He sent Crow, who was sitting on a high mountain, to get earth. He was supposed to resurrect the drowned people. But he just ate the dead flesh. So the Father sent Chickadee who returned with dirt. From this the world was remade. He told the people to pay to him.[1]

I suspect this story of Christian influence. However, it must be, in the main, an ancient tradition. Note that it describes the remaking of the world after a flood.

> The Creator went far away across the ocean with his wife. Then he burned up the world. (Did a flood follow?) The Wolf got the sun to dry up the land. He created the trees of all kinds, the animals, etc.[2]

Not a very coherent account, but apparently it preserves a memory of a double destruction of the world, by fire and by flood. Wolf is either the Creator or the Creator's assistant.

> In the beginning there was just an old woman, Cotsipamapot (not translated), and her son and daughter. They lived on a little spot of ground in the midst of the waters. She scattered dirt over the water, like seed, and the earth grew. She sent her daughter out to measure it until it had grown big enough.[3]

This story is unique, in that the Creator is a woman. It probably indicates influence from Southwestern agricultural peoples (it is from the Southern Paiute).

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[1] H. H. St. Claire and Robert H. Lowie, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXII, No. 85 (1909), 272-273. (Based on two Wind River, Wyoming versions.)

[2] W. L. Marsden, "The Northern Paiute Language of Oregon," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XX (1923), 185-187. Cf. Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales, p. 288, where Sun sends his messenger to dry up the water (Paviotso).

[3] Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," p. 157 (S. Paiute).

> There was nothing but water and clouds. Sunawavi (Mythical Coyote) was the only living thing, and he could walk on the ocean or the clouds. One day he found a little dirt on the ocean, and thought it might be good to make the world out of it. He did so, and placed everything on it.[1]

Coyote alone is the Creator in this account, and his making of the earth is an act initiated on the "spur of the moment," just because he found some dirt on the water.

> Coyote and Wolf were floating on a flood or primeval ocean. Coyote complained of their cramped quarters, so Wolf shook some dirt out of an earring, and from it formed the earth.[2]

This tale comes from Owens Valley, California, and shows Californian influence.

> A few creatures survived a flood by taking refuge on a mountain. Certain waterfowl dived for some dirt, but were unsuccessful. Coyote pretended to dive, but he already had some dirt under his nails. (This was no good.) Hell-diver succeeded, and scattered the dirt on the waters, causing them to recede.[3]

This story is from the Owens Valley Paiute also, and is even more like the south-central California myths. In another account,[4] Coyote is said to have caused the flood by breaking open the bag in which Duck had put the ocean. A Northern Shoshoni tale says that the Geese caused the flood while Coyote was flying with them. They did it to "wash the world," and after the water went down they made the world over again.[5]

As I have stated above, in previous discussions of the earth-diver myth, it seems to me that this motif, as well as that of the making of the world by a wise and foreseeing Creator, is shamanistic in origin, and is to be contrasted with the older mythological idea of the gradual transformation of the world by the Trickster-Fixer. The earth-diver story "properly" follows upon a flood which wipes out the myth world, the world as it was made by the Transformer. But sometimes, because of the entrenched position of the Old Trickster-Fixer, the re-creation of the world comes to be attributed to him rather than to a High God or a noble, heroic figure. As we shall see, Wolf is the more noble and heroic being, and might even be said to be the embodiment of the traits of an ideal shaman. Thus he is more frequently designated as the creator of the world after its destruction by a flood.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1 (Southern Ute).

[2] Steward, "Ethnology Notes," p. 323; cf. *idem*, "Myths," p. 364.

[3] Steward, "Ethnology Notes," p. 323.

[4] Steward, "Myths," p. 372.

[5] Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," p. 247.

Coyote and Wolf frequently are pictured in argument, presumably at the "dawn of the world," as to how conditions of human life and nature will be in this world. Wolf wanted everything pleasant and good, but Coyote made things hard. Coyote always argued in favor of death, while Wolf wanted men to live forever, or to be able to return after death. As in California, Coyote's son often becomes the first to die.[1] Perhaps this is the reason Coyote is said to have given the four kinds of mourning songs and dances used by the Paiutes.[2] Wolf wanted people to stay young always, but Coyote wanted them to grow old: he thought they would look good bent over canes.[3] It was Coyote's wish, vainly opposed by Wolf, that children should be conceived through sexual intercourse and be born in the painful process which the world knows today.[4] Coyote also ordained menstruation for women, and gave the menstrual taboos.[5] Coyote wanted winter to last many months, but a three-toed bird's wish prevailed (for three months).[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 2-5 (So. Ute); Lowie, "Ethnology of the Washo," p. 333; Steward, "Myths," pp. 368-369.

[2] Edward Sapir, "Texts of the Kaibab Paiutes and Uintah Utes," Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, LXV, No. 2 (1930), 347, 529; Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," p. 239.

[3] Kelly, p. 375.

[4] Ibid., p. 371; Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," p. 239; Steward, "Myths," p. 373.

[5] Kelly, p. 375.

The story of the release of the imprisoned game is given in "dualistic turn" by the Paiutes: Wolf had the game all corralled in a cave so they would be easy for men to kill, but Coyote foolishly released them and they scattered everywhere.[2] Coyote also spoiled easy hunting conditions which existed in former times. He exposed his penis to a deer, and after it smelled it, the deer and all the animals became wild (wary of men's smell). Wolf (or Eagle) gave the sweat house to men as an antidote.[3] Another myth states that Coyote made nostrils for the deer, something which they lacked in the beginning.[4]

Coyote was the author of disease. "Cunawabi made all kinds of sickness by thinking that people should be sick,"[5] a Southern Paiute said. Even present-day evils, such as the failure of a shaman to be able to cure, and women's diseases, sometimes are said to be due to the influence of Coyote.[6]

In a moment we shall cite several myths which attribute good things to Coyote as a Culture Hero. It appears more likely to me that it is in the role of Culture Hero, rather than marplot, that we see the more ancient view of Coyote. Beginning as the popular Trickster-Fixer, Coyote is known as the one who established the world-as-it-is. Coyote accepts life as it is, and glories in it, laughing in his failures as well as his victories. But the view of the shaman is opposed to this: the world is not good, and man's powers must be augmented by aid from the spirit-world if he is to live a significant life of accomplishment. The world as the Trickster-Transformer left it, then, is not good: if a good spirit or god had made it the way he wanted to make it, there would be no death, no sex (a correlate of death), no hard work, no old age. Man would not be a creature of time, but instead he would be "spiritual," as is the shaman when in trance he is lifted out of time, out of this world, and into the transcendent world of the spirit (and spirits). From the shamans, then, come these myths of the argument between a good being and the Trickster-Transformer. The most basic subjects of these arguments are those which have to do with conditions which do in fact exist in the world, especially mortality. Secondarily, subjects are added to the discussion in which Trickster does not get his way, such as the extremely long winter which Coyote wanted.[1] The Trickster is made to appear positively evil, desiring to do even worse things than he was permitted to do. The story of the release of game, which is usually told as a culture-hero story of the freeing for men of animals imprisoned by a hostile "Owner of Game," has here become inverted to show Coyote as the enemy of men! In some circles Coyote has even been made the author of diseases, something which anciently is always attributed to spirits, not to the Trickster-Culture Hero.

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[1] Lowie, "Shoshone Tales," p. 7 (S. Ute), pp. 222-223 (Paviotso); cf. Kelly, p. 376.

[2] Ibid., pp. 378, 383-383; Marsden, p. 181. See Sapir, Kaibab, for a more usual form of the story (pp. 505-507).

[3] Kelly, pp. 382-376; Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 14-17 (S. Ute).

[4] Kroeber, "Ute Tales," p. 266.

[5] Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," p. 159 (S. Paiute).

[6] Cf. Steward, "Ethnology Notes," pp. 314-315.

In this region, as elsewhere, the Trickster is held to be the hero who brought fire to mankind. Coyote led the expedition of animal-people who went to the village where fire was being kept. However, it was Jackrabbit who was the successful member of the party in actually bringing home a live coal. (See below, The Rabbit Cycle.) This story is told with considerable detail all across the Basin region, and evidently is regarded as a very important story.[1]

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[1] Actually, the story of the argument about the length of the seasons as it is told elsewhere usually casts the Bear or some other hostile being in the role of the one who wants a long cold and dark period. The Trickster-Fixer is more usually the one who decrees things to be as they are.

A story with quite a similar plot is that of the theft of pine nuts. Coyote leads his men to the village where people have pine nuts. They play games and dance with the people, then steal their nuts, running and passing the bag in relay fashion. One by one the runners are overtaken by the pursuers, and killed, but Chicken Hawk saves the seed by hiding it in his rotten leg where the owners do not think to look. Wolf revives, and restores Coyote to life. Both men bite off pieces of the seed nut and scatter the pieces around to make trees. However, Coyote mixes his seed with juniper seeds, so that where he spews out the contents of his mouth, the two kinds of trees grow together (juniper is much less valuable for food).[2]

Coyote is credited also with having invented the flaking of obsidian (which is called "Coyote's obsidian").[3] It was he also who named everything, and ordained the respective habitats of the animals.[4]

A myth, apparently localized in the Owens Valley region, attributes the creation of the sun to Coyote, with help from Mallard Duck:[5]

> After a race between Coyote's people and Wolf's people, won by the former, the Sun, one of Wolf's men, was killed along with the rest of the losers. This caused a long period of darkness and stormy weather.

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[1] Kroeber, "Ute Tales," pp. 252-260; Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 6-7 (S. Ute), pp. 117-119 (S. Paiute), p. 228 (Paviotso), p. 159 (S. Paiute); _idem_, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 244-247; Sapir, _Kaibab_, pp. 390-393; Steward, "Myths," pp. 368-371, 434-435 (Coyote grabs the fire, but Deer or Rat gets it home).

[2] Kelly, pp. 359-403 (five versions); Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 217-220; Steward, "Myths," p. 431-433.

[3] Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," p. 233.

[4] Kelly, p. 375; Steward, "Myths," p. 415.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 411-417 (Two versions).

> The people made Coyote stay outside the house in the rain for a long time, but at last they let him come inside, because they could do nothing without his leadership. He ordered the birds to "make medicine" and stop the storm; then he commanded Mallard Duck to make the sun rise again.

The neighboring Lone Pine Shoshoni say that Fox (who stands in the place of Coyote for them) made a new and higher sun after a year of darkness.[1] Apparently, we have to do here with an ancient ritual-myth in which Coyote appears as a kind of shaman who has powers by which he can bring back the sun after a time of darkness. Coyote seems out of place in such a role: he is better cast as the thief who steals the sun from hostile powers.

There are two myths accounting for the origin of the people which are told generally throughout the region. In one of them, Coyote is the father of the people, while the other story attributes the paternity of the human race to a shadowy "hunter" who sometimes is identified with Wolf. In both cases there is an anthropomorphic Mother, but the character of the mother is entirely different in the two stories. One old report[2] says that the Bannock considered Wolf as their creator and Coyote as the progenitor of the Shoshone; while the Northern Shoshone themselves said that Wolf was their father. Apparently, the Indians wished to say that their own tribe was descended from Wolf, while the "inferior people" of the other tribes were Coyote's offspring. Wolf is regarded everywhere as the "elder," i.e., wiser, of the pair; yet the Indians admit that in the beginning "Coyote was the boss."[3] Doubtless, some of the Shoshone must regard themselves as children of Coyote, since one of the two origin myths plainly states that he was their father. The Owens Valley Paiute do so regard him,[4] and there must be others. But it is by no means clear how the Indians relate themselves to the two myths.

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[1] Ibid., p. 436.

[2] W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia: n.p., 1885), p. 60; cited in Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," p. 233.

[3] Kelly, p. 375. [4] Steward, "Ethnology Notes," p. 235.

The Coyote-Father myth appears to me to be the more archaic. One version begins with Coyote alone in the world. He went to the shore of the ocean, lay down, and slept. He was hoping he might find some other people in existence. He awoke to find a pretty girl dancing on his legs. . . .[1] In other versions the story begins with the girl and her mother living alone on an island. In one version, perhaps the most logical, they were the only survivors of a flood.[2] The mother sent the girl to look for a man to be her husband.

> The girl found Coyote, and enticed him to follow her, promising him she would be his wife when they reached her home. She told him they must not have intercourse until they reached their destination. She had a toothed vagina, of which Coyote was informed by his advisors (his excrements)[3] or by the girl herself.
>
> When they reached her camp and night came, Coyote used a stone or elk horn, broke the vaginal teeth of both the girl and her mother, and then took his pleasure from them both. They lived together for some time.
>
> The old woman put a large jar in the sleeping tent of her daughter and son-in-law, and into it she placed the babies born to her daughter (or babies were magically conceived inside the womb-jar). After a while the woman sent Coyote away, telling him to take the far with him. She instructed him not to open it until he reached the center of the world. Coyote could not, of course, contain his curiosity, and he opened the jar too soon. Most the people ran out, and became the ancestors of the various tribes. Only a few small ones remained inside, and these Coyote carried to the center of the world. That is why the Paiute (or Shoshoni, or whoever is telling the story) are a small tribe. But because they are Coyote's favorite children, they are strong and brave.[4]

This myth is composed of many elements, some very ancient, and others probably relatively "modern." The toothed vagina is one of the oldest of motifs. The fact that Coyote crosses a body of water to reach an island probably means that he has gone to a supernatural region. His children, then, are half-divine. The return with the closed jar containing people is like a return from the land of the dead with a pack of souls who must be kept confined until the portals of death are passed. The jar itself, out of which the people emerge, suggests the Southwestern and Southeastern Indian myth of the emergence of people from the underworld womb of mother earth. (The jar is made of clay, we should remember.) This cannot be an "original" story of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero cycle since it involves the aid of supernatural beings (the worman and her daughter). However, I believe it is more archaic and conforms more closely to the apprehension of reality which Trickster embodies, than does the other myth in which Wolf or the Hunter is the father of the people:

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[1] Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 236-237.

[2] Lowie, "Shoshone Tales," p. 157 (S. Paiute).

[3] Here we meet for the first time Coyote's excrement advisors, which he can defecate at will to ask for advice when in danger. The motif is widespread in the Far West.

[4] Lowie, "Shoshone Tales," pp. 103-104, 158 (S. Paiute); idem, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 236-239; idem, "Shoshone Tales," pp. 209-211 (Paviotso); Kelly, pp. 372-375. Cf. Lowie, "Ethnology of Washo," pp. 333-334 and Dangberg, pp. 439ff., for aberrant versions.

> The people of a village were having a dance. A cannibal monster came and killed all the people except a woman who hid under a basket, and a baby girl he overlooked. They fled from the village, but the Cannibal followed them. They escaped from him by pulling up a sage brush and hiding under the roots.
>
> At last they came to the house of Coyote and Wolf. But Coyote was also a cannibal, and he wanted to eat the little girl. The woman became the wife of Wolf. Coyote ate the child one night and the woman left.
>
> She found and married a Hunter, and they had several pairs of children born to them. When the children grew up, they fought with one another. The parents were sorry and sent the children away in different directions to become the progenitors of the different tribes. The parents sadly then departed also, going south. As they traveled, they wept, and their tears became springs. They ordained various places where spirit power may be obtained today. They became the cloud and thunder, respectively or jointly, and are also believed to preside over the land of the dead where their children return to them at last. The Milky Way is their trail.[1]

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[1] Kelly, pp. 365-370; Dangberg, pp. 394ff.; Marsden, pp. 185-187; Lowie, "Ethnology Notes on Washo," pp. 335-337; idem, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 201-202 (Paviotso), pp. 228-229 (Paviotso).

While some Indians identify the "hunter" with Wolf,[1] and while there is a popular belief that Wolf and Coyote preside over the land of the dead,[2] This myth shows that the Hunter is a distinct figure. In one version only is he given a name, and then he is identified as Numuna, "Paiute Father."[3]

This account is definitely shamanistic in origin. Coyote and Wolf are introduced rather awkwardly, it seems, as though they had to be included only because any myth about the "beginnings" would naturally include something about the Trickster-Hero and his "elder brother."[4] Yet the Wolf just misses being the father of the race, since he was the husband of the Mother for a time. We can imagine an earlier version of the myth in which Wolf was the Father. Wolf, as we shall see shortly, is a shamanistic-hero type, in contrast to Coyote who scorns the ways of the shaman. But Wolf, the Hero, is not so lofty a figure as the fully anthropomorphic Hunter, who goes up to the sky to be in charge of weather, and reign with the Woman over all the transcendent regions.

It is possible, I think, to see in this myth the suppressed outlines of the other origin myth, in which Coyote is the Father of the people. In both stories there is a woman and a younger girl. In both, Coyote has some direct relationship with the younger one. But instead of marrying the younger one and becoming through her the parent of the race, in the latter story Coyote is changed into an evil cannibal (a very strange role for him) who devours the girl. The shamans, as we have noted many times before, cannot say enough to slander the reputation of the Trickster-Hero. Here, apparently, they have tried to obliterate the memory of Coyote as Father of the race by going to the opposite extreme and making him a being who would, if he could, destroy the race!

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[1] Kelly, p. 368. [2] Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," p. 226.

[3] Kelly, p. 371.

[4] In some versions, in fact, Coyote and Wolf are not mentioned, and the woman goes straight to the Hunter's House.

As the god and goddess depart from the world, saddened by the rivalry and hatred that has arisen among their offspring, they leave behind springs and other spots where those seeking supernatural power will find it. Here shamans today may go to obtain spirit helpers, and here ordinary youths may go to acquire a guardian spirit. Here we see in embryo the concept of the Oneness of all spiritual power: many spirits come to the aid of men, but all have their origin in the One who established the sacred places in the beginning. Though he seems to be nameless among the Shoshoni, this Father is well on the way to becoming a true Supreme Being.

Coyote Rescues Wolf

The longest and most abstruse cycle of the Shoshoni concerns Wolf and Coyote, and the theme is death and rebirth. It has been reported from all over the region, and the following is a composite account utilizing a number of versions:

> Wolf and his younger brother Coyote lived in a cave. Wolf used to go every day to the dwelling of his "Aunt," the Bear-woman, to obtain food. One day he sent Coyote instead, to get wild seeds for their supper. He warned Coyote not to try any tricks. Coyote was greeted by the Bear's two sons (she herself was out when he arrived). Soon the old woman came home, and asked the boys to bring her the phallus instrument she kept hanging on the wall. She enjoyed herself with it for a while, until Coyote said he would be glad to oblige her with "something better." He would not stop when she cried, "Enough," and she scratched his back severely. When he had extricated himself from her embrace, he ran home. His brother fixed him, but said they must now get revenge for the injury.
>
> Next day Wolf sent Coyote to kill the woman. He told him to be sure to bring home all the pieces when he butchered her. He killed the Bear and her sons, but the Aunt's spleen (or bladder: i.e., the organ containing the vital principle) hopped away from him. When Coyote returned home and reported what had happened, Wolf was very sad, although he did not say why.

He sent Coyote out every day after that to gather materials for making arrows. (Wolf couches his orders in figurative language, and Coyote obeys him literally at first, until his excrements advise him, or until Wolf speaks plainly.) One day Coyote saw lightning flashing. "Oh, I wonder if I'm becoming a shaman?" he exclaimed to himself. Wolf told him it meant that the enemies he had been expecting were on their way. (The enemies are called "Children of Rain" in one version.)

Soon the enemies arrived. Wolf sent Coyote out to fight them. Coyote shot all his arrows, but to no avail. He went back into the cave. Wolf then went out, but cautioned Coyote not to look out at him. Wolf dressed himself in a fine outfit that Coyote had never seen. He could not resist looking out, and when he saw his brother in his finery, he was jealous and wished him dead. (In some versions the finery is not mentioned, and Coyote merely breaks a taboo against looking out.) At that moment, Wolf was fatally wounded by the enemy. The enemy scalped Wolf, stole his clothes, and departed.

Coyote followed the enemy at a distance. He came upon two old women who were lagging behind the others. They did not know who he was, and freely answered his questions about their habitual ways when in camp. When he had learned enough, he killed them, and skinned them. He put one skin on himself, and the other on his penis (as two people). Thus disguised, he entered the enemy camp (with his "companion").

The "two" danced with the people, and when the opportunity presented itself, Coyote stole the scalp and clothing that the enemy had taken from his brother. The enemy pursued him, but he eluded them by changing into different forms.

At home he put his brother's body (or a bit of bone and a drop of blood) on an ant hill. He went in the cave-house and found there his brother's medicine bag. He opened it, and the world became dark (it contained night). Then he shot a flicker feathered arrow into the air, ant this became the new sun. Daylight came again, and Coyote heard his brother howling far away. He knew he had come to life again.

He tracked his brother to a house. He found Wolf now had a wife, but Wolf tried to conceal her from Coyote. As soon as Wolf left the house, Coyote tried to seduce the woman. She was Wood-worm, however, and she crawled into a dead tree. Coyote got his penis caught in the tree. He was still caught when Wolf came home, and Wolf cut the member to release Coyote. Wolf then tortured Coyote with black magic, and finally killed him. He opened the tree, and found that the piece of Coyote's penis was still inside his wife. "Thus there shall always be something odorous about a woman's genitals," he ordained.[1]

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[1] Three complete versions: Lowie, "Shoshone Tales," pp. 92-101 (So. Paiute), p. 5 (So. Ute); and Sapir, Kaibab Paiute, pp. 338-345. Versions containing all except the last paragraph: Lowie, "Shoshone Tales," pp. 161-164 (So. Paiute); idem, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 239-243. Most versions, then, come from the southern part of the area.

This myth seems to be peculiar to the Great Basin. The length and complexity of the cycle suggests that it is a ritual myth, but our sources are entirely silent on this point, and no investigators offer any explanation of the myth.

The first fact to notice about the story is that Wolf is pictured throughout as a wise shaman, while Coyote is a foolish and often blundering layman, who knows nothing about supernatural things. However, Coyote is not without his abilities: he seduces the Bear (a supernatural being of great power, always, in Indian mythology) and later kills her and her sons (although her "soul" escapes); he is not injured when he fights against the supernatural enemy warriors (although he cannot hurt them either); he outsmarts the enemy and steals his brother's scalp from under the very noses of the warriors; and his escape from them is successful because of his power to change into any form. He also knows what to do in order to bring his brother to life, and when he accidently releases darkness upon the world through his curiosity, he knows how to make a new sun to light the sky.

But, for all of this, Coyote is not a shaman, as is his brother. His only "guardians" are his excrements (or the tip of his tail, in one version). What he accomplishes he achieves in his own strength. He is a Culture Hero, not a supernaturally-endowed hero, and his strength is in his own cunning. He sees lightning flash and asks, half jokingly, "I wonder if I am becoming a shaman?" He knows, of course, that he is not, and yet--there has been a sign! But Wolf tells him it is a signal that the supernatural warriors are drawing near.

Who are these warriors? In one version they are called "Children of Rain." They are heralded by flashes of lightning. They are, therefore, cosmic powers of some sort, not ordinary mortals. They are the allies of Bear-Woman, evidently, since they come because Coyote, by order of Wolf, has killed the

Bear. They take their revenge on Wolf, but he is killed only because Coyote disobeys the injunction not to look. (Is his combat something secret? Does this refer to a secret ritual? The special garments of Wolf are mentioned in some accounts: are these the ceremonial garments of the shaman?) But Coyote is able to vanquish them by deceit just as the Culture Hero-Trickster is always able to fool and to steal from the higher powers. The journey to recover the scalp resembles not only the theft of fire (etc.), but also an expedition to the land of the dead to retrieve a beloved soul.

The episode of Coyote's opening Wolf's medicine bag and letting out darkness, and then making a sun, seems to be a unique development of the motif found in many forms over Indian America of the recovery of daylight, or the victory of light over darkness (probably commemorating the apparent "victory" of the sun at the winter solstice). This is an achievement of the Culture Hero, who vanquishes the powers that would deprive men of light.

In some details the story invites comparison with the Central Algonkian Medicine Lodge myth (see chapter vi). In that myth the Trickster-Hero rescues the skin of his brother, the Wolf, who has been killed by underwater beings. The Hero is able to gain entry to the habitation of the monsters by killing an old woman and donning her skin! But the cosmic catastrophe which follows this deed is not darkness, but a flood. It seems impossible that either of these myths could have influenced the other. Rather, we must have to do here with very old motifs available to many or all tribes.

The main part of the story, however, remains beyond my ability to interpret. In origin it must be considered shamanistic and probably esoteric. Now it seems to have become publically known, and perhaps it is corrupt. At any rate, I believe we lack presently the key that would make full interpretation possible.

The sequel, which is lacking in some versions, telling about Coyote's rape of Wolf's wife, probably is not integral to the rest of the myth. This episode is cognate, I believe, with other accounts found in the Plains and in the Far West of Coyote's having his long penis cut down to normal size.

Trickster Stories

Two widely-known trickster stories are told in the Great Basin area in distinctive miniature cycles: the flight with the geese and the eye-juggling and loss.

> Coyote's wife sent him out to gather material for her to use in making baskets. While going along, Coyote heard the sound of singing. "Oh," he said, "it looks as though I am going to become a shaman!"[1] Soon Coyote realized it was just the sound of geese flying overhead which he had heard. He called to them to make him their leader because, he said, "I know well the lands over which you will be passing." They did not want his company, but he kept running along on the ground below them and shouting, and they were finally obliged to provide him with feathers lest he betray their approach to the enemies they were flying to attack. They commanded him to be quiet while flying with them, but soon he was circling around and honking loudly. So they plucked out his feathers and he fell to earth.
>
> He awoke and found some mushy stuff near him on the ground. He ate it greedily, thankful that he had unknown friends who had provided him with food. Later he realized he had consumed his own brains. He followed after the geese, and found the camp of the enemy they had killed. Among the dead was a pregnant woman. Coyote jumped up and down on her stomach until the baby came out, and then he swallowed the baby and went home. He had abdominal cramps and gave birth to a baby as women do. He did all the things women do today when they give birth: he was, in fact, establishing the parturition customs for all time.
>
> He made artificial breast and nursed the baby, which was a girl. She grew up, and he took her for a wife. His penis broke off inside her, and he called to Duck to doctor her. Duck sent him out of the dwelling to get some water, and while Coyote was gone, Duck eloped with the girl, leaving the piece of Coyote's member behind in the fire.

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[1] Edward Sapir, "Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language," Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, LXV, No. 1, (1930), 295. Compare with a similar remark of Coyote in the previou myth: the two are from quite different tribes and by different investigators.

> Coyote returned, ate the "piece of meat," not realizing what it was. The Duck and the girl went up to the sky and became stars.[1]

Another ending, is as follows: Coyote and the girl gave birth to a son, Mountain Goat Boy, who aided them in getting goats to eat. But two boys came down from the sky and killed Coyote's son. But Coyote revived him from a drop of blood and a little hair that remained.[2]

The tale of the abandoning of the young man on a magically growing cliff occurs also in connection with this story sometimes, and sometimes separately.[3]

The story begins as a parody on the shamanistic experience of flight and transcendence. Coyote does not wait for the "spirits" to call him--he calls them, and demands that they take him for a ride. The fall which knocks out his brains (due to his disobedience to the instructions of the geese) is a caricature of the ordeal of death and rebirth of the shaman. Coyote eats his own brains--mistaking them for "manna from heaven" sent to nourish him after his ordeal! Then he recovers an unborn soul from among the dead, and swallows it, so that he may bring life into the world (?) and ordain the customs proper for women at the time of birth. When the child matures, Coyote is the Trickster again, marrying his own daughter. One ending to the cycle simply tells how Trickster's penis was reduced to proper size; other endings show him in rivalry with his son, who is supernaturally-endowed.

The eye-juggling story has a sequel which seems to belong especially to the Great Basin:

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[1] This ending is sometimes given as a separate story. Cf. Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 248-251.

[2] Lowie, "Shoshone Tales," pp. 165-167 (So. Paiute); cf. pp. 124ff. where the story concerns the child of Wolf and the girl.

[3] J. Alden Mason, "Myths of the Uintah Utes," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXIII, No. 89 (1910), 31-314; Lowie, "Shoshone Tales," pp. 53-54 (S. Ute) in connection with the flight of the geese. Cf. Kelly, p. 393, separate story.

> Coyote persuaded some birds to show him how to juggle his eyes as they juggle theirs, but soon Coyote had lost his. He wnadered around, blind, until he came upon two women. He pretended not to be blind, and took the women for his wives. They suspected something was wrong with him when he asked them to aim his bow and arrow for him, and again when he started to butcher the deer he shot in the wrong way. When he was sleeping, they lifted the shade he wore over his eyes, and found his sockets full of maggots. They hastily departed, but he followed them by the sound of jingling bells he had fastened to their dresses. They threw the bells over a cliff, and Coyote blindly followed after them, falling to the canyon below. When he revived, he ate the marrow which had oozed from his broken bones. The Wolf came along and helped him, but he did not realize that Coyote was now blind. He could not understand why, in a gambling match a little later, Coyote was continually losing. When he found out the reason, he got some eyes from animals and put them in Coyote's head, and Coyote was normal again.[1]

The eye-juggling of the specially-gifted birds (like shamans) is not a trick for the Trickster. The fall over the cliff is a double of the fall from the sky after the mock-shamanistic flight. Throughout this myth, however, the self-reliant character of Coyote is stressed. He will admit to no one that he is blind, and he hates to concede that he needs help from anyone. He is a man accustomed to living by his wits, and he does not intend to change.

A very popular story in this region is that of Coyote's attempted theft of another man's game. This story seems to be the Shoshoni-Great Basin version of the motif of "stolen food and punishment." The motif occurs everywhere, of course, and even this specific plot is found farther west, in the Southwest and Southeast, and among the Menomini of Wisconsin. It is the only version of the motif found in this area, however.

> Porcupine begged a buffalo to give him a ride across a stream inside the latter's mouth. Once inside, the Porcupine crawled down his throat, and cut out his heart, so that he expired just as they reached the other

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[1] St. Clair and Lowie, pp. 269-270; Sapir, Kaibab, pp. 489-493: Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 272-273; Mason, pp. 315-316, 301; Marsden, pp. 189-191.

A Northern Paiute version ends with the killing of the old woman, the "skin shifting," and the theft of his old eyes from the dance: the Columbia River-Plateau version. See Kelly, pp. 415-419.

> bank. Porcupine came out and was looking for a knife (talking aloud to himself) to butcher his prey, when Coyote heard him and came to see what had been killed. Coyote proposed a contest for possession of the buffalo. Coyote won, of course, and he struck the unfortunate Porcupine and thought he had killed him. He went home to fetch his family to assist him in butchering the large animal. Porcupine, meanwhile, revived and carried the meat up a tree. When Coyote and his son and wife returned, Porcupine threw a bone at the old Coyotes and killed them. Then he enticed the young one to come and eat, and he pushed him off a limb to his death.[1]

The point of the story seems to be that a man who lives by his wits must always be on his guard, and especially so when he meets another man who also is clever and full of wiles!

Other typical trickster stories are told of Coyote, though not in such abundance, apparently, as on the Great Plains. He is the bungling host;[2] and he hoodwinks the dancing Prairie Dogs, but in the sequel he loses his dinner and gets his nose and ears pulled long (a Southwestern story).[3] Coyote dives at the reflection of berries in the water, and after he discovers they are growing on the bank, he takes some to the Bear-Woman; he sends her after more, and kills her child while she is gone.[4] He deceives and is pursued by a Rolling Rock;[5] and he abuses and is frightened into a river by the Quails.[6] These and other such stories are known in this region, but they do not bulk very large in the collection of myths gathered in the Great Basin, as compared with collections from the Plains, the Southwest, the Plateau, and other places.

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[1] Mason, p. 317; Kelly, pp. 407-409; Kroeber, "Ethology of Gros Ventre," pp. 270-272; Sapir, Kaibab, pp. 457-463; St. Clair and Lowie, p. 266; Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 119-121; idem, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 267-268.

[2] St. Clair and Lowie, p. 266; Lowie, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 265-266; idem, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 18-21, etc.

[3] Ibid., pp. 37-38 (S. Ute). [4] Ibid., pp. 55-57 (S. Ute).

[5] St. Clair and Lowie, pp. 266-267; Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 25-27.

[6] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

The Rabbit Cycle

One other important cycle must be mentioned, but this one concerns not the Coyote, but the Cottontail Rabbit. Rabbit's story is found over the entire Great Basin region and constitutes a separate Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero cycle, parallel to that of Coyote.

> Cottontail traveled all around, killing (and transforming?) all the animal people. When he would meet an animal, it would not recognize him, even though it was preparing to defend itself against him when he should come. So he was able to trick them all.[1]
>
> He lived with his Grandmother. They killed a cannibal. One day Grandmother called Rabbit "husband," and he took her for his wife.
>
> Rabbit became angry with the Sun. The Sun did stay up long enough to suit Rabbit: the days were too short for hunting. Also, the Sun was so low that it burned people, and it shriveled Rabbit to the size of a little boy. Rabbit set off toward the east to kill the Sun. Along the way he did all sorts of mischief, killing everyone he met, turning them into stone, etc. He killed all but one of the North Winds, thus modifying the weather. At last he reached the place where the sun rises. When the Sun came up, he shot at it with arrows, but they just burned up. Then he used an obsidian arrow or a fire drill, or he struck it with a club, and it burst. He threw up a piece of it to be the present sun.
>
> The world caught fire from the body of the slain Sun, scattered in all directions. Cottontail ran, asking many different things to shelter him, but none was able except a little plant (or he hid in a hole in the ground). After a while, the fire ceased to burn, and Rabbit started home.
>
> However, the ground was still hot. As he traveled, one by one his body parts burned and dropped off. At last only his head was left. Then his eyes burst from the heat, and the liquid from them cooled the earth. (In most versions, however, he merely gets his legs permanently shortened by walking on the hot ground.) He returned home and became a rabbit.[2]

The Cottontail rarely is mentioned in other tales of the Shoshoni, except the fire-stealing myth, in which he is the successful runner (the expedition is led by Coyote). These stories constitute his cycle. As we shall see in chapter xix, Rabbit is the Trickster-Culture Hero in the Southeast; and we have already seen that he is important in certain Plains tribes and among the Algonkians. In some points, this cycle resembles the Montagnais-Naskapi cycle of Tcikapis, the "little boy" or dwarf who snares the sun (chapter vi).

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[1] Cf. the tales of the Transformers of Vancouver Island and Southern British Columbia, chaps. iv, ix, x.

[2] Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," pp. 59-62 (S. Ute), 142-147 (S. Paiute, Shivwits), 198 (S. Paiute, Moapa), 224-228 (Paviotso); idem, "Northern Shoshone," pp. 252-253; Kelly, pp. 422-428; cf. Steward, "Myths," pp. 371-372.

Hare or Rabbit must be one of the most ancient Trickster-Transformer-Culture Heroes of Indian America, and this Shoshonean cycle is very archaic. It is made up of some of the most ancient themes in mythology: the fixing of the sun, the world fire and flood, the transformation of the animal-people into real animals and other things, the preparation of the world for human beings. All these things are accomplished, we emphasize, by one who is a Trickster, who is deceitful, treacherous, vindictive, devoid of sexual morality, etc.: a very "human" hero indeed!

CHAPTER IX

THE PLATEAU REGION: THE UPPER COLUMBIA OKANAGON, AND FRASER RIVERS

General Remarks

The Upper Columbia River basin and the drainage area of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers of British Columbia form a natural unit in culture and mythology (see Figure 5). The traditions of the Indians living in this Plateau region may be dealt with conveniently in one chapter.

These tribes are for the most part closely related linguistically: most are Salish-speaking, while a few belong to the Sahaptin family (see Language Table). The Interior Salish tribes are principally the Lillooet, Thompson (Nlakapamux), Shuswap, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Coville, Lake, Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, Kalispel, and Spokan. The main Sahaptin divisions are the Nez Percé, Walla Walla, and Yakima. The Kutenai, at the headwaters of the Columbia, are relatives of the Algonkians, but in their mythology they are more akin to the Plateau region. The Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sarsi to the immediate north of the Salish tribes are Athabascan in language, but are culturally related to their Salish neighbors, and are therefore marginal to the area under discussion in this chapter.

The region as a whole is characterized by a simple social structure and a relatively simple ceremonial life. The Lillooet and Lower Thompsons are somewhat influenced by the culture of the Coast. These groups have village-clans, the members of which believe themselves descended from a common ancestor. The clans have a hereditary chief (whose power is slight), clan origin traditions, inherited ancestral names, masks, and dancing privileges.[1] Only traces of the winter dance ceremonials of the Coast are found inland, and these only on the lower part of the river.[2] The western Shuswap, who border on the Chilcotin and Carrier tribes, who themselves have been influenced by Coastal culture, have hereditary crest groups among the nobility and secret dancing societies among the commoners. These people also give potlatches.[3]

But the above are exceptional conditions. The usual social organization in the area was a loose one: only the family--i.e., the blood relatives in male and female lines as far as they can be traced--are considered bound in permanent relationship. There is no recognized nobility, but the leaders are those individuals who have proved their superiority through war, wise judgments, oratorical ability, or by accumulating wealth.[4]

The people live by hunting and fishing, and by gathering wild roots, berries, and nuts. Most of the tribes practice a special ritual over bears killed by hunters. A mourning song and prayer reported for the Lillooet will suffice as an example of this cult, one of the oldest known to man:

> You died first, greatest of animals. We respect you, and will treat you accordingly. . . . May the lesser animals all follow you, and die

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[1] James Teit, "Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXV, No. 98 (1912), 288; James Teit, The Lillooet Indians (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, Part 5; Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert, 1900-1908), pp. 252-255.

[2] Teit, "Traditions Lillooet," p. 286.

[3] James A. Teit, The Shuswap (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, Part 7; Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert, 1900-1908), pp. 569-570, 576-579.

[4] James A. Teit, The Thompson Indians of British Columbia (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. I, Part 4; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1900), pp. 298-299.

> by our traps, snares, and arrows! May we now kill much game, and may the goods of those we gamble follow us, and come into our possession!

The hunters would paint their faces black, put the bear's head on a tree or pole, or throw it into the water.[1]

First-salmon rites were practiced by some of the tribes also, and first-fruits and first tobacco (wild) ceremonies are widely reported in this region.[2]

The main religious ceremonials or public dances are of a different nature from those of the Puget Sound region and also from those of the Plains. The guardian spirit quest is universal in the area, and the songs and dances obtained by individuals on these quests are displayed at the "spirit dances" held usually in the winter time. Once a year a wealthy man will announce that he has been told in a dream to give a spirit dance for the community. Everyone authorized to perform such a dance participates in it, giving an individual exhibition in which he imitates the gestures and cries of his theriomorphic guardian or guardians. Masks are not used in most of the tribes, but the face and body are painted as the spirit has directed. The whole tribe is felt to benefit from the dance: evil influences are driven away and good health, fine weather, etc. are assured.[3]

Other important ceremonials are the Praying Dances and the Sun Dance

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[1] Teit, Lillooet Indians, p. 279; idem, Thompson Indians, p. 347; idem, Shuswap, pp. 602-603.

[2] Teit, Lillooet Indians, p. 280; idem, Thompson Indians, pp. 345, 349-350; James A. Teit and Franz Boas, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-1928 (Washington: 1930), p. 184; Ella E. Clark, Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 96-98; Verne F. Ray, "Sanpoil Folk Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLVI, No. 180 (1933), 131.

[3] Teit, "The Salishan Tribes," pp. 186, 292, 387; idem, Shuswap, p. 610; idem, Lillooet Indians, p. 286; James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, II, No. 4 (1928), 128.

(not to be confused with the Plains dance of the same name, which some of the tribes knew about). At these festivals, all the people dance at the same time in a circle, representing the sun's course. These dances are held out of doors, weather permitting, and at any time of the year. The Praying Dance may have been an annual affair, at the winter solstice, in some places, while the Sun Dance was performed as often as once a month. These dances begin at dawn. Prayers are offered to Amotqen, the chief (more about him later) by both shamans and ordinary members of the tribe, in the Praying Dance. Among the Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Kutenai, and Okanagon the Praying Dance is connected with a belief in the return of the dead and the beginning of a golden age, but the tribes in eastern Washington State do not put this interpretation upon the dance. In both the Praying Dance and the Sun Dance the chief and other leaders (shamans mainly) offer prayers for the general welfare and prosperity of the tribe, giving thanks for blessing already received. The dances last all day and into the night, and are interspersed with feasts and exhortations. Tobacco is smoked by the elders. There has been a tendency for the two dances to become confused and merged, since both are circle-dances to a High God.[1]

Hunters and seekers after guardians bathe and sweat in the sweat house, and pray to a god called simply "Spirit of the Sweat House" or "Sweat House Grandfather."[2] In one Sanpoil myth, "Sweatlodge" is said to have made the animals and told them to be guardians or helpers for men.[3]

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[1] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," pp. 185-186, 292-293, 386-387; idem, Thompson Indians, pp. 351-352; idem, pp. 603-604; idem, Lillooet Indians, pp. 284-285; Leslie Spier, ed., The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanangon of Washington (General Series in Anthropology, No. 6, Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology; Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta, 1938), p. 167.

[2] Teit and Boas, "Salishan Tribes," p. 184; Teit, Thompson Indians, p. 319; idem, Shuswap, p. 642; Spier, p. 167.

[3] Ray, p. 132.

Many persons pray daily to the Dawn, Amotqen, or the Sun. Everyone prays to his guardian spirit/s when in need, and to other objects in nature felt to be particularly powerful, such as the Earth, Darkness, mountains, Small Pox, Water, plants used in sweat house flagellations, etc. These powers will be addressed ordinarily as "Chief" or simply "Thou."[1] Those on quests pray to the Dawn especially, or if they desire to become warriors, to the Sun.[2]

The High God-Creator Problem

One of the most debated questions concerning the religious beliefs and mythology of the region concerns the figure or figures known variously as the "Old One," "Old Man," "Old Chief," "Chief Above," "Chief of the Dead," and Amotqen. Confusion in reports about his place in the beliefs is due, I believe, in part at least, to the failure of James Teit, principal reporter on the interior Salish tribes, to distinguish between aboriginal beliefs and those which have arisen since contact with Christianity. As has already been noted, Amotqen or Chief was addressed in prayer in the Praying Dance and at other times--even every day at dawn by some. Among the tribes of eastern Washington and Idaho he appears to have been a sky god. The Flatheads distinguish between Amotqen, the good god, and Amtep, the evil deity in the underworld, but this belief would seem to owe much to Christian influence.[3] The Coeur d'Alene say that Amotqen lives on the highest mountains, looking out over the earth, pitying the people and helping them when they call upon him. He is asked especially for game, berries, and roots.[1]

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[1] Teit, Shuswap, p. 603; idem, Lillooet Indians, pp. 279-281; idem, Thompson Indians, pp. 317-318; Teit and Boas, "Salishan Tribes," p. 184; Harry H. Turney-High, Ethnography of the Kutenai (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 56; Menasha, Wisconsin: 1941), p. 188.

[2] Teit, Thompson Indians, p. 317.

[3] Teit and Boas, "Salishan Tribes," p. 383.

All these beliefs appear archaic, and are typical of a High God or Supreme Owner of game and wild vegetable foods, as conceived by hunting and gathering people. Among the Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, and Okanagon, however, the Praying Dance and the figure of the Old One have been given new meanings in connection with the modern "Dream Dance Cult," a movement which resembles in some ways the Ghost Dance Religion of farther south.[2]

Cline, who investigated the Sinkaietk (southern Okanagon) in 1930, said this concerning the High God:[3]

> The Okanagon conception of God, the creator and supreme being, has developed largely under Christian influence. . . . The aboriginal idea of God seems to have included his title of "Great Man," or "Chief," and his functions as name-giver identified with Coyote (sinkalip) nor was he localized to the north or south. His present name, Goluncotn, translated . . . "Man-Maker," "he who made us," "he who created everything," refers to a creative function which he did not perform in the folktales, and its indigenous character therefore lies open to question.

Cline adds that this figure is the great deity in the modern Dream Dance Cult.

It must have been this cult to which Teit was referring when he spoke of the dances held by the Shuswap, Lillooet, and Thompson in which prayers were offered to the "Chief of the Dead."[4] Someone would receive a message from the Chief of the Dead, who sent word through souls returning from the underworld, that he should hold a dance festival. Men who received these messages were esteemed more highly than the shamans, Teit noted. The dances were believed to aid those who had died in reaching the underworld, but more importantly they were believed to hasten the eschaton, the return of the Old One and Coyote and all the dead Indians, and usher in a new era, a veritable Kingdom of God. Teit was uncertain as to whether the Chief of the Dead was the same as the Old Man Transformer about whom certain myths were told. It is probably correct to identify the two as one, or to consider the Old Man as an emissary or incarnation of the Chief of the Dead, since in the myths Old Man promises to return again with Coyote, or following Coyote's return. But are the Chief of the Dead and the Old Man the same figure/s as the Old One or Chief Above?

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 184. [2] Walter Cline in Spier, p. 172.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[4] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 603-604; *idem*, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 284-285; *idem*, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 351-352; James A. Teit and Franz Boas, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians* (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. VI; New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1898), pp. 48-50.

Despite Cline's statement to the contrary, myths are found in which the Chief Above is pictured as Creator. The Similkameen, an Okanagon group in southern British Columbia, tell the following myth:

> The Chief Above made the earth. He made it small at first, and let it increase in size. He made the three worlds, sky, earth, and underworld. All are connected by a pole or tree which passes through the middle of each. Then he created the animals, and at last he made a man. The man was a Wolf, and from his tail he made a woman. These were the first people, and they were called Taien by the old people who knew the story well. They were the ancestors of all the Indians. The meaning of the name and most of the story has been forgotten.[1]

This myth evidently preserves some ancient, indigenous beliefs which for the most part have been forgotten in modern times, even as early as Teit's investigations three-quarters of a century ago. The remark about the "growing earth" suggests the earth diver creation myth. The account has a strong shamanistic flavor (Heaven-God Creator, pole connecting the three worlds), but it mentions also the myth age of animal-people.

Three creation myths are recorded from the Thompson Indians, accounting for the existence of the world in different ways. They are remarkable stories, worth citing in some detail:

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[1] James A. Teit et al., Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin Tribes (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol XI; New York: Houston, Mifflin, and Co., 1917)., p. 84.

> Before the world was formed, Stars, Moon, Sun, and Earth lived together (as people). Earth was a woman, and Sun was her husband. She was always finding fault with him, saying he was nasty, ugly, and too hot. At last the Sun grew weary of this scolding and left her. The Moon and the Stars went away with him. Earth Woman was very sad.
>
> The Old One appeared and transformed these people into their present forms. The Sun, Moon, and Stars he assigned to the sky, commanding them never to desert the earth again. Earth-Woman became the solid land: her hair became trees and grass, her flesh clay, her bones rocks, her blood springs of water. "You will be as the mother of people, for from you their bodies will spring, and to you they will go back. People will live as in your bosom, and sleep on your lap. They will derive nourishment from you, and they will utilize all parts of your body."
>
> After this the Earth gave birth to people who were very similar in form to ourselves; but they knew nothing and required neither food nor drink. They had no appetites, desires, or thoughts. Then Old One traveled over the world and among the people, giving them appetites and desires. He caused all kinds of birds and fish to appear, to which he gave names and assigned functions. He taught women to make birch baskets, mats, and lodges, and how to dig roots, gather berries, and cure them. He taught men how to make fire, catch fish, trap and shoot game, etc. He instructed couples how to have intercourse and how to give birth to children.
>
> When he had finished teaching the people, he bade them good-bye, saying, "I now leave you; but if you . . . require my aid, I will come again to you. The Sun is your father, the Earth is your Mother. When you die you will return to your mother's body. You will be covered with her flesh as a blanket, under which your bones will rest in peace."[1]

This story expresses in a wonderfully simple and direct way the intuition of the Earth as a primary religious form.[2] It is unusual to find such a myth among non-agricultural people, for whom the Earth-Mother and Sky-Father are of first importance. The Sun, here, is the father of the people, having caused them to be conceive in the womb of the mother before their separation, evidently. Among many of the agricultural Indians of the Southwest and Southeast, the origin of the people is an emergence from an earlier existence inside the earth. The motif we have, in fact, seen already in certain tribes of the

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[1] James A. Teit, Mythology of the Thompson Indians (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VIII, Part 2; Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert, 1912), pp. 321-323; cf. pp. 324-327 for a similar story.

[2] Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, pp. 239-242; Charles H. Long, Alpha, the Myths of Creation (New York: Braziller, 1963), pp. 35-38.

Plains (chapter vi). When the people first come forth from Earth in the Thompson account, they are "embryonic" or at least not fully-formed persons. They must be brought to completion by the Transformer, the Old One. We should note that Old One is not a Creator: The Sun and Earth are existent from the beginning, so far as the myth tells us. From their union come the people, and out of Earth's body the Transformer causes the earth, vegetation, etc. to be formed. Likewise, he transformed the Sun, Moon, and Stars from "people" into heavenly bodies. This is "creation by transformation," and is the same idea as that of the transformation of monsters and myth-people into the creatures of the present world--but pushed back one step further, to account for the existence of the earth and heavenly bodies themselves. Old One, in this myth at least, is an exalted Transformer and Culture Giver, who leaves the earth to become a High God to whom men may appeal for help.

A second Thompson Indian myth of creation makes Old One to be a true Creator-God:

> In the former time there was no earth: only a lake. Old One, up in the sky where the highest mountain peaks reach, took a ball of "clear earth" from the sky world and threw it down to the lake. It burst and grew immense very quickly. Later the Old One came down himself to improve the world, making trees, grass, and necessary things.[1]

This myth is only a fragment, but it indicates a different concept: that of a true cosmic Creator. We wonder if this myth is aboriginal, or if it has been composed under the influence of Christian teaching. In this myth, as in the previous one, Old One must come upon the earth to finish the work of creation. A third story, which follows, combines both "creation" and "transformation" concepts:

> Old One or Chief came down from the upper world on a cloud to the surface of the great lake or watery waste which was all that existed.

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[1] Teit, Mythology of the Thompson Indians, p. 320.

> The cloud rested on the lake. Old One pulled five hairs from his head and threw them down: they became five perfectly formed young women. He asked each in turn what she wished to be.
>
> The first replied, "A woman to bear children. I shall be bad and foolish, and seek after my own pleasure. My descendants will fight, steal, kill, and commit adultery." The Chief answered that he was sorry, for because of her choice death and trouble will come into the world.
>
> The second replied, "A woman to bear children. I shall be good and virtuous. My descendants will be wise, peaceful, honest, truthful, and chaste." The Chief commended her, and said that her way will triumph in the end.
>
> The third chose to become Earth. From her, Old One said everything would grow, and to her return at death. [As in the first myth, above.]
>
> The fourth chose to be Fire, in grass, trees, and all wood, for the good of man. The fifth became Water, to "Cleanse and make wise" the people. "I will assist all things on earth to maintain life."
>
> Then the Chief transformed them: first Earth, then Water, then Fire. He placed the two women (good and bad) upon the earth, and impregnated them. He told them they would be the parents of all the people. The evil would be more numerous at first, but the good will prevail eventually, he promised. Then the end will come: all the dead and living will be gathered together, Earth, Fire, and Water will resume their original forms, and all will be transformed and made new.[1]

The personification of Fire and Water as well as Earth is an unusual feature of this myth. Remarkable also is the "good-wicked" dualism of the two women. We suspect the influence of Christian teaching, and perhaps this is a myth of the Dream Dance Cult in which foreign and native ideas are combined. The myth, almost certainly, is modern, but it is impossible to separate archaic and modern themes which undoubtedly are mingled in it. The narrator, a shaman above seventy years of age, said that he had heard the story from no one except his grandfather.

The Okanagon have a story, similar to the first creation myth above, which states that Old One or Great Mystery made the earth out of a woman, and people from pieces of her flesh which was like mud or clay. The first people he made were animal-people. Then he made some real people, but because they were weak he sent Coyote to teach them and help make the world a better place for them to live.[1] The unusual feature here is that Coyote is sent by the Old One to be a Transformer and Culture Hero.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 322-324.

A radically different myth was obtained in 1849 from the Okanagon by Alexander Ross.[2]

> In the beginning there was an island in the middle of the ocean, ruled by a tall white woman, *Scomalt*. The people lived there happily for a long time, but one day a quarrel arose, and there was a war. Scomalt was furious and drove the wicked people to the end of the island. She split off the end and shoved it out to sea. All the people on it died except one couple. These reached the mainland and settled in Okanagon country. The Indians are their descendants. Someday the lakes will melt the foundations of the world and it will drift away like that island long ago.

This myth is unique, and one scarcely knows what to make of it except to record it as an example of the apparently fertile imagination of these people. The *female ruler* of the "Paradise Island" is a singular feature among a people whose chiefs were always male.

More conventional is the myth obtained in 1884 from the Yakima[3] (Sahaptin-speaking tribe). The Great Chief Above (Whee-me-me-ow-ah) lived in the sky, while all below was water. He came down, scooped handfuls of mud (cf. the earth-diver myth), and made the land and mountains, then vegetation, animals, and men. After he had taught the people how to live, they quarreled, and Mother Earth threw rocks on the world, killing the people and animals. Some day the Chief Above will overturn the mountains and the spirits will return to their bones and live again, the narrator said. The anger of a female "deity" because of the quarreling of the people is a common element in this and the preceding story, which otherwise are quite different.

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[1] Clark, pp. 83-84.

[2] Cited *ibid*., pp. 141-142.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 142-143.

One important story has the Creator in the role of Chief over the animal-people who presides at the great naming of the animals:[1]

> When the Creator had made all the animal-people, he announced one day that on the next morning he would assign names to all of them on a "first-come, first-served" basis. The first to arrive would be made chief of the animals. He who was to be Coyote wanted to be first, so he tried to stay awake all night. He used sticks to prop open his eyelids, but nevertheless he fell asleep, and slept till well after dawn. When he arrived at the naming place, all the other animals had received their names, and the only name left was Coyote. This was just as the Creator had intended it. But he gave Coyote a special gift and a commission: he was to be the helper of mankind, the slayer of monsters, etc., and he received the power to defecate excrements which would be wise and powerful advisors to him. Fox was to be his brother, with power to revive him when he should be killed, by jumping over him.

We recognize this myth as a shamanistic story designed to account for Coyote's having powers for Good: they were given to him by the Creator, the transcendent God, from whom all power derives in the view of the shamans. The story completely misses the satire intended (as I believe) by the "excrement advisors." The sober shaman-formulator of the myth understands the "advisors" as real guardian spirit powers bestowed on Coyote by the all-powerful Creator. (Fox, who often revives Coyote by jumping over him, is like Wolf in Shoshoni mythology: he is a "shaman-type," who has respect for the supernatural, and derives his power from the spirits.)

The Creator, who must be the same as the Old One or Chief, here is shown as a Supreme Being rather than a Transformer. In a number of myths from the Thompson Indians, the Old Man or Chief walks the earth as a Transformer whose purpose in coming down from heaven is to correct and improve upon the work of Coyote. While here below, he goes about in the disguise of a decrepit old man. The stories about him in this guise are few, and the plots are quite unimaginative. He and Coyote meet and "test powers," and Coyote is bested, according to one tale. Only then does Coyote learn who his opponent is.[1] Another tale of Old One as Transformer makes him the giver of the knowledge of agriculture to an old couple; but they sell their corn, etc., to the whites, and thus the whites know how to be farmers but the Indians do not.[2] This last story obviously is a modern rationalization. Other tales about Old One or Old Man as Transformer are typical transformer tales.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 84-85; Spier, pp. 176 and 199.

Beliefs differ concerning what became of Old Man, and whether or not he is the same as Chief Above. Some say he became the Moon.[4] More often he is considered to be the Chief Above, or else the Chief of the Dead.[5] Some say that the Old Man is in the sky or mountains, from whence he sends thunder, rain, and snow, and a popular superstition says that the rain is his urine, and the snow the flakings dislodged when he scratches his backside.[6] Reference has already been made to the belief that he will return to earth to make it anew and resurrect the dead Indians at some future time.

In trying to make some sense out of all these conflicting statements, I should say that the Indians believed in some sort of High God and Creator before the coming of the whites. Apparently, there were several stories about creation, none of which was widely known: The subject appears to have been one for free speculation by the shamans. This Supreme Sky God-Creator was called by different terms, and sometimes he was held to have been a great

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[1] Teit, Traditions Thompson River Indians, pp. 48-49; idem, Folk-Tales Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 80ff.

[2] Teit, Mythology of Thompson, pp. 397ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 327-328; idem, Traditions Thompson River, p. 50; idem, Folk-Tales Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 119-120.

[4] Ibid., pp. 119, 178.

[5] Teit, Shuswap, pp. 746, 747.

[6] Teit, Traditions Thompson River Indians, p. 109.

Transformer, superceding Coyote who lacked divine characteristics. No doubt the shamans would like to have seen Old Man, the High God, take the place of Coyote, but Coyote was too deeply entrenched in popular tradition to be forgotten and hence could not be ignored. Therefore, the shamans did the most logical thing, in view of the circumstances: they made Coyote subordinate to the High God, as in the story of the giving of names and powers, above. At other times he was said to have been sent into the world by the Chief Above to help men: the shamans had to acknowledge that the Trickster-Hero had accomplished some good things for the world. What they would not allow was that Coyote should be permitted to do his work independently of the Supernatural Power Above. The position of Coyote will be considered in further detail in subsequent sections of the paper; here we wish only to establish that when he is described in relationship to the Sky Deity of the shamans, he is always in a subordinate, dependent position.

The figure of the High God was rather ill-defined and fluid among these Salish and Sahaptin tribes, and no doubt in recent times it has taken over elements from the Christian God. The Dream Dance Cult has served to confuse native and foreign elements, so that it is impossible today to say just which is which. The eschatalogical strain which makes an appearance in many myths may be, in part, at least, indigenous. Teit says that the first Catholic priests who arrived among the Indians were mistaken for the returning Coyote and his assistants. This event occurred in the 1830's for the Flatheads, but even before this time whites and Christianized Iroquois Indians were living in the area.[1] Just what influences may be responsible for the beliefs and mythology of these people, it is impossible to say.

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[1] Cf. Teit, Shuswap, p. 612; and idem, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, p. 385.

The Place of Coyote Among the Transformers

It should be explained that Coyote was held to be the ancestor of most of the inland Salish by the people themselves, although just how they were descended from him is not always clear. On the Columbia River a popular tradition said that Coyote had made the different tribes from part of the body of a monster which he killed from inside after allowing it to swallow him.[1] This would appear to be a kind of "creation" myth, with Coyote rather than the High God in the role of maker of the people. Coyote, of course, makes by transforming. This motif of "life from a dismembered being," like that of the Earth Mother, is one which we should more naturally expect from an agricultural people than from hunters and gatherers.

In British Columbia, Coyote is held to be the ancestor of the Shuswap and Thompson Indians, and of one band of the Lillooet, who seem to have been Thompson in origin. The Thompson myth states that Coyote alone survived the great flood which covered the earth by turning into a piece of wood. When the waters subsided, he resumed his normal form and took the trees for his wives. The Thompsons, thus, are the offspring of Coyote's marriages with the trees.[2] The Lillooet say Coyote was using a board with a knot hole in it for a wife when the Black Bear Transformers (see below) came along and made him some "real" wives by carving images from two different types of logs.[3] Another belief is that the Shuswap are descended from Coyote and Antelope.[4] The

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[1] Gladys Reichard, An Analysis of Coeur d'Alene Indian Myths (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1947), pp. 68ff. says this story is found among the Nez Perce, Sahaptin, Wishram, Wasco, Thompson, Shuswap, Kutenai, Sanpoil, Kathlamet, Chinook, Southern Puget Sound, and Cowlitz. Cf. also, Teit, Folk-Tales of Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 122, 148.

[2] Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 20.

[3] Teit, "Traditions Lillooet," p. 357.

[4] Ibid., p. 358.

Thompsons and other sometimes say that Coyote had many wives (different kinds of trees?), and from each of them a different tribe is descended: Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, Okanagon, and perhaps the Kalispel, Nez Perce, Yakima, etc.[1] Cline reports[2] that the Sinkaietk sometimes claim Coyote as their ancestor. Perhaps there is some connection between the word for Coyote, Sinkalip, and the name of the tribe, Sinkaietk, but if so no mention of the fact was made by Cline.

Spinden[3] obtained a myth from the Nez Perce which says that humans arose spontaneously out of the ground (cf. Earth-Mother myths above): one day Coyote, the chief of the animal-people, announced that the Indians would come out of the ground on the next day, and that he would name the various tribes. They came as he had foretold, and he named them, but had no name left for himself but Coyote. This seems to be a garbled account of the naming of the animals--or is it a more archaic version?

It was among the Upper Lillooet, Upper Thompson, and Shuswap that Coyote did his work as Transformer in British Columbia. On the lower Fraser River other transformers are named. These are said to have come up the river from the coast. At a certain point on the river, they came into contact with Coyote and went no farther.

Most prominent of these other Transformers are the Black Bear Brothers (four of them) who went up as far as Shuswap country, according to the Lillooet.[4] They are now stars in the Big Dipper constellation.

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[1] Teit, Folk-Tales Salish and Sahaptin, p. 12.

[2] Walter Cline in Spier, p. 177.

[3] Herbert J. Spinden, "Myths of the Nez Perce Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXI (1908), 13-14.

[4] Teit, "Traditions Lillooet," pp. 350, 358, 368; and idem, Mythology of the Thompson Indians, p. 350.

Other Transformers are the four Qwoqtqwetl brothers who traversed the lower Fraser; the four Atsemal brothers and their sister, plus Mink, who finally return to Squamish territory after traveling on the Fraser; and the Coastal Transformer Xals who is known by a lower Fraser band as the only survivor of the flood.[1] The Lake Lillooet of the Anderson and Seton Lakes have stories of the four Transformers Whalaymath.[2] The Lake Lillooet of the North Fraser say the Sun, Moon, Beaver, and a man they raised from the dead traveled down the river from the north, then returned; they brought disease and made people crazy.[3] (These perhaps should not be called Transformers.) The Shuswap tell of Tleesa and his three brothers who set out to conquer monsters, but are turned to stone in the end by Chipmunk, a pubescent girl.[4] (This story is virtually the same as one told by the Chilcotin of their Culture Hero Lendixtcux, Little Dog).[5]

A unique Transformer is the "Son of the Root" (Kokwelahait, Cawa, Tsuntia in different dialects). He was the child of a human mother who was impregnated by the edible tuber "hog-fennel" (Kokwela). Wherever he traveled, the Kokwela plants recognized him and twined around his ankles. Today the plants are found all along the course of his journeys. He transformed monsters, and in several versions he became the moon in the end.[6]

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[1] Teit, Lillooet Indians, p. 247; idem, "Traditions Lillooet," pp. 288-289, 292-295; idem, Mythology of the Thompson Indians, pp. 218-220, 226-227; idem, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, pp. 42-43; idem, Thompson Indians of British Columbia, p. 337.

[2] W. C. Elliot, "Lake Lillooet Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLIV, No. 172 (1931), 168-169.

[3] Ibid., pp. 176-177.

[4] Teit, Shuswap, pp. 644-645.

[5] Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, pp. 7-10.

[6] Teit, "Tradition Lillooet," pp. 350-351; idem, Mythology of the Thompson Indians, pp. 224-225; idem, Shuswap, p. 651; idem, Tradition of the Thompson River Indians, pp. 45-46; Reichard, pp. 63-65.

The Kutenai who have a distinctive mythology unlike that of any other tribe in the region, though more like those of the Plateau than of the Plains, have two Transformers, Nalmuqtse and Ya-ukue-ikam. Their adventures are quite different from those of their Salish counterparts, nor do they correspond to any characters in Algonkian mythology.[1] The Kutenai also believe in Old One, "the Chief of the Spirits," but he is not for them a Transformer.[2] Coyote is also important here, but as a Trickster and Culture Hero rather than a Transformer.

All of these many Transformers are of minor significance when compared with Coyote. They appear to be more like "clan ancestors," except that the tribes in this area do not have clans! They are local heroes whose deed approximate and duplicate the work of the great Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, Coyote. We have met with figures of this sort on the lower Coast (chapter iv), and in subsequent chapters on the tribes of western Washington and Oregon we will meet more such characters. It seems to be a peculiarity of the region (or of the Salish?) to separate the deeds of transformation from the main Trickster-Fixer and give them over to various named anthropomorphic or even theriomorphic characters. These figures usually lack most of the trickster traits (although they retain some), but they especially are purposeful in all they do, and they possess great supernatural power. They are far less "interesting" figures, and indeed are usually quite stereotyped. They must be considered a degeneration from the older, multi-sided Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero who, like real men, is as often foolish and weak as he is wise and powerful.

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[1] Franz Boas, Kutenai Tales (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 59; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1918), p. 281.

[2] Turney-High, p. 170.

Coyote's Deeds

The greatest Transformer was the Trickster-Hero Coyote. South of the British Columbia tribes he is the only Transformer mentioned, and over the whole region he is by far the most important one. The typical transformer stories are told about him: he was attacked by the residents of several houses and he turned them into tools useful to men: awls, whet-stones, and stone hammers.[1] He made the petrified forest in Coville territory as an act of revenge against his Beaver wives who had deserted him.[2]

As is true of other Transformers, Coyote is often depicted as traveling along the river courses. The rocks and other unusual features of the topography along the rivers are related to some incident in the career of Coyote. Usually the rocks are hostile beings whom Coyote turned to stone for offending him, or because they were endangering the lives of people. He is credited with having made the Columbia River, accidently,as a result of a peevish impulse.

> Coyote heard water dripping and it annoyed him. He kicked the spot and commanded it never to drip again. He walked away, but soon he was aware that the water was dripping faster, and was now running after him. He walked along a canyon and the water pursued him still. He was nearly drowned. This was the origin of the Columbia River.[3]

A different account of the origin of the river is like a story of Glooskap told in Maine (see chapter vi): Coyote unseated a Frog which was sitting on the water hole at the head of a river, which she had caused to dry up, and thus he made the river flow again.[4] Mostly, however, the existence of the river is assumed, and Coyote travels along it, slaying monsters and playing tricks and bringing benefits to mankind.[1]

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[1] Teit, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, p. 5.

[2] Clark, pp. 110-111.

[3] Teit, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 65-66 (Okanagon).

[4] Ibid., pp. 187-188.

The two most important stories of Coyote in this region are those of the deception of his son in order to gain possession of the son's wives, and the freeing of the salmon. The former story often is told as an introduction to the latter, and the latter story in turn serves as an introduction to Coyote's travels and transformations along the River. The result is a true cycle, which we shall find not only in this region, but also in western Washington and south to California. The two stories, of which I spoke above, are not really dependent upon each other and often, in fact, appear separately.

> Coyote, his son, and his son's two wives lived together. Coyote began to lust after the wives, especially the one whom he observed, by lecherous peeping, had the lighter colored genitals. (The wives usually are two kinds of ducks.) Coyote made his excrement-advisors into two little eaglets and put them in a nest on the edge of a cliff or top of a tree. Then he showed them to his son, and induced the youth to climb after them, to obtain their feathers. The boy took off his clothes that he might be better able to climb.
>
> As he climed, Coyote kept looking up and blinking and making the tree (cliff) grow higher and higher. Soon the boy found himself so high that he was in the sky world. Coyote was sure he had gotten rid of the boy forever, and he dressed in the youth's clothes and went home pretending to be his son, and saying that the old Coyote had been lost.
>
> The wife Coyote wanted especially accepted him, but the other suspected what had really happened, and kept away from him.
>
> Meanwhile, after considerable time had elapsed, the youth was let down from the sky by Spider Woman. He soon located his faithful wife (although Coyote had moved their camp), and learned what Coyote had done. He did not immediately punish his father, but pretended it was all a mistake and that he had no hard feelings. One day the son killed a deer in the woods far away, and returned and sent Coyote out to get it. On the way home Coyote found there had suddenly come into being(through the magic power of the son) many streams over which he had to pass. Crossing one of them, he slipped and fell under his load, and was quickly borne away by the current.
>
> . . . .
>
> Coyote turned himself into a piece of wood and drifted along, unharmed. He came at last to a place where some women had made a dam

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[1] Ray, pp. 16-162.

> across the river, preventing the salmon from ascending (or were keeping the salmon in a lake). In the form of a wooden dish he was picked up from the water by the two women, and taken home. They put food in the dish and were surprised to find it would vanish after a while (Coyote was eating it) They guessed that the bowl was supernatural, and threw it away. Then Coyote turned into a baby, and they picked him up and cared for him. (Sometimes he drifts down the river as a baby in a wooden container and is taken up in that form the first time.)
>
> When the women were away from the house, Coyote resumed his natural form, ran to the water, and broke open the dam, letting the salmon escape. He walked along the bank, leading the salmon up the river.
>
> . . . .
>
> Becoming hungry, Coyote called to a fish and when it came near he clubbed it. As he was cooking it, he fell asleep, and someone stole the fish, smearing grease on Coyote's hands and mouth. Later, he found the person (or people) who had done it, and played the same trick on him (them). . . .[1]

The cycle may then continue with the deeds of Coyote as he travels up the river. The last episode above, the theft of the dinner, is, of course, a ubiquitous trickster story, whose point seems to be that the world is full of Tricksters. The two main plots are quite separate, although often told in sequence. However, the "voyage" down the river, which is always undertaken by chance and without forethought or intention, may be percipitated in other ways than by the revengeful act of the deceived son. In Couer d'Alene and Nez Perce versions he is carried down the river while he is enjoying himself in the water, drifting over the waterfalls, etc.[2] Sometimes the story of the abused Grouse family introduces the myth of the freeing of the salmon. (After he laughs at the Grouse children for saying they are "little startlers," and defecates on them, the mother Grouse frightens him over a cliff and into the river.)[3]

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[1] Cf. Teit, Folk Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 67ff., 12-121; idem, Shuswap, pp. 622-623; Clark, pp. 96-97; Reichard, pp. 77-80; Spier, pp. 214-215; Ray, pp. 173-174.

[2] Reichard, pp. 101-103; Spinden, pp. 15-17.

[3] Teit, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 101-102 (Sanpoil); idem, Shuswap, pp. 628-629, 737-738; cf. Boas, Kutenai, pp. 171-179.

The myth of Coyote's deception of his son is introduced in some Thompson versions by an account of the making of the son by Coyote. First he tried to make a child of clay, but he disintegrated in the water. He made one of gum, but this son melted in the sun. He made one of stone, but he was too hard, and finally he made a son of wood, who was satisfactory.[1] In several British Columbia accounts, the son has a series of adventures in the sky world to which he has been banished by Coyote. These are typical stories of shamanistic adventures, and are duplicated in other tales of youthful transports to the heavenly regions.[2]

What do these stories mean? The story of Coyote's attempt to get rid of his son so that he may have his wives, is found with minor variations over a large part of North America. Only in the Plateau region, however, is the youth called Coyote's son, and only here does the story seem to have such prominence in the total body of mythology. Who is this youthful hero, who is befriended by the celestial spirits, and cannot be overcome by Coyote? He represents, I believe, the shamanistic-type hero who appears in mythology to take the place of Coyote. Unlike Coyote, the boy has supernatural assistants. Coyote made him, and he is Coyote's son: the myth-maker acknowledges that Coyote was "from the beginning," and mankind are his offspring or creations; but the myth-maker wishes to say that men have outgrown their progenitor, and a new type of hero must take his place in their affections. This new hero is the man who, in his youth, seeks and obtains supernatural guardians. It is he, and not the self-reliant Coyote whom men are to emulate in order to live the good life.

However, in the mythology of this region Coyote has *not* been displaced.

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[1] Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 21ff.; cf. *idem*, "Traditions Lillooet," p. 306.

[2] Cf. Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 21ff.

The story of his apparent "defeat" by his hero-son is told at the beginning of the cycle, when it is connected with the larger body of Coyote traditions, rather than at the end, where we should logically expect to find it! Coyote does not dispose of his son by sending him to the sky, but the son is dispensed with in the main body of myths, and disappears, after he gets his revenge on his father. Coyote is not overcome: instead he is launched on his career by his fall into the river. Coyote has retained his position as the foremost figure in the mythology of the Plateau.

Coyote is highly honored because he is credited with having released the salmon from the woman who were preventing them from coming to the people. Salmon are one of the staple foods in the diet of these people, and it is no wonder that the Indians have great affection for the one who first released them long ago. The release of salmon is the great Culture Hero Cycle of this region, ranking with the theft of the sun on the Northwest Coast and the theft of fire in many ancient mythologies. It is a typical culture-hero type of story: the hero is pitted against hostile "owners" of the fish, who are to be equated with the Masters or Mistresses of the game. He defeats their plan to keep mankind from having access to that which is theirs by means of a cunning trick. And when he has released the fish, a condition in the world is altered for all time. Thus he is at one and the same time a Culture Hero, Trickster, and Transformer. He embodies the apprehension of man's place in the cosmos as a solitary being who must by his wits wrest the good things of life away from those powers which would keep him from having them. It is an apprehension of human life as a lonely struggle, but one which is well worth the effort, because it is exciting and above all fun.

Trickster proceeds up the river distributing the salmon to the various tribes and villages of people along the way in a most peculiar fashion. According to some versions, he demanded a wife at each village from among the daughters of the chief, and if he was granted his request, he made that locality a good fishing spot. If he was refused, then he led his fish on up the river, and none can be caught there today.[1] This probably is a "toned-down" version of the more widespread myth of the rape of the girl across the river with his enormous, hose-like penis. This story, told on the Plains as an illustration of Trickster's lustfulness and excessively erotic nature, here becomes part of the culture hero cycle. The Thompsons say that Coyote called out to the girls he saw across the river, "Do you want any backbone of the humpback salmon?" (i.e., the vital part, from which the fish are supposed to be reborn). If one of the girls said yes, he reeled out his organ from his pack on his back and had connection with her, and salmon are abundant at that spot today. If all the girls refused him, the fish do not frequent that place even now.[2]

The details of the trans-fluvial fornication are usually as follows: some girls are bathing in the river, and from the opposite bank Coyote calls to them, as above. He sends his organ slithering across, under the water, and it finds its mark. The girl is unable to get free, and finally Coyote calls to them to cut it with saw grass. Later he returns to the village, having crossed the river and disguised himself as a feeble old shaman. The people beg him to come and try to cure the sick girl (no one knows what is wrong with her, but Coyote knows it is because the end of his penis is still inside her that she is ill). He says he must be shut up alone with the girl in a sweathouse. There he rapes her again, and the end of his penis is rejoined to the main part. The people peek inside the house and see what is happening, and Coyote runs away laughing.

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[1] Cf. Clark, pp. 97ff.; Reichard, p. 101; Ray, pp. 172ff; Boas, Kutenai, pp. 177-179.

[2] Cf. Ray, pp. 175-179; Teit, Mythology of the Thompson Indians, pp. 297-300; Spier, pp. 237-238.

The latter part of this story shows Coyote as the mocking impersonator of a shaman. Coyote is not a shaman--indeed, he stands opposed to shamans and their view of life--but he enjoys nothing better than playing shaman, and therby bringing discredit upon the profession.

Quite naturally, the first-salmon rites which are practiced by the tribes along the Fraser and Okanagon Rivers are attributed in origin to Coyote. However, Coyote is not "worshipped," nor is his help sought in any way by the rites. If they are directed toward any figure, it is the Master of Salmon, by whose will the fish come up the stream today.[1] Coyote gave the rites by which the Master of Salmon is, shall we say, coerced into sending the fish each year.

Another very important myth, evidently, which is known over all the region, is that of the stealing of the marvelous shining ball or disk by Coyote's and Antelope's (or Deer's) children.

> Coyote is living with Antelope (or Deer), and both men have several children. The children go out each day, farther and farther, until one day they discover a village where the people are playing ball with a wonderful shining ball or hoop. The boys decide to steal this thing. They return home, tell their parents, and set out the next day. They decide to send one boy to snatch away the ball while the others stand ready, stationed at intervals, to take the ball in relay fashion.
>
> The children of Coyote are nearest to the village, and after they get the ball, they are killed by the pursuing owners. The Antelope children escape unharmed, carrying the prize.
>
> The fathers are watching for the return of their sons, and Coyote faints when he learns his children have been lost.

The endings to the story vary, both in this region and farther south where the story also is well-known (see subsequent chapters). In the Thompson and Shuswap versions, Coyote tries to commit suicide when he learns his sons have perished. Then he steals the ball from Antelope and disappears with it over the horizon. He breaks it open and finds it is just a thin shell covered with manure. Then he makes an elk, covers it with the shell-like armor, and causes it to attack the village from which the ball had been stolen. Thus he gets revenge.[1] The Lake Lillooet say Coyote was killed at this point, and Fox had to come and revive him.[2] The Coeur d'Alene version ends with Coyote's going to kill the sun, which is a duplication of the Shoshoni (an old Algonkian?) myth of Cottontail Rabbit's angry journey.[3] The Kutenai say Coyote went and shot the sun, setting fire to the earth.[4]

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[1] Clark, pp. 96-99; Spier, p. 16; Ray, pp. 142 and 167ff.

The story obviously is composed of very ancient motifs, and the shining ball is certainly a sun-symbol. The game the people (supernaturals) were playing corresponds to the games played ritually everywhere among primitives. This myth must at one time, at least, have been a ritual myth, probably having to do with a winter solstice ceremony. The exact meaning of all the details of the myth escape us. But the old theme of the theft of the sun from the owners is the most basic ingredient in the story. The myth corresponds exactly to Raven's theft of the sun in Northwest Coast traditions, and Coyote's theft of the sun in certain northern California traditions. Here there is a multiplication of characters (two sets of runners, one group of whom are killed--the first deaths?), suggesting considerable ritual development. There appears to be no such ritual known in the region today, and what it might have been we can only surmise. It is also noteworthy that some tribes have appended to this myth the parallel myth of the hero who killed the sun, and reduced its heat, causing a world fire in the process. On the Lower Columbia, as we shall see in chapter xii, the story of Coyote's visit to the land of the dead is commonly the sequel to the theft of the ball myth.

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[1] Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, pp. 32ff; 642.

[2] Elliott, pp. 175-176. (Fox is in the place of Antelope here.)

[3] Reichard, pp. 76-79. [4] Boas, Kutenai, pp. 49ff.

The story of Coyote's visit to the land of the dead, well-known on the lower parts of the Columbia, occurs only marginally in the area under discussion in this chapter. Here it occurs only among the Sahaptin tribes of eastern Washington and Idaho (evidently it is a Sahaptin, not Salish, story). Asked to carry a pack of Ghosts' bones out of the underworld, and warned not to set down the pack when he should grow tired crossing the five mountains, Coyote failed the test, and hence the dead cannot return.[1]

The Salish appear to lack a tradition about the origin of death (unless the death of Coyote's sons is intended to explain mortality--as the consequence of man's crime against the gods?) The Lillooet and Lower Thompson, surely under influence from the Coast, attribute death to the wish of Raven which Old One (or Coyote) could not rescind.[2]

Frequently found are stories which depict Coyote as quite erotic and unable or unwilling to be bound by conventional standards of sexual behavior. He lusted after his daughter, and pretended to be mortally ill. He told the girl (speaking as if he has prophetic powers) that after his death a Kutenai man would come to call, and that she should marry him. After instructing his family to put plenty of food in his coffin (as an "offering for the dead"), he seemed to die, and was abandoned in his coffin in the woods. He came out, disguised himself by means of his excrement advisors, and returned to be married to his daughter. When the girl realized too late the identity of her "Prince Charming," she committed suicide in the river. Coyote transformed her into a rock where fish are plentiful today.[3] This story, of course, is an example of one of the most widespread Indian myth-motifs, here developed with little touches that serve to highlight Coyote's disrespect for sacred customs.

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[1] Teit, Folk Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 178-179.

[2] Ibid., p. 1; Teit, "Traditions Lillooet," pp. 356-357; cf. Boas, Kutenai, p. 213.

[3] Teit, Folk Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 72-73 (Okanagon).

The Thompsons tell how Coyote made a house on the path two girls were taking to visit their grandmother. He made a storm arise, so that they sought shelter with him. He fed them his semen for food.[1] Another time he changed into a baby and lay in a berry patch where some girls were working. They took him to their camp and slept with him lying between them. In the morning they were pregnant and the "baby" was gone.[2]

Coyote is, of course, the "blundering host" in all the tribes,[3] and he tries to fly and hunt with the geese.[4] This last story sometimes is connected with another in which he claps his hands and seems to command the geese to fall at his feet. However, they are only pretending to be "under his spell" and they fly away when he approaches, knocking him down.[5] One part of the story mocks the shamanistic transcendent flight experience, the other the supposed supernatural hunting skills of men with guardian spirits.

Coyote juggles his eyes for fun, in imitation of another animal, and a bird flying over head steals them, in the version of this story told in this region. He deceives and robs another animal-person of his eyes, and goes after his own. He kills an old woman after learning her habits, and puts on her skin as a disguise. Her granddaughter carries her on her back to the dance (and is raped on the way, much to her surprise), where Coyote's eyes are being used in a game. Coyote recovers them, drops his disguise, and runs away.[1] This story must be an ancient ritual myth, but what it signifies is difficult to say, since the ritual is no longer known. We wonder if this sequel to the eye-juggling myth is an addition to it, or part of the original form of the story, which, if we knew its meaning, would be the key to unlock the significance of the story. Are Trickster's eyes the sun and moon, as was stated by a Santee Indian (see chapter vi)?

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[1] Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 36.

[2] Teit, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, p. 7; cf. idem, Shuswap, pp.744-745.

[3] Teit, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 6, 164; idem, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, pp. 40-42; Spier, pp. 233-234.

[4] Teit, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 5,144; Spinden, pp.149-141.

[5] Teit, Shuswap, p. 638.

Coyote, like a shaman, suffers disintegration and is restored again in a Thompson story, known also on the lower Columbia. Imprisoned in an ice house, Coyote makes a little hole in the wall through which he throws his body parts one by one till he is completely outside.[2] He does all this by his own power, not by the aid of spirits, it must be noted.

Coyote often tricks Grizzly Bear, the strongest and most revered of the beasts. He makes her fall in her own latrine, and laughs at her for dirtying herself.[3] He makes a few berries and fish, by magic, in the middle of winter and persuades Bear that spring has come, and therefore they can eat up all their winter stores. When the food is gone Bear soon starves to death.[4] Making berries appear on a green branch in the winter is a shamans' trick. Coyote is duplicating shamanistic feats, and is breaking taboos against being respectful of bears in these stories.

Whenever he can Coyote tricks others in order to get a meal. He flatters Crow, who is sitting high in a tree with a piece of deer meat in his mouth, begging him to sing, and when he opens his mouth, the meat drops into Coyote's waiting jaws below.[1] He pretends to doctor Deer, his friend whom he shot secretly in ambush, and kills him. He volunteers to cut off Deer's wife's hair in observance of mourning customs, and really cuts off her head. Then he kills all the children but one, who escapes to perpetuate the deer race. He refuses to share any of his kill with his wife, and she leaves him. His son who has been left to him becomes his next victim, when the venison supply runs out. His wife later gets her revenge: she causes Coyote to have a ringing in his ears because of a "pain" she has thrown into him (a kind of witchery); but Coyote is delighted, for now he has a new trick to display at the dances![2] (Coyote has to obtain his "shamanistic" skills and "supernatural" gifts in natural ways!)

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[1] Ibid., pp. 632-633; Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 212; Reichard, pp. 89ff.; Spinden, pp. 19-21; Boas, Kutenai, pp. 183-188.

[2] Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, pp. 306ff.

[3] Teit, Shuswap, p. 631.

[4] Ibid., pp. 631-632; Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 29; cf. Reichard, p. 132.

> Food was appearing magically at the door of Coyote's tent each day, whenever he wished for it. Not content that he was being blessed, Coyote sought to learn the source of the gifts. He found a Tick was giving him a part of the deer which she could call to her tent by means of her supernatural powers. Coyote killed her, and thought he would now have her power, but she was unable to summon the deer when he called.[3]

Coyote is simply not a shaman, and he cannot obtain the powers which they have. (One means of getting shamanistic powers on the Northwest Coast was to kill another shaman.)

In other stories, Coyote offends the supernaturals by his rudeness, and therefore he does not obtain hunting power which they wished to give him.[4] Similarly, he lost the buffalo intended for the Plateau region by mistreating the buffalo wife given to him by a bull he had assisted.[5] Coyote never has regard for the supernatural, nor does he respect the things sacred to others.

Like Raven in Siberia, Coyote obtained food by pretending to be a woman and marrying the son of a chief. "She" pretends to be a shy virgin, and goes home each night to the old camp with supplies of food, supposedly gifts for her parents. When Coyote has obtained all he wants, he fails to return to the "husband,"[1]

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[1] Clark, p. 186 (Yakima). [2] Reichard, pp. 86-90.

[3] Ibid., pp. 135-138; cf. Teit, Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin, pp. 103, 184 (Sanpoil and Nez Perce).

[4] Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[5] Ibid., pp. 32ff, 77ff. (Thompson and Okanagon). Cf. Boas, Kutenai, pp. 12-15.

Like Fox in Siberia, Coyote killed the Bear Chief by inducing him to swallow a hot rock. Bear was the master of the buffalo (all great game), and because of Coyote's impudence, there are no bison in Flathead country, according to this story.[2]

The Flathead tell another Coyote story like one about Fox in Siberia (see chapter i):[3]

> A man came along the trail with a load of meat in a wagon. Coyote played dead, and the man threw him on the wagon with the meat, thinking to get Coyote's pelt. Coyote ate his fill, and jumped off. He told Wolf the trick he had played, but when Wolf tried it the man, now wise to such games, struck him with a club.

Coyote saw some bears in a tree and thought their skins would make him a handsome robe. He tore up his old one in anticipation, but the bears escaped when he tried to kill them.[4]

Perhaps the most foolish and discreditable of all the tales of Coyote is one told by the Shuswap:[5]

> Coyote killed some men in order to get their wives. But soon the wives displeased him, and he killed them too. Now there were no people left. Coyote exhumed the corpse of one of the women and tried to revive her. He succeeded only partially, and she could barely move. When she re-

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[1] Teit, *Folk-Tales of the Salish and Sahaptin*, pp. 75, 184 (Okanagon, Nez Perce).

[2] Louisa McDermott, "Folk-Lore of the Flathead Indians of Idaho: Adventures of Coyote," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XIV, No. 55 (1901), 247.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[4] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 38.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 745.

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> fused to obey his command to break camp, he kicked her, and all her rotten flesh fell off.

This tale should be compared with stories of Coyote's attempts to bring back souls from the underworld. Coyote is no shaman, and he cannot revive the dead. Because it was he, rather than a supernaturally endowed person who acted in the beginning, the dead cannot be restored to life even now by the shamans.

What Gladys Reichard says of Coyote among the Coeur d'Alene, is true for the whole region, and everywhere that Coyote stories are found:

> Almost every quality is inherent in the character of Coyote. . . . He may appear in any guise. His good qualities are not absent, but whenever his motives seem good, they should be regarded with suspicion.[1]

Why is this so? Is it not because Coyote is the embodiment of all the qualities of human nature? Does he not disclose to us the reality of man himself, struggling alone against the spiritual forces of the universe, matching his wits against their superior powers, and usually coming out on the top?

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[1] Reichard, p. 18.

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CHAPTER X

THE STRAIT OF GEORGIA, PUGET SOUND, AND THE WASHINGTON COASTAL REGION

Introductory Remarks on Language, Religion, and Mythology

The tribes inhabiting southeastern Vancouver Island and the mainland opposite, the tribes around Puget Sound, and the groups along the Pacific coast of Washington state form something of a mythic and cultural unit. (See Figure 5.) Linguistically, they are mostly of Salish stock, and are known collectively as the Coast Salish. The exceptions are the Makah of the northwestern tip of Washington who are Nootkans, and the Quileute and Chemakum tribes, who comprise together the Chimakuan language group. However, all three of these linguistic divisions are distantly related, and have been classified in one large Mosan stock (see Language Table in the appendix).

In addition to linguistic affinities, these tribes are all influenced by the customs of the coastal tribes to the north, and they are included within the ethnic area known as the Northwest Coast (which stretches from Alaska to northern California).[1] The secret societies of the Kwakiutl and their neighbors are found here also, in most of the tribes, together with the potlatch, but these ceremonials are much less highly developed here than farther north. The Klallam, a Washington tribe on the Strait of Juan de Fuca, for example, have a secret society called Hunhanite, "to growl." Members of society dance and bleed at the mouth, ostensibly because of spirit-possession.

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[1] Driver, map 2.

Only the initiates know that the bleeding is produced by a sharp duck bone concealed in the mouth. The "origin myth" (if it deserves such a name) simply explains how someone in the past began to bleed from the mouth because he cut his tongue on a bone while eating a duck too rapidly. As Gunther, who discovered and reported this society says, "The whole secret of this society is to hide the fact that it has no real power."[1]

The Quinault Indians on the Pacific Coast of Washington were near the southern margin of the secret societies, but they had the two types which we have found among the Kwakiutl and Nootka, the tsadjak (= tsetseaqa) and klokwalle (= loquana).[2]

However, of more importance in this region were the "spirit dances," the less formal winter dances performed by those who had received power through individual spirit questing. While secret society dances were an inherited privilege, and initiation into them was formalized so that the "supernatural experience" was really a pretense, the spirit dances were the outcome of genuine encounters of individuals with the supernatural. The Coast Salish of the Strait of Georgia mark the farthest limits on the Northwest Coast of the custom of the guardian spirit quest, which plays a large role in much of North American religion, as we have seen. The shamanistic-type experience of the lone individual who is met by a spirit which endows him with powers and ever after is his helper, becomes for these Indians the normative experience for those who would have power to do anything significant. Barnett lists the following as the powers which different spirits give to those who seek them:[1] healing, hunting, fishing, canoe making, fighting, clairvoyance, prophecy, ability to acquire wealth, and dancing skill. These were the "practical" gifts of the spirits. The spirit who would appear to the youth while he was alone in a deserted place, would usually be that of some kind of animals, but it would show itself to the youth in the form of a man, perhaps in a dream or a trance. He would bestow not only the practical or vocational skill, but also would give the youth some material token of his epiphany: a feather, a claw, etc., which would always be kept as a "fetish" or charm. The spirit would reveal a specific way of painting the face, and give the youth a song and a dance. The nature of the spirit who had appeared, and the details of the encounter would be kept secret by the youth when he returned, and he would not speak about the event until his powers had greatly diminished in old age. But at the winter spirit dances he would paint his face, sing, and dance as the spirit had directed him, and he would become spiritually possessed as he performed. His success in hunting, fighting, curing, or whatever would be a further indication of the nature of the spirit whom he had met (it was known what powers were granted by the different spirits).[2]

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[1] Erna Gunther, "Klallam Folk Tales," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, I, No. 4 (1925), 287; cf. pp. 281ff.

[2] Ronald L. Olsen, "The Quinault Indians," University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, VI, No. 1 (1936), 12.

As is true over most of North America, inheritance had nothing to do with spirit which was encountered by the youth when he was out in the wild. This was, of course, in contrast to the inherited dances and "spiritual powers" of the dancing societies immediately to the north of this region. The Coast Salish of the Strait of Georgia are in a transitional area, and show considerable differences from north to south in the matter of secret societies and spirit dances. Among the Comox, Pentlatch, Homalco, etc., the inherited dramatic performances were more important than the dances obtained by individual quest; but the farther south we proceed, the more important the latter become, until they quite over-shadow the former in the southern Strait area.[1]

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[1] Homer G. Barnett, The Coast Salish of British Columbia (University of Oregon Monographs, Studies in Anthropology, No. 4, Eugene: The University Press, 1955), pp. 147-148.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 145-148.

Shamans were those men whose powers were in greater degree than those obtained by others. These men sometimes would try to assist their sons to acquire the same spirit helpers as they themselves. The youth seeking shamanistic powers would resort to more extreme ordeals than the ordinary seeker. A favorite method was to dive into a lake and remain under water until rendered unconscious.[2]

The data given here on spirit questing and dancing holds for the entire area under discussion in this chapter, and is fairly accurate for a considerable area to the south as well. The guardian spirit quest was very similar, in fact, wherever it was found.[3]

With respect to mythology, the region with which we are concerned in this chapter is a unity in its diversity. No single figure dominates the entire region, as Raven does on the Northwest Coast or Coyote to the south and west; but the most important myth-figure in each tribe or group of tribes are Trickster-Transformers and "refined" Transformers. All tribes tell stories about Mink, Raven, and other such tricky personalities. Additionally, we find one or more other characters, usually anthropomorphic, who are primarily Transformers. They are responsible for giving the world the form it now possesses, having gone about at the end of the myth-age and changed the beings of that time into animals of today or having turned evil beings into features of the landscape.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 247.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 149. Trickster often dives into lakes, foolishly.

[3] Cf. Olsen, p. 141.

We have referred already to Qaniqelaku of the southern Kwakiutl and to Antokt, Kwatyat, and Laluktinl of the Nootka (chapter v). The Nootkan Laluktinl is called the elder of two brothers, as was Qaniqelaku; and we find other pairs of brothers or twins in this region: Kumsno'ol ("our elder brother") of the Comox;[1] Misp' of the Quinault is the elder of twin brothers born to a monster woman who had a human husband;[2] while the Transformer Moon of the southern Puget Sound region is the elder brother of the Sun.[3] Sometimes several brothers are mentioned as traveling together, transforming and ordaining as they go along, but these stories are limited to the delta of the Fraser River and belong to the interior Salish more properly. They are called the children of the Black Bear, and are said by the interior Salish to have come up the river and traveled in their territory.[4]

Several Transformers travel alone, or are joined for brief periods by others such as Raven and Mink. Xals or Xexals is such a personage all along the Strait of Georgia,[5] while Dokuibel (Nokuimel, Dokuebuth) is known all around the Puget Sound. On the Pacific Coast the Transformer Kweeti (Quaeti) or Kwatyat is known to both the Quiliute and the Nootka. Occasionally, either Coyote or Fox appears in myths of these tribes, but he is known chiefly along the Columbia and Fraser Rivers of the interior of Washington and British Columbia, and belongs to the Plateau rather than to the Coastal Plain. These names do not exhaust the list of Tricksters and Transformers in this region, but they will suffice to suggest the diversity of these figures here.

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[1] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, p. 587.

[2] Livingston Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, Part 3; New York and Leiden: Stechert and Bill, 1900-1908), p. 81.

[3] Thelma Adamson, Folk Tales of the Coast Salish (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, No. 27; New York: G. E. Stechert, 1934), pp. 159-161.

[4] Cf. Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 586-587; Teit, "Traditions Lillooet Indians," pp. 288-289. See chap. ix above.

[5] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 586-587.

Apparently, there was no belief in a High God or in a Creator among these people in pre-Christian times. The Klallam pray to Seqwatci, Earth, conceived of as a woman, at the time of the birth of a child and at certain other crisis situations.[1] However this word seqwatci can be translated also "sky" or "dawn," we are told.[2] These notes are confusing, but a comment of Olsen may perhaps shed a little light on the matter: he says that the Quinault pray to a vague power, the "World," which he says means about the same as "nature," but they lack any concept of a personalized Supreme Being.[3] Evidently, at least among those individuals who were consulted, the idea of Great Powers or Beings in the universe was vaguely conceived. The Earth Mother of the Klallam reminds us of the Okanagon myths cited in the previous chapter, in which Earth is described as the mother of the creatures.

Eagle, in mythology, sometimes appears in a superior role as the one who argues against Raven in discussions about mortality or immortality for mankind, and other such matters, with Eagle desiring the good and Raven the bad.[4] However, Eagle never is portrayed as a creator, but he is perhaps thought of as the Chief of the animal-people. As such he is a potential Supreme Being.

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[1] Gunther, pp. 234, 289. [2] Ibid., p. 289.

[3] Farrand, Tradition of Quinault Indians, p. 141.

[4] Cf. Adamson, p. 305 (Humptulip); ibid., p. 111; Manuel J. Andrade, Quileute Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XII; New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 105; Herman Haeberlin, "Mythology of Puget Sound," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXVII (1924), 396 (Skagit).

The Skagit of northern Washington and the Puget Sound may be an exception to the rule, in that a creation myth is reported for them. Ella Clark[1] recounts a story told by an old Indian in the 1930's which mentions a being called "Old Creator." His name suggests influence from the Thompson and Okanagon, with whom they are in contact, who have a High God called Old Man or Chief, and about whom a variety of creation stories are told (cf. chapter ix). In the beginning, according to this myth, Raven, Mink, and Coyote helped Old Creator plan the world. (The Skagit are so situated as to have come under the influence of tribes having all these different Trickster-Transformers.)

> The four of them agreed, after an argument, on how things were going to be, including that men should die permanently. The Creator made four secret names for the earth which were to be revealed only to a few who in consequence would have great power. If too many people knew these words, the world would change suddenly. The names referred to the sun, the waters, the soil, and the trees. But after a while everyone learned the secret names, and they began talking to the trees. The "sudden change" occurred: a great flood. Only two mountain peaks, Ranier and Baker, were not inundated.
>
> A pair of every creature survived in a canoe (Christian influence?), including a human couple. To this couple, after the flood had receded, was born Doquebuth, the Transformer. When he was old enough, he went on a spirit quest, and the Creator himself appeared to him and imparted to him the secret names, and gave him also the "blanket of the whole earth."
>
> "Wave the blanket over the waters and forest, and name the four names of the earth, and there will be food for everyone," Creator said. Doquebuth obeyed, and fish and game appeared. Then he was instructed to wave the blanket over the corpses of the people who had been drowned in the flood, and they came to life, but not fully: they could not speak. At the Creator's command he waved the blanket again, and they were made whole. The fourth time he waved th blanket he scattered the people everywhere, each pair with its own language.

In the future, the Indian narrator said, another change will come, and everything will speak one language. "When we can understand animals, we will know the change has come halfway. When we can talk to the forest, we will know that the change has come." The story is said to be prerequisite to obtaining spirit power on the quest.

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[1] Clark, Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 138ff.

Neither this story nor anything remotely resembling it has been reported from any other tribe in the region or by any other investigator. Obviously this is an esoteric myth: the "secret names" are stressed throughout. It is a shamanistic myth, not a folk story: there is only a brief mention of the Trickster-Transformers and the ancient myth age, which was so bad it had to be destroyed. The Hero of the new mythic age, the one which is the dawning of present times, is the ideal youth who seeks and obtains spiritual powers. The highest being, the Creator himself, endows Doquebuth, because this boy is to be the Great Transformer who arranges the world in its proper order. He is given a magic blanket, and told how to use it and the magic formula to bring fish and game, restore people to life (the shamanistic accomplishment par excellence), and scatter the tribes to their habitations. The important thing about Doquebuth's work is that he does it all by means of supernatural power, power obtained on the guardian spirit quest. This is in marked contrast to the way the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero works, who has no powers but those which are his by nature.

While other tribes in this region do not report any myths or beliefs of this sort, the fact that a "refined" Transformer of the type of Doquebuth is found everywhere indicates that at one time a mythic development such as this must have taken place among the others also. The Trickster-Hero is pushed into the background, and his age is practically forgotten. He is remembered chiefly for the "bad" things he ordained, whose effects have continued despite the renewing influence of the flood. The spirits, and the shamans when endowed with spiritual power, can kill and revive persons spiritually, but because of the decree of the Trickster-Fixer long ago they cannot restore to life those who are really dead. When men die physically, they cannot again return, even though the spirits and the Supreme Being would have had it that way in the beginning, if they had had their way in the matter.

Raven and Mink Stories

Raven and Mink are found frequently in this area, cast in their familiar roles of Trickster-Benefactors. Clark[1] reports a story from the Puget Sound Salish of Raven's stealing the sun, moon, stars, fresh water, and fire--all at one time!--from the lodge of Gray Eagle. Raven, who at that time was a handsome white bird, went there and attracted the favorable attention of Eagle's daughter, and thus gained admission to the house. He was turned black by the fire brand he carried.

The Skagit have a confused sun-stealing story, in which Raven's son and Mink's son steal the light from Old Raven.[2] Raven also obtained the tides and good winds, but he argued with Eagle about the currents in rivers and his wish for one-way streams prevailed.[3] It is interesting to note that Raven is called a slave by the Skagit, probably indicating that his stories came to them by way of captives from farther north.

On the Pacific coast of Washington, Raven's exploits are sometimes attributed to Qwaeti (Kweeti). Qwaeti is said to have stolen the sun in a manner only slightly different from that usually employed by Raven. He changed himself into a child and was allowed to go out in a boat with the Owner of the sun. Left alone to guard the sun-box in the boat, Qwaeti paddled away, put the sun and moon up in the sky, and ordained their courses.[4] Like Raven among the Skagit, Quaeti is called a slave (being the run-away chattel of Golden Wing) by the Quilleute.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152. [2] Haeberlin, pp. 391-392. [3] *Ibid.*, pp.397-398.

[4] Albert B. Reagan and L. V. W. Walters, "Tales from the Hom and Quileute," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XLVI, No. 182 (1933), 299-300; Andrade, pp. 87-89; Farrand, *Traditions of Quinault Indians*, pp. 255-256.

As Culture Hero, Raven went to the land of the dead and returned with a few scales of the salmon, thus bringing these fish to the Quinault River.[2] According to another Quinault myth, Raven was the cause of evil and difficult things in the world. He and Eagle argued about how the world should be arranged. Eagle wanted to make a prairie near Quinault land, but Raven said that would make the gathering of roots too easy, and he placed the prairie at some distance. Eagle wanted streams to flow both directions, but Raven ordained the less convenient way. Eagle wanted the milt in the salmon to be edible, but Raven made it non-edible, lest the salmon be "too good." Eagle wanted the dead to come back to life after a few days, but Raven said the dead should remain dead. Later, Raven asked Eagle how he caught so many fish, and Eagle, lying, said he used his son for bait. Raven tried to use his daughter in that way, and she drowned, as Eagle had planned. Then Raven wanted to have the dead return, but Eagle said it was too late to change the decree.[3] This kind of "dualism" appears from time to time all over a wide region, and springs from the conflict between the older, mythological view of the world which ascribes all things to the Trickster-Transformer and accepts them as good, and the shamanistic-spiritual view which longs for a better world.

Numerous tales are told about Raven's underhanded deeds performed to gratify his appetite. He has a wife ordinarily in Quilleute mythology, and he is constantly deceiving her in order to eat all the food himself.[4]

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[1] Andrade, pp. 93-95. (Master also called Woodpecker Chief.)

[2] Reagan and Walters, pp. 317-318.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 301-303; Farrand, *Traditions of the Quinault Indians*, p. 111; cf. Andrade, pp. 21-23, 25-27; Haeberlin, p. 369 (Skagit); Adamson, p. 305 (Humptulip).

[4] Andrade, pp. 31-34.

He killed the children of Goose for whom he was being nurse-maid, and ate them. He told her they had cried themselves to death.[1] He stole the salmon Crow was going to give her children, and when the children came begging to share the food with him he sent them outside to wait till the food had cooked, meanwhile eating it all himself. Then he told them it had evaporated.[2] He pretended to be ill, and called in his neighbors to sing spirit songs for him. From time to time he excused himself, complaining of diarrhea, and left the house. On each excursion he stole food from one of the neighbors' homes.[3] (This last story illustrates Raven's complete lack of reverence or fear of the spirits.)

A tale told rather widely on the Northwest Coast says that Raven and Pheasant each went hunting on different days and were aided by a supernatural being. Pheasant behaves humbly and courteously to the divine helper, but Raven is impolite and lies to the spirit when he meets him on the second day. Consequently, Pheasant brings home much food, while Raven returns with nothing.[4]

The theft of fire is attributed most often in this region to Beaver, who otherwise does not appear as a Culture-Hero. Beaver goes with a company of animal people to obtain a firebrand from the sky. Beaver plays dead, and the owner of fire takes him home and begins to skin him. The other animals attack the house, and the owner's attention is distracted from the half-skinned Beaver. Beaver grabs a coal and escapes with it. In the Nisquali version Raven is chief of the animal people, and Coyote, who is among the party, claims falsely that he was the one who stole the ember.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 35-37; Reagan and Walters, pp. 381f.

[2] Andrade, pp. 33-35.

[3] Adamson, pp. 306-307, 367-368 (Humptulip and Skokomish).

[4] Ibid., pp. 41-43 (Upper Chehalis); Arthur C. Ballard, "Mythology of Southern Puget Sound," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, III, No. 2 (1929), 92-96; cf. Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 716-718 for versions from Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Nootka, Cowichan, and Chilcotin.

Kekaiax (not translated) of the Klallam tribe seems to be an amalgam of Raven, Mink, and Coyote, being mostly a Trickster but also a benefactor. He has his fish and also his anus (like Mink's musk sac) stolen while he sleeps, and has to go get the latter away from some people who are singing and dancing with it. Like Coyote, he has his "partners inside" who inform him of things he needs to know. Like Mink, again, he bloodies his hand trying to punish some barnacles on a rock, and thinks the rock is bleeding. He finds his brother dead and tries to revive him, but only half succeeds. Like Coyote, he has intercourse with a girl who is across the river. Kekaiax is cast once in the role of the ugly man who is picked as the father of a mysteriously-conceived child (a widespread folklore motif). Like Raven, he killed Deer and ate him, although he was his friend; after Elk died he opened his coffin and ate him; he was swallowed by a whale and after eating the contents of his stomach he killed him near the shore, and bragged about what he had done. Kekaiax stole a child from the land of the dead and made the father promise to give fire and good weather to mankind. However, someone stole half the good weather, so we have both good and bad today. When the Transformer Nokuimel (see below) came along, Kekaiax wanted to accompany him. The noble Transformer did not want the Trickster for a companion so he changed him into a rotten log. Kekaiax soon resumed his normal form and followed him. He changed him three other times, but was unable to transform him permanently, so he finally gave up and let Kekaiax go with him.[2] Kekaiax, the old Trickster-Hero, thus wins in his conflict against the high-minded Transformer, who cannot do away with him.

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[1] Ballard, pp. 53-55; Haeberlin, pp. 389-90 (Skagit); cf. Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, II, No. 6 (1929), 179-181 (Klickitat).

[2] Gunther, pp. 140-147.

The story of Trickster's being robbed of his dinner while sleeping, and awakening to find pieces of it between his teeth and wondering if he has or has not eaten, is found over the region, told of Raven, Kekaiax, Mink, and other minor figures.[1] Likewise, every Trickster and most Transformers are the subject of a series of "blundering host" episodes.[2]

Mink is known mostly for his highly-sexed nature and his practical jokes. Like Kekaiax above, Mink would not stay "transformed," even though Dokuibel turned him into forms which Mink requested: a doll which girls would play with, a flat rock on which girls would sit, a tree overhanding a stream which girls would straddle when going bathing, and a sandy bank where girls would slide into the water.[3] A story told about Mink quite widely in this region is as follows:

> Mink was in love with a certain chief's daughter, but she cared nothing for him, of course. She had a secret lover, and Mink contrived to have this man killed. The girl, in grief, committed suicide. After her coffin was abandoned in the woods, Mink went there and had intercourse with the corpse. He carried the body with him in a canoe up the river, and had five shamans along the way work over her, to restore her to life. She revived, pregnant with Mink's child. A daughter was born, and later a son. When Mink at length took his family back to their old village, the people rejoiced to see the girl alive again. One day Mink and his wife were out hunting sea eggs in a boat with their slaves (Mink was now wealthy). Mink pretended to be too high class a person to eat such food, but once he tasted the eggs he forgot himself, and dived into the water after more. His wife became disgusted and abandoned him.[4]

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[1] Haeberlin, p. 382 (Snuqualmi), Gunther, p. 140; Adamson, pp. 150-151, 366-367.

[2] Livingston Farrand and Theresa Mayer, "Quileute Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXII, No. 124 (1919), 259-262; Ballard, pp. 96-98; Adamson, pp. 344, 348; Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians, pp. 85-87.

[3] Haeberlin, pp. 382-384.

[4] Adamson, pp. 136, 364-365; ibid., pp. 391-392 (Skagit).

This strange tale appears to be a story of an almost-successful rescue of a soul from the dead; but if so the details of the plot have become confused toward the ending, where the point seems to be the novelistic one that a man should not attempt to rise above his social class. The theme of a journey to the underworld to retrieve a soul from the dead is a popular one on the Lower Columbia, as we shall see in chapter xii below.[1]

The Transformer-Figure

Raven and Mink are depicted mostly as Tricksters in this region, as we have seen. The tasks often performed by these two in more northerly Coastal traditions which are of a culturally beneficial nature, are usually assigned to a distinctly noble figure in the Puget Sound area, one called Moon or Doukuibel. The story of the origin of this personage begins in two different ways. One version identifies his mother as one of the girls who wished for a "star-husband" and the other explains the origin of Moon's abductors who became later his wives. (The latter version belongs to the Upper Chehalis Indians living south of the Puget Sound region, to whom we shall give special attention in the next chapter.) The following is the myth with the first type of introduction:

> Two girls wished one night that two particular stars were their husbands. While they slept, the star-men came and took them to the sky. After living there a while, the girls escaped by a rope ladder. One was pregnant, and gave birth to the child Moon. The boy was left in the care of his grandmother, the old, blind woman. She rocked him in a swing, which was the rope ladder, fastened to the sky. Some women abducted the baby from the swing, putting a piece of dead wood in his place, and carried him off to a "faraway land."
>
> At length Blue jay (who is a Trickster among certain tribes south of the Puget Sound) undertook the perilous journey to recover the stolen

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[1] See also the Chehalis and Chinook version of this myth in chapter xi, in which the original theme is more evident. Bluejay takes the place of Mink here.

child. He had to pass through clashing gates to reach the place, and he was greeted gruffly when he arrived, because he was not recognized at first. Bluejay found that the boy Moon was now quite grown, married to the women who had stolen him, and was the father of children. He told them his mission, and Moon promised to return soon to earth. Bluejay went home and told the people.

Soon Moon began his journey back to earth and to his home village. All along the way he transformed things, such as the dangerous beings Whirlwind, Needle, Mat-smoother, etc., and made them to be less harmful or useful things. People heard he was coming, and they prepared weapons to use against him. When he met these people, he caused their weapons to be changed into a part of their bodies (rhubarb, wild parsnip, spear flowers, deer, beaver, etc.). He met an ogress who was swinging people to their deaths on a great swing. Moon took a ride, but unlike the others who had swung before, Moon came back instead of falling to his death. Then he swung the old woman to her death. (In similar episodes he kills other monster-women.) He was nearly killed by women who set the world on fire, but he lay down on the trail and was saved. He vanguished a woman with a toothed vagina, thus making sexual intercourse safe for men. He taught Wren-man to use a hammer and wedge instead of his head for cutting wood; made Raven stop using people as a human fish-trap and taught them how to make one properly; killed Tapeworm and made him harmless. Etc., etc.

Finally he returned to his old home. He was met by his younger brother who had in the meantime been "born" from the drippings of Moon's diaper when wrung out by the Grandmother. The brother was blind, and Moon restored his sight. He sent the brother up into the sky to be the Light for the night, while he himself tried to be the Light for the day. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, so they switched places; hence the Moon shines at night, the Sun in the day. (In some versions Moon marries Frog and ascends with her stuck to his face.)[1]

The second type of introduction to the Moon Transformer myth is found in the region to the south of the Puget Sound tribes, on the upper Chemalis River. This introduction is intended, evidently, to link the popular Trickster-Culture Hero Xwane of the Chehalis and Cowlitz tribes to the more noble northern Transformer. According to these people the story of Moon begins with Xwane who created two girls out of the milt of a salmon. He called them daughters at first, but when they matured he made a "Freudian slip of the tongue" one day and called them wives. He tried (in some versions successfully) to rape them, and they ran away. The came upon the grandmother swinging the infant Moon, and abducted him, etc. The story continues from this point as above.[1]

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[1] Ballard, pp. 69-72 (Nisqualli); Haeberlin, pp. 372-375 (Snuqualmi); Adamson, pp. 159-163 (Upper Chehalis) p. 271 (Cowlitz), p. 277 (Humptulip), pp. 356-358 (Puyallup).

Other significant variants of the myth should be noted: in an Upper Chehalis version Xwane knows that he is making the first people when he creates the two girls, and that the consequence will be that the world will change--as indeed it does through his daughters' husband and their offspring.[2] One Snuqualmi version explains that the two girls are "Salmon-women" and that with Dokuibel for their husband they gave birth to the salmon fish. When Dokuibel came back to earth he brought the fish, and taught people how to catch and use them.[3] Another Chehalis version state that Moon's two wives gave birth to all the vegetation and fish (and animals?) on earth, respectively. The Moon brought these "children" back to earth, ordained the habits of the fish, taught men their use, etc.[4]

This cycle is perhaps the most important one in the mythology of the Puget Sound and adjacent region. What does it mean? It has to do with a semi-divine Transformer, born of a Star (sky spirit) and a human mother. He is carried off in his infancy by supernatural female beings who make him their husband in a far-off world, beyond the horizon. There he becomes the father of the salmon, and probably other things of earth (as is definitely stated in one version). When he returns to his home again, he brings these things with him, as a Culture Hero. As the Transformer of the myth world, he accomplishes many heroic deeds along the way, and prepares the world for humanity. He sends his brother Sun up to the sky, and takes his place there also when his work below is finished.

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[1] Adamson, pp. 158-159, 174-175, 267-268; Melville Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, Part 1 (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropoloty, Vol. XIX; New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 139-142 (Cowlitz).

[2] Adamson, p. 174.

[3] Haeberlin, p. 372.

[4] Adamson, pp. 161-163.

While the cycle in its details is unique, in a general way it conforms to the pattern of "higher type" Transformer-Culture Hero stories. Moon/Dokuibel is not a Trickster, and his origin is partly celestial-spiritual. He is endowed with supernatural powers through a visit to the transcendent realm, like the shamans. He finishes the work of making the world as it is today, and he is an altogether admirable character. The fact that he is the Moon probably explains his being swung in a sky-swing as a baby: this episode does not pertain directly to the rest of the cycle, which has to do with the transformation of the world by an anthropomorphic being.

The mention of Bluejay in the central part of the myth will appear more significant when we have examined his place in the mythology of the Chehalis River region (in the next chapter). He is mainly a Trickster, but also sometimes appears as Culture Hero, and probably is to be regarded as an example of the ancient figure who is the subject of our study. In this late-type myth, Bluejay still is remembered as the one who was able to go in his own power to the land beyond the sky to bring back the Moon. We can imagine a myth of a type like that of Raven's theft of the sun as a background for this episode in this story of the Transformer.

Moon as the Transformer is found among the Chehalis, but he appears to belong properly and originally to the southern Puget Sound tribes, the Nisqualli, Puyullap, and Suquamish. Around the northern part of the Sound Dokuibel (or some variant) is the name given to the Transformer. The Snuqualmi tell the same story of the origin of Dokiubel as they do of Moon (they have both figures), but this introduction is not recorded farther North.

However, all the Puget Sound tribes tell the same stories about Dokuibel as are told about Moon after the latter begins his travels.[1] The Snohomish say that Dokuibel was traveling from east to west when he came to the Puget Sound, and he liked the area so well he decided to stay there. The people attribute to him the mountains, streams, rocks, etc. of the region, and they say he taught them all they know.[2] The typical trickster stories are not told about Dokuibel or Moon, and they are never fools. The only tricks they play are in overcoming evil beings.

Certain other figures of the mythology of this region are primarily Transformers rather than Tricksters. One of these is Xals of the Gulf of Georgia. He is noted for having changed various myth-people into animals, fish, or birds, according to the habits which they had.[3] He turned many people into stones of unusual shape or arrangement which may be seen today along the coasts. He arranged properly the human sexual organs, and taught men to catch, prepare, and utilize certain food-animals, especially sea animals.[4]

Along the Pacific Coast the Quinault tell of the Transformer Misp, the elder of twins, who began to travel from somewhere in the north after killing his monster-mother and her family. The twins came first to Neah Bay and transformed the dogs there into the Makah people. (The story of the dog-husband is the origin myth of the Makah and the Klallam.)[5] Going south, Misp transformed wolves into the Quilleute people, made the related Queets from dirt rubbed from his arm, and gave them their fishing equipment. He changed his younger brother into a duck. He helped the weak, poor people he found at Hoh, but at Quinault he found fine people, and told them to remain people always. He went on to the south, setting people right and transforming others into animals. At the mouth of the Columbia River he transformed himself into a great stone.[1]

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[1] Gunther, pp. 143-144; Haeberlin, pp. 378-379, 384; Clark, Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 147-149.

[2] Ibid., pp. 148-149.

[3] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 601ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 605-606.

[5] See Gunther, p. 135.

The Quilleute have Qwaeti (Kweeti) for their Transformer. Probably he is the same as Kwatyat of the southern Nootka. He traveled, contrary to Misp, from the south to north. Virtually the same deeds are ascribed to him as are to Misp. His itinerary begins among the Quinault, apparently.[2] While Raven is the principal Trickster, some trickster tales are ascribed also to Qwaeti. He allows himself to be swallowed by a whale, and kills it; then fools the people when it beaches.[3] He kills a wolf who comes to his house; then when its relatives comes he pretends to know nothing about the matter. However, he pretends to be a shaman and dances, saying he will conjure up the information. While dancing, he reveals the truth and runs away. Pursued, he throws various objects over his shoulder which become topographical features of the Quilleute region.[4] He kills monster women, steals the sun, and vanquishes the mighty Thunderbird.[5] He injures a shark and goes to his house to cure him, receiving his two daughters for wives as his reward.[6] Virtually the same story is told, in greater detail, by the Nootka of Kwatyat.[7] In both tribes he is called the slave of Woodpecker Chief. One Quilleute version states that in old age Qwaeti went south to Quinault land, having finished his work, and transformed himself into a stone on Grenville Point.[1]

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[1] Farrand, Traditions of Quinault Indians, pp. 81-83. Boas reported virtually the same story about the Cikla brothers (Franz Boas, Chinook Texts [Bureau of Ethnology Bulletins, No. 20; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1894], pp. 5-6).

[2] Clark, pp. 64-65. [3] Ibid., pp. 122-123; Andrade, pp. 45-46.

[4] Ibid., pp. 47, 99; Reagan and Walters, pp. 307-308; Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians, pp. 253-255.

[5] Reagan and Walters, pp. 311-312.

[6] Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians, p. 252.

[7] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, pp. 913ff.

Qwaeti/Kwatyat appears to be a transitional figure; primarily a Transformer, but retaining many traits of the Trickster-Hero.

It appears that among the Coastal Salish tribes and their neighbors the anthropomorphic Transformer (or Transformers) is a characteristic type. He has largely superceded the earlier theriomorphic Trickster-Fixer as the central figure of mythology. Occasionally, as with Qanekelaku of the Kwaluitl and Kwatyat/Qwaeti of the Nootka and Quilleute, some of the trickster elements remain, but these are not prominent. The true Transformer is a noble, semi-divine hero, who appears late in the myth-age, at its very close, preparing the way for the real people who are to follow. He changes monsters into useful or at least harmless things. He fixes and names the topographical features of the region, turns the animal-people into real animals, and puts the finishing touches upon human beings, teaching them their proper mode of life. The Transformer belongs to the age of transformed animal-people. The myths of the Transformer are not as ingenious as those of the older Trickster-Hero, although deeds attributed to the Trickster often become credited to the Transformer as the latter gains in popularity. However, he stands properly not for the most ancient times, but for the period of the ancestors, the pioneers who first occupied the region where the Indians now live, braving its unknown terrors and naming (hence, making real) its topography. He embodies the memories of cultural achievements of man attained at a relatively late date. He represents a later stage of human self-understanding, when men have begun to conceive of an ideal human character. Trickster is man-as-he-is; the Transformer-Hero is man-as-he-might-be. The Transformer is a fully-anthropomorphic figure, showing that man has now clearly differentiated himself from the animal kingdom. He is spiritually-endowed, perhaps by birth: he is a superior man, embodying the shamanistic ideal. He does not laugh and trick his way through life: he sees life as a serious business; but with power from on high he strides through the world claiming it in the name of man.

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[1] Reagan and Walters, p. 312.

When his work is finished, the Transformer does not retire to an otiose existence as does the Creator-God, since he is an ideal *man*, not a divinity. Characteristically, he turns into a stone, or ascends to be the moon. Men do not worship him (and in this respect he is like the Trickster), but they revere and honor him, and they follow the patterns he laid down for them in the beginning.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHEHALIS RIVER AND ENVIRONS

The Indians who live along the Chehalis River in western Washington State, together with their neighbors on the east and south, constitute a group distinct enough in their mythology to merit special attention. The tribes with which we shall be concerned principally in this chapter are those of the lower Chehalis (especially Humptulips, Wynoochee, and Satsop), and the Upper Chehalis, all of whom are Salish in language; and the Chinook, Kathlamet, and Cowlitz tribes of the lower Columbia, who are Chinookans, a part of the Penutian family, and relatives of the Tsimshian (see Language Table in the Appendix). Material for the study of these tribes is quite meagre, however, and such as has been obtained was given by only a few individuals.[1] As is true from the Puget Sound region southward, there are no clan legends or privately owned myths. The Upper Chehalis custom, which probably was typical of the region, was for the old people to recite the stories to the children. They were told during the winter season, at night, with both narrators and listeners lying flat on their backs. All the tales having to do with the time when animals spoke and looked like human beings have a certain name, which might be translated "myth." The Transformer came and altered that world and the "people" of that time, and made things as they are today.[2]

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[1] Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 5-6; Franz Boas, Kathlamet Texts (Bureau of Ethnology Bulletins, No. 26; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1901), pp. 5-6. No material was available from the Athabascan Tribe (Kwalholkwa) which once existed in this locality.

[2] Adamson, pp. xii-xiii.

Dominating the mythological scene here is Xwane (or Xwanexwane, as he is sometimes called: not translated), who is virtually a duplicate of Coyote who is known all along the Columbia River and who appears sometimes in the myths of this region also as a separate figure. Second in importance is Bluejay, who appears mainly as a Trickster, and who has often for a companion a more "noble" bird: Eagle or Robin. The mythology of this region seems richer in animal stories than that of the Puget Sound and more northerly Washington coast where anthropomorphic Transformers tend to over-shadow the older animal-people of the myth age.

The Upper Chehalis and their neighbors tell a flood myth which includes the earth-diver motif. Thrush (or some other bird) wanted to marry, but his prospective bride's parents demanded he wash his face first. He warned them that "something would happen" if he washed, but they insisted. When he cleansed his face, a great rain began to fall. The river rose and carried many people away. Muskrat, the smallest of several divers, succeeded in bringing up a little mud, and he made a mountain where people could land. Then the flood receded, and the world was like new. The people turned into birds or animals and went in different directions.[1] The bird who caused the flood is not mentioned in other myths, nor is there any other creator than the Muskrat diver. The essential meaning of the myth remains clear, however, even in this rather poor version: the old myth-world is destroyed because of some fault, by being "buried" and dissolved in water; but it rises again from the dead, reborn as a new creation.

Eagle plays an important role in some of the stories. He is Chief of the animal people in some tales, and at other times he is the son whom Coyote deceives in the familiar tale of the abandoned youth.[1] In the previous chapter we cited some of the arguments about how things should be in the world, in which Eagle and the Trickster-Transformer engaged. The Klickatat, just east of the Cowlitz, speak of Eagle as the "elder brother" of Coyote. The two lived together for a while, but parted after a quarrel. Eagle here is pictured as the planner of things, and Coyote as the one who carried them out.[2] In the Chehalis territory Eagle usually is the wise leader of the animal-people in a much-told story of Bluejay's contests with the people of the supernatural village. Bluejay, however, and not Eagle, is the hero of this story, and in the Chinook version Eagle is replaced by Robin. The various roles assumed by Eagle (or Robin) all have this in common: they are in contrast and opposition to the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. Sometimes he is a sort of "high god" figure, sometimes the new shamanistic-type hero, sometimes the wise and heroic leader. Always he embodies spiritual ideals, and is therefore set in contrast to the Trickster who is man-as-he-is. Apparently, however, this figure had not attained a very high degree of development in this area, and instead the Trickster-Fixer has retained the central position. The following is the myth of the journey and contests with the village of supernatural beings:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 1-3, 178 (Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz); Ballard, pp. 49-51 (Nisqualli and Snuqualmi).

> Bluejay, Eagle, and other members of the tribe were hunting sea mammals in a boat. A sea otter which they were pursuing led them to the "land of the salmon" or place of the spirits beyond the western sea. There Bluejay was drawn into a series of contests and trials, in all of which he was victorious, not because of superior power, but because of trickery and deceit. When the tests were ended, he and his companions returned home triumphant.[3]

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[1] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 79ff, 191ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 64-65, 73-74.

[3] Adamson, pp. 12-17, 178, 182, 351; Boas, Chinook, pp. 54-58; Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, II, No. 6 (1929) 153-155.

Sometimes it is stated that Bluejay succeeded at his contests because Eagle (or Robin) told him what to do, or because his older sister, who is a constant companion and nursemaid to him, gave him advice. Often, however, it seems that he devises his schemes by himself, and this last I believe is the most logical and probably the original form of the story. The first contest is to eat all the food at a potlatch given by the supernaturals, and the visitors succeed by swallowing straws and then letting the food pass through these, to be quickly disposed of behind them. In a contest to see who can stay under water the longest, Bluejay defeats his opponent by sticking his beak above the surface without being observed. In a climbing contest, Bluejay climbs higher--because he knocks his opponent off the tree when they are out of sight. He survives the sweat-house heat test because he takes ice into the building with him. All of these trials suggest shamanistic activities which have spiritual meanings. The point of the story would seem to be that Trickster-Bluejay was able to beat the spirit powers at their own games, not by virtue of supernatural endowments, but by using his wits and powers of deception.

The myth of the Trickster who revives a dead princess and marries her, which is told of Mink farther north (see chapter x), is told here of Bluejay. It may, in fact, have originated with the latter, as the original point of the story is plainer in the Chehalis and Chinook versions. The ending is different: instead of the husband's being abandoned because of his disgraceful behavior, Bluejay's parents-in-law take back their daughter, saying she is not worthy of such a low-born husband. The woman thereupon dies again, and Bluejay says that now the dead must remain dead forever.[1] The story, therefore, is a myth about the origin of death. The Trickster-Fixer is not directly responsible, here as in so many myths of this sort, but he ordains permanent death because of an offense against himself, a common motive for deeds of the Trickster-Transformer.

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[1] Adamson, p. 20 (Upper Chehalis); Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 159-160.

Another story, which may originally have had the same point (the explanation of why the dead cannot return), is also widely told in this region about Bluejay.

> Bluejay's sister married a man who came to her from the land of the dead, and he took her back to his place to live. Bluejay became lonesome for her, and he decided to follow them. He went (alive) to the village of the ghosts, which was far away, across a river. Because he was not dead, everything seemed unnatural to him, except when he closed his eyes (or when night came). The people looked like skeletons, the fish and sea mammals were just rotten wood, leaves, logs, etc. to him, and the canoes were like discarded, worn-out wrecks.
>
> Bluejay remained in the village of the dead for some time, and after a while he began to play tricks. He would switch skulls or other bones from one skeleton to another, and would make insulting comments about the strange conditions. The people wanted him to leave, but to return to the land of the living he had to cross five prairies full of red flowers (that is, they were on fire). He was given five buckets of water and told not to use the biggest one until the last prairie was reached. He used up his water too soon, and was burned to death. He then returned to Deadland as a ghost, and everything looked normal to him. Because he failed to return home safely, people cannot go and return from the place of the dead today.[1]

There are a variety of endings to this story, some of which say that Bluejay returned home safely, but lost something he was carrying: the baby of his sister, and berries for the people.[2] In another version, Bluejay is successful in bringing back berries: a kind of theft-from-the-spirits type of myth.[3] The story of Coyote's visit to the land of the dead in order to bring back his sons, which is quite popular among the upper Chinook and Sahaptin peoples (see chapter xii) is very similar. The point of this story is that because the Trickster-Fixer failed to bring back his sons, the dead can never return. It may be that the Bluejay myth is an adaptation of the Coyote story, but since the Bluejay cycle already had a myth about the origin of death, this tale was changed to a story of the death of Bluejay and an explanation of why people cannot now visit the dead and return.

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[1] Adamson, pp. 21-23, 27, 29, 293, 349 (Upper and Lower Chehalis); Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 167ff.; Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians, pp. 99-101.

[2] Adamson, pp. 21-23, cf. p. 29.

[3] Ibid., p. 29.

Other characters' names have become attached to the story in nearby tribes. Ballard reports a version from the Puget Sound in which Pheasant Man goes to the land of the dead to visit his sister, and therefore pheasants are scarce during part of the year.[1] In a Nisqualli version, Xode, a Transformer-Trickster (same as Xwane?), goes to the underworld and returns safely with one baby. Hence births are always single.[2] This myth presupposes a belief that babies are reincarnations of the souls of the dead.

To Bluejay is attributed the fact that twins are born as two individuals: in the beginning he separated a pair who were joined together.[3] In one Kathlamet version Bluejay is the commander of the expedition which went to the sky to steal fire.[4] Undoubtedly, Bluejay is a Transformer-Culture Hero of the old Trickster type.

Most of the stories told about him depict him as a Trickster and fool. As has already been remarked, he has an older sister who serves as a nursemaid for her prankish and childish brother. In a series of episodes, she tells him in figurative language to do something, and he obeys her commands literally, doing something quite ridiculous. Told to make arrows because birds are bothering her backside when she digs roots, Bluejay shoots her in the rump. She wants him to feed her children sparingly and leave food for her when she shall return home, but he misunderstands and leaves nothing for her. She tells him to make a canoe big enough for "one leg," meaning a man, but he obeys her literally.[1] Bluejay is the "blundering host" in all these tribes.[2] He is depicted as one who lives by his wits:

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[1] Ballard, pp. 128-130. [2] *Ibid*., p. 131.

[3] Adamson, p. 87 (Upper Chehalis).

[4] Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 67-70.

> Once Bluejay tried to beg some food from Crane, and the Crane refused him. Bluejay pushed Crane down, and Crane vowed he would take vengeance. Bluejay gathered an "army" of defenders, stationing them around his house: Nettle, Thistle, Rotten Meat, Slippriest Mud, Excrements, Skunk, etc. But when Crane attacked, he passed all the guards until he came to Skunk, who drove him off.[3]
>
> In order to get a dinner one day, he told Bullhead that some animals had been insulting him. Bullhead immediately attacked and killed them, and Bluejay followed, eating the corpses as he had planned.[4]

The Bluejay is said to have been an "acting chief" for a time, when the real chief had died and his son was too young to administer the tribe. In this capacity, Bluejay took his men hunting sea lions on an island every day. They ate all the good meat they obtained, and carried home only mussels for their women and children.[5] Bluejay often is pictured as the assistant or servant of the chief.

In a story which occurs occasionally over much of North America, Bluejay abandons his chief on an island and goes home to claim the chief's four wives and enslave his son. When the chief returns, Bluejay gets his just deserts.[6] This is one development of the theme of Trickster's conflict with the Hero, whom he tries to dispose of, but cannot.

Bluejay cannot play tricks on the ghosts without being punished. He and his sister spend a night in the "House of the shadows," helping themselves to the food of the invisible people. The ghosts get even in the night by causing the genitals of Bluejay and his sister to be transposed for a while, much to their discomfort.[1]

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[1] Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 158-159.

[2] Ibid., pp. 178ff., Adamson, pp. 3, 6, 344, 384 (Upper Chehalis, Satsop, Wynoochee).

[3] Adamson, pp. 11-12 (Upper Chehalis).

[4] Ibid., pp. 303-304 (Humptulip).

[5] Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 140-144.

[6] Ibid., pp. 130-133.

Bluejay is not only deceitful and voracious, but he is also licentious. Only a few tales of this type were reported, but others must have existed. An example follows:

> One day Bluejay pretended to be ill, and said that the only thing that would make him recover would be for his sister to step over his head while he lay on his back on the floor. She wanted to jump over him, but he insisted she must step slowly (so he could get a good view of her genitals).[2]

Bluejay emerges as a typical, ancient Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. He is remembered today mainly as a Trickster, but time and other influences have not erased the memory of his theft of fire, his ordination of death, his tricks which outwitted the supernaturals, and other such myths which show his full character. However, he has surrendered his position somewhat to another Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, _Xwane_, to whom we now turn our attention.

The great Trickster-Hero of the Chehalis River tribes is _Xwane_, who is virtually a double of Coyote on the Columbia. (The Chinook do not speak of Xwane, but only of Coyote.) Perhaps Xwane is an epithet of Coyote, but if so, Adamson who reports the myths of this region did not realize it. The Cowlitz, who live along a tributary of the Columbia and are also neighbors to the Upper Chehalis tell stories of both Xwane and Coyote, so apparently the two figures are considered separate. Xwane did his work on the Chehalis River, and Coyote his on the Columbia. The character of the two and the stories told about them are practically identical, except that Xwane is fully anthropomorphic, and there are more stories told about Coyote than Xwane (see chapter xii).

We find here various trickster-motifs in a variety of plots, resembling and yet differing from those of the Plains. There is no flight with a bird, but instead the following story:

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 181-182. [2] Adamson, pp. 24-25 (Upper Chehalis).

> Once Xwane wished he were on the top of a certain high mountain. He fell asleep, and when he awoke he was at the place he had wished to be, but there was no way to get down. He became hungry and ate his eyes. An Owl came along, and Xwane killed him, took his eyes and wings, and flew to the ground. He was very hungry. He met a woman carrying a basket of roots. Pointing to a dark object ahead on the road, he said, "I will give you my slave in exchange for your food." She agreed, but when she had gone ahead a little way she found the "slave" was a stump. ("He was always fooling someone.")[1]

To this tale should be added the following myth, which has elements that often are combined with the above in myths of the Plains:

> Xwane met a woman carrying a pack of food on her back, and begged her to give him some. She did; and he ran ahead, hid by the trail, and when she reached him he appeared again, claiming to be another person, and repeated his request. He did this five times, but the fifth time the woman was ready for him. She had put a hornet's nest in her pack, and she gave the whole thing to him, telling him not to open it until he had hidden himself inside a hollow tree. He obeyed her, and the hornets came out and stung him blind and unconscious. Upon awakening, he ate some of his own flesh. He called for help, and Woodpeckers rescued him. He painted them bright colors as their reward. He used flower-hearts for temporary eyes, then tricked the Snail into exchanging eyes with him: thus he obtained good sight again. (Or, in other versions, the birds pecked out his eyes and anus, and he had to go after them to the place where they were being used in a game.)[2]

Both these myths remind us of the flight of the Trickster with the Buzzard and the fall into the hollow tree, and also with the eye-juggling tale, as found farther West. These episodes are to be considered parodies of Shamanistic supernatural or spiritual experiences, as has been explained above.

Some other examples of Xwane stories are the following Trickster-Transformer myths:

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 343 (Wynoochee). (For flight with the geese, see below.)

[2] _Ibid._, pp. 252, 255 (Cowlitz), 146ff. 173-174 (Upper Chehalis); cf. pp. 253-254, a version of the eye-juggling tale, which is like that told by the Columbia Tribes.

> Xwane found a wren with an unusual vulva that ate things. He traded her something for it, but after a while he decided he didn't like it after all, because it ate all the food he could get, and then it bit him. He exchanged it again, and ordained that henceforth vulvas should be for intercourse and urinating only.[1]

This appears to be an unusual development of the motif of the "toothed vagina," which symbolizes man's "conquest" of woman by the sex act.

> Xwane broke down the dam at the mouth of the Chehalis River, which had been erected by a woman to prevent the fish from ascending.[2] He put different kinds of fish in the streams, and ordained that eels should be caught in a certain manner at one locality on the river.[3] He traveled along the Chehalis, "fixing everything." He tried to build a dam at a certain place, but some people and dogs broke it down: they may be seen there today, changed into rocks.[4]
>
> He went far up-country, to the Puget Sound, according to the Chehalis, and then came south, making the hills and streams, and stocking the prairies with berries and game. He ordained the languages people should speak. He traveled down the Cowlitz (a tributary of the Columbia), then on down the Columbia River to its mouth, and thence northward to Chehalis land. Having made this circuit, he said good bye to "all my peoples," and left for the interior of Washington state.[5]
>
> As he traveled along the river, like Coyote he asked for a girl to sleep with at each place, and if his desire was granted, the spot was a good fishing place today.[6] Wherever he camped on his travels, there are no mosquitoes, and the creeks and springs never go dry.[7] He taught people how to have intercourse so that children would be born.[8] After the animals had been marrying indiscriminately, Xwane ordained that each shall mate with its own kind only, henceforth.[9] He transformed various evil monsters along his course, such as the Tapeworm, making them harmless.[10]

His excess sexual potency is illustrated in several episodes: He gave some "eels" out of his pack to some girls--but when they ate them they became pregnant, because they were really pieces of his penis.[11]

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 152-154.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 343 (Wynoochee).

[3] _Ibid._, p. 151 (Upper Chehalis).

[4] _Ibid._, p. 257 (Cowlitz).

[5] _Ibid._, p. 257.

[6] _Ibid._, pp. 262-263.

[7] _Ibid._, p. 267.

[8] _Ibid._, p. 267 (Cowlitz).

[9] _Ibid._, pp. 211, 226 (Cowlitz).

[10] _Ibid._, pp. 155-157 (Upper Chehalis).

[11] _Ibid._, p. 263 (Cowlitz).

> A little girl did not grow properly, but Xwane was attracted to her. He told her to go to a certain sandbar and sit on a "stick" she would find there, and she would begin to grow. He hid under the sand, and she sat on his erect penis. She enjoyed the "treatment" very much, and she matured rapidly after that--as girls do today after having intercourse.[1]

Xwane was fooled by others, since the one who tricks others must expect others to trick him as well. Coon told him to sit naked on a bush with his eyes closed, and he would catch crawfish. Instead the ants crawled on him and bit his genitals.[2]

Like Raven and Coyote, Xwane flew with the geese and was thrown down for misbehavior.[3] Farrand[4] reports that the Quinault told many gross Xwane stories, but he did not record them since they were the same as those told in other tribes.

Xwane would seem to be none other than Coyote with a new name, which must have been given him by the Chehalis tribes when they came into contact with this figure from the interior. It seems likely that he has displaced to a large degree the similar-type character, Bluejay, who was the older Trickster-Hero of these people.

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[1] Ibid., p. 152 (Upper Chehalis). [2] Ibid., p. 251 (Cowlitz).

[3] Ibid., p. 173 (Upper Chehalis).

[4] Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians, p. 92.

CHAPTER XII

THE LOWER COLUMBIA RIVER

All along the Columbia River Coyote is the principal figure of myth times. We have already dealt with some of the Columbia River Coyote stories in chapter ix, and this chapter will complete the picture for the Columbia River basin. Many of the same stories are told also, as we have seen, in the Plateau region of British Columbia, and some of the stories are well-known on the Plains and northern Woodlands, and, as we shall discover in subsequent chapters, in California and the Southwest. The greatest resemblances, of course, are with the myths of the upper Columbia.

The tribes with which we shall be concerned chiefly in this chapter are the Chinookan-speaking Clatsop, Chinook, Kathlamet, Clackamas, Wishram, and Wasco; the Sahapin Cowlitz and Klickatat; and the Kalapuya, who live on the Willamette River of Oregon, a tributary of the Columbia. These tribes represent three major divisions of the large Penutian language family (see Language Table).

Shamanism, the guardian spirit quest, and spirit-dancing in the winter time characterize the religion of these tribes. Considerable secrecy concerning the nature of the spirit obtained on the quest is maintained by the individuals until old age, as is true elsewhere in the Plateau and Washington coastal region. Potlatching is modest: only small gifts are distributed at the dances. There are no secret societies, and scarcely any masks are used. The shamans are in charge of all ceremonies, but there are no shamans' societies or organizations, and hence we cannot speak of a "priesthood."[1]

Everyone attends recitals of myths and participates in the spirit-power signing and dancing when these are held in the larger houses of the villages on winter nights.[2] Stories that are told on these occasions are classified into two categories: watitac, tales from the myth times, before real people appeared; and txanat, "Happenings," concerning the present world-age, after the Indians had appeared.[3] The stories of Coyote belong exclusively to the former category, the myths.[4]

Coyote dominates the mythology, but certain other animals also are important from the myth age. Eagle and Salmon are mentioned frequently: these are the most heroic characters in Chinook mythology.[5] In several stories Coyote and Eagle appear together, and one important myth concerns Coyote and Salmon.

In one story, Coyote says he will not be a chief, but Salmon and Eagle and certain Indians who will come later will be chiefs in the world.[6] (The shamanistic bias against Coyote is obvious in this statement.) According to this same tribe (the Wishram), Eagle accompanied Coyote on his famous journey to the land of the dead[1] (see below). He is sometimes named as Coyote's son or grandson by several lower Columbia tribes in the famous myth of the deception and abandonment of the youth by Coyote.[2] But in other myths, Eagle is called Coyote's chief,[3] his partner whom he kills[4] his elder brother[5] the owner of the salmon,[6] and once his son-in-law.[7] Some of the Klickatat references suggest that Eagle was also an ordainer and Transformer, perhaps working in a different territory from that of Coyote. After a quarrel with Eagle, Coyote leaves to begin his travels, and Eagle says he will also plan how things are to be done in this land. Coyote says he will travel far and change more things than will Eagle.[8] Later, it is stated that Coyote made things as they are, according to the plan of his elder brother Eagle.[9] Coyote travels and establishes his laws, "as far as the salmon go."[10]

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[1] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, III, No. 3 (1930), 236ff.; Melville Jacobs, Clackamas Chinook Texts (Publications of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, Parts 8 and 11; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958-1959), pp. 67-70.

[2] Melville Jacobs, The Content and Style of an Oral Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 9.

[3] Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," pp. 242-244.

[4] Jacobs, Content and Style of an Oral Literature, p. 137.

[5] Edward Sapir, Wishram Texts, together with Wasco Tales and Myths Collected by Jeremiah Curtin, (Publications of the American Folk-Lore Society; Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1909), p. 75.

[6] Ibid., pp. 67ff.

As has been suggested in the previous chapter, Eagle is a figure who was more "interesting" to the shamanistic mind, and was set in contrast to Coyote, the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. Sometimes Eagle is cast as a potential Supreme Being (Chief, elder brother, owner of the salmon) and at other times as the rival Culture Hero and ideal youth (abandoned youth, companion of Coyote, Transformer). Actually, the references to Eagle in the myths collected are few: whether or not he was a well-developed figure in the minds of the religious specialists is hard to say, but in view of the lack of shamanistic organization in this area, such a development seems unlikely.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 107ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 264-267; Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 103ff., 190-191.

[3] Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," pp. 223-224.

[4] Spier and Sapir, p. 233 (Wasco).

[5] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 64-65 (Klickatat).

[6] Ibid., p. 213 (Kittitas).

[7] Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 133-134.

[8] Jacobs, Northwest Sahapin Texts, pp. 64-65.

[9] Ibid., p. 74.

[10] Ibid., p. 75.

Other than Eagle, there is no reference to any "High God" in the mythology of this lower Columbia region. Farther up the river, as we have seen, such a figure is known in mythology and ritual, and creation myths are even found occasionally. Nothing of this sort is reported here. Whether such existed at one time and had been lost by the time investigations were made, or not, it is impossible now to say.

The myth which links Coyote and the hero Salmon is a rather long and complex story. The following is a much abbreviated outline:

> Coyote, Skunk and five Wolves kill Salmon, the young hero. Someone saves an "egg" from Salmon's body, and it grows into another Salmon. The new youth sets out to avenge his Father's death. He kills his Father's murderers, turning them into wandering animals. After this Salmon goes on to many other heroic adventures.[1]

The myth is, in fact, only an introduction to a long cycle or series of tales about Salmon's exploits. Obviously, Salmon is an example of the type of "younger hero" who comes to displace the Trickster-Hero of the older mythology. Coyote and Skunk are both regarded as Tricksters in this region, and they are joined by the vicious Wolves in their attempt to do away with Salmon. But he rises from the dead and returns, now filled with supernatural power (from his death and rebirth), and he transforms the animal-people into ordinary wild animals. Like Eagle above, Salmon is a representative of the shamanistic world view, and before he can take first place in the sacred traditions of the people he must displace the old, popular Trickster-Fixer. While Salmon is highly regarded by these Chinookan peoples, he has by no means crowded Coyote from the affections of the people: Coyote is still the most important myth figure.

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[1] Jacobs, Clackamas Chinook Texts, pp. 42-45; Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 49ff.; Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 77-80.

The best-known myth about Coyote in this region is that which is also most important on the upper Columbia, the story of Coyote's release and distribution of the Salmon (see chapter ix). Quite regularly this myth is preceded by the story of Coyote's deception and abandonment of his son on the magically-growing tree, and his attempt to take his son's place and deceive the latter's wives. As was stated above, this myth (which resembles in purpose the Salmon myth above) is a story of the conflict between the Trickster-Hero and the younger, ideal, spiritually-endowed hero. However, in this cycle, the youth drops out of the story after this myth, and Coyote goes down the river to accomplish great things for the good of mankind (although quite unintentionally).[1]

After releasing the salmon, Coyote conducts them up the stream, and leaves them at places where he is successful in raping a girl from across the river. Invariably he loses the end of his penis by having it cut off; then he returns, impersonates a shaman, rapes the girl again, and regains the lost segment of his member.[2]

As Transformer, Coyote has a series of accomplishments to his credit here. Quite commonly it is said he met and killed a "swallowing monster" on the river (a whirlpool?). When he cuts open the monster, the people who live in the region (and sometimes also the plants) emerge and take up their habitations.[1] In other versions, Coyote dismembers the monster, and from its pieces which he throws about, different tribes spring into being.[2] The myth suggests the "Hainuvele motif," but no indication of any history of agriculture is indicated. Like the well-known myth of the Eskimo by which sea animals are made from the chopped-off fingers of Sedna, this myth of the creation of people from pieces of the monster's body may be a "hunter's variant" of the Dema concept.[3]

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[1] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 79-91 (Klickatat), pp. 103ff (Cowlitz); Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 209, 264ff.

[2] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 102-103 (Cowlitz), pp. 243ff (Upper Cowlitz); Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 11-15; Melville Jacobs, Albert S. Gatschet, and Leo Frachtenberg, "Kalapuya Texts," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, XI (1945), 240ff.

Coyote meets and vanquishes other monsters, whose transformed remains may be seen as rocks, waterfalls, etc. His meeting with the monster who had a dog is famous, and illustrates his usual method of defeating the monsters' deception.

> Coyote's excrement-advisors warn him that the Cannibal and his dog are coming. He turns one of the excrements into a fierce dog with arrow points over its body. Then he either has his dog kill the monster's dog, or else he trades dogs with the monster and leaves him, while the magic dog soon returns to a pile of dung.[4]

Coyote finds men with no mouths, and fixes them properly; he brings the various wild fruits and vegetable foods to the region; then makes the mountains, etc. An Upper Cowlitz man said, "In this country, when the country had its beginning in the myth age, Coyote ordained it all."[5] The flat plain at Clatsop is there because Coyote was frightened by the surf when he first arrived there, and he climbed a tree, threw sand down, and formed a plain.[6]

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[1] Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," pp. 225-226; idem, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 62-66.

[2] Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 43-46.

[3] Cf. Jenson, Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples, pp. 142-143.

[4] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 96-97; Adamson, pp. 260-261.

[5] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, p. 228.

[6] Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 105-106.

The Tenino or Warm Springs Indians (south of the Wasco) say that once the great mountains of their region were people.

> Mt. Adams and Mt. Hood (north and South, respectively, of the Columbia River) were angry and quarreled with each other over a girl. There was a bridge across the river between the two "men." Coyote tried to stop their quarrel. Many other men were coming to join the fight, from both directions. In order to prevent a great battle, Coyote turned the men into mountains, in a line, and broke down the bridge across the river.[1]

It was Coyote also who fixed the stars in the sky. Coyote took five Wolf brothers and a Dog up into the sky to look at two Grizzly Bears they had seen up there. While they stood contemplating one another, Coyote turned them all into stars. They made such a pretty picture that he decided to make many more stars and arrange them in the sky.[2]

The myth of the theft of the wonderful ball (sun) by the sons of Coyote and Antelope (or Badger, etc.) is no less important here than on the northern Columbia and the Fraser River (see chapter ix). The ending of the tale is different in every version reported. In one account, the Antelopes break the ball, rub their bodies with it, and wipe their hands on the unconscious Coyote, and go away. He finds them later and turns them into ordinary animals, and declares that neither he nor they will ever be chiefs.[3] In another version the "shining thing" is called the rainbow, and it is put in the sky by those who have stolen it.[4] (This would seem to be the most "logical" ending.)

The most poignant version is that of the Clackamas (cf. Thompson version in chapter ix). Coyote is so distraught because of the death of his sons that he tries in several ways to commit suicide, but he cannot die. The others give him half the ball, but he crushes it to bits. Then he retrieves his sons' bones, and tries to revive them. The tale which begins, apparently, as a theft of the sun myth, ends as a myth of the origin of death.

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[1] Clark, *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest*, pp. 12ff, 20ff.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 152ff.   [3] Sapir, pp. 67ff.

[3] Jacobs, *Northwest Sahaptin Texts*, pp. 168-169.

> Coyote journeyed to the land of the dead in the underworld to try to bring back to life his sons. Like Bluejay (see chapter xi), he finds conditions in the underworld reversed from the world of the living. He is given a pack containing the bones of his children (or he gathers up the bones and places them in a pack, interspersing them with green ferns). He must not look inside the pack until he reaches home. He hears sounds of laughter inside the pack. Being unable to resist the temptation to see his children, he opens the pack, and his loved ones become bones again forever. (Or he fails because an insect on the path keeps annoying him, and he runs after it and jostles the half-alive bones.) Because he failed, the dead cannot come back.[1]

As in mythologies the world over, man becomes mortal and the dead cannot return because of some fault or error on the part of the Culture Hero. It was, of course, the Trickster-Fixer who was responsible for this, and his children, the first people, were the first to die. All people since then also share the same fate, since all are his "children."

Several stories speak of floods, and seem to be echoes or memories of a world deluge tradition. One myth which is reported several times is as follows:

> Coyote and Panther were living together. A woman, a sea animal, came to their camp to be the wife of Panther, the great hunter. Coyote wanted her, and after she had been with them for some time, Coyote took her. They went together to her village, but the people there did not like him: he did not have the supernatural powers Panther had displayed when he had come there earlier. Panther followed them, and when he found his wife he killed her, and took out her Coyote-baby. The woman's people were angry and caused a flood. They made the waters go down only after Panther had given back the baby.[2]

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[1] Jacobs,"Northwest Sahaptin Texts,"pp. 227ff; idem, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 190-191; idem, Content and Style, pp. 25ff; idem, Clackamas Chinook Texts, pp. 106-107, idem, et al., Kalapuya Texts, pp. 199ff and 227ff. Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 107ff.

[2] Melville Jacobs, "Santiam Kalapuya Myth Texts," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, II (1945), 103ff; idem, et al., Kalapuya Texts, pp. 353ff; idem, Clackamas Chinook Texts, pp. 52ff.

This is another tale of Coyote in rivalry with a supernaturally-gifted hero. The flood is precipitated by a deed of Panther, but the ultimate cause is a crime by the Trickster.

In the unique cosmology reported from the Kalapuya, there were four myth ages, one of which ended with a flood.[1] The Kalapuya say also that Coyote went to Frog who was keeping all the water, broke the dam at the lake, and released the water and fish for all the world.[2] While this myth is a culture-hero tale, it may contain a faint whisper of an old tradition in which Coyote released the water and caused a world flood.

Coyote ordained the hunting and fishing taboos, but first he discovered them by a trial and error method. The Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia tell a series of tales about how Coyote repeatedly broke various taboos about the proper ways to catch and handle salmon. Each time, when the fish ceased to come to him, he would inquire of his excrement advisors the proper way to do things.[3] Once he killed a pregnant deer and threw away the two embryos he took from her. The soul of the dead deer felt badly about her little ones, and Coyote was not able to kill any more game. His excrement sisters told him he must sweat for five days to become pure. Thus he ordained this custom for the Indians to come.[4]

Coyote as ordainer of religious rites and ceremonies is a later development, something added to the original character of Coyote. The rites are creations of the Shamans most probably: but they are attributed to Coyote because he is known to have been the earliest one in existence. Thus the customs are sanctified by great antiquity.

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[1] Jacobs et al., Kalapuya Texts, pp. 173-174.

[2] Ibid., pp. 236-237; Jacobs "Santiam Kalapuya Myth Texts,"pp.134-136.

[3] Boas, Chinook Texts, pp. 106ff.; Jacobs et al., Kathlamet Texts, pp. 45ff.

[4] Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts,"pp. 199-200.

The tale of the flight with a bird occurs in the following form among the Kalapuya:

> Coyote heard that a Disease was coming, and he and all the people sought to escape. All those who could fly took wing, and carried the others with them. Turkey Buzzard took Coyote on his back. Coyote smelled Buzzard's neck and began to eat it. The bird-man dropped Coyote, but he landed safely, having transformed himself into a feather. Coyote dressed himself like a shaman and prepared to meet the Disease. He put grasshoppers in his mouth, and made the Disease think he had been eating people. The Disease accepted him as a kindred spirit, and they camped together. That night Coyote stole some of the power away from Disease, and thus he made him less dangerous.[1]

Like other stories of flight, this one is a parody of the shamanistic experience. Coyote later impersonates a shaman, in order to deceive the evil supernatural being. His trick works, and he partially vanquishes the Disease. The latter part of the story, then, is a myth of the conquest of an evil spirit or monster by the Trickster-Hero. Trickster wins, as usual, by using his wits.

The motif of Trickster's being trapped in a hollow tree, which often is a sequel of the flight with the bird (see chapter vi on the Algonkians, for example), is told here as a separate story.

> Once Coyote gave some hornets to a monster woman and she caused a storm to arise. Coyote took refuge inside a hollow tree, which closed on him. He ate what he thought was a root, which he found delicious to his taste: but it was really his feces. He called for help, and one bird after another came to assist him. However, he drove them all away until a beautiful female Woodpecker came. When she had made a small hole in the tree, he tried to molest her sexually, and she flew away. Whereupon. Coyote began to throw himself out through the opening, piece by piece. While in the process of escaping by this means, a bird came along and stole the eyes from the pile of pieces. When Coyote had reassembled himself, he found the eyes were gone. He made some substitutes out of flowers until he could trick Snail into trading hers for his. Going on, he met an old woman whose granddaughters were going to take her that night to a dance where Coyote's eyes were to be played with. Coyote killed her, got inside her skin, deceived the girls with his disguise, and got them to carry him pick-a-back to the Dance. (He fondled and raped them on the way.) At the dance he performed and stole away his eyes; then ran away laughing.[2]

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[1] Jacobs, "Santiam KalapuyaMyth Texts," pp. 89-90; Jacobs _et al_., _Kalapuya Texts_, pp. 356-357.

[2] Jacobs, "Santiam Kalapuya Myth Texts," pp. 96ff.; _ibid_., pp. 231ff.; Jacobs, _Northwest Sahaptin Texts_, pp. 208ff.

The whole story is a mockery of shamanism. The shaman in his "death and rebirth" experience sees himself dismembered and restored to wholeness again. Coyote goes through the same process by his own powers. He loses his eyes in the process, but by trickery he recovers them again. The "skin-shift" motif occurs, as we have seen, in Shoshoni and Algonkian mythology, always associated with the Trickster-Hero. It is one of his means of outwitting the supernatural powers. He makes a farce of the dance, by dancing under false pretenses and stealing the eyes with which they are "playing." The exact significance of the theft of the eyes is not clear to me; however, we know that when a shaman obtains spiritual power, one of the first things he does is to dance and exhibit his powers before others. Coyote dances here also, after having taken himself apart and put himself together again, but he has gained no new powers by the experience: he has only lost his eyes; and he dances only in order to get them back again.

It is difficult to imagine a more blasphemous story than the following:

> A girl was seeking a guardian spirit. Coyote told her to go and sit on a red thing she would see sticking out of the ground at a certain place (it was his penis, of course). She did so, and thus she "received her guardian spirit power," said the narrator.[1]

Coyote has absolutely no respect for sacred customs or social mores. The tribes in this area know the myth of Coyote's pretended death in order to return as the foretold suitor and marry his daughter.[2] Even more discreditable, perhaps, is Coyote's action in the following tale:

> When traveling along far from any habitation, Coyote drew aside and sucked his penis. He thought he had concealed himself, but the Secret

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[1] Ibid., p. 212 (Upper Cowlitz); cf. idem, Clackamas Chinook Texts, p. 82.

[2] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 146-147 (Cowlitz); Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 105ff.

> (conceived of as an animate thing) had escaped through some cracks in the rocks, and had told the deed to the people. As he traveled among people again, Coyote heard them laughing and teasing him because of what he had done. He could find no town where the Secret had not preceded him.[1]

This motif of the unconcealed scandal turns up in the myths of tribes far removed from this area. For example, the Plains Cree give it as a sequel to the myth of Trickster's incest with his daughter.[2] It may be a "moral" tacked onto such stories by narrators, in order to make them useful for instruction of the young.

Coyote's wish to have the powers of others, and his failure to be able to use the powers when he obtains them, is illustrated in the little myth of Coyote and the man with the noisy anus:

> Coyote met a man who had an anus that was continually breaking wind. Coyote greatly coveted the thing, and the man traded it to him. Soon he found it had certain disadvantages: it exhausted his energies, and it frightened the game. He located the man again, and quickly exchanged it for his own anus.[3]

This story reminds us of the Plains tale of Coyote's borrowing of three "shots" of Skunk's gas. Another myth in which Coyote definitely is associated with Skunk has to do with the killing of animals for food.

> Coyote and Skunk conspire to kill other animals for food. Skunk pretends to be ill, and Coyote calls his neighbors into the house to sing spirit songs over his sick friend. When the house is full, Coyote unties Skunk's musk sac, and asphixiates them in a moment. Skunk and Coyote have a good dinner.[4]

The Trickster will employ any means to reach his ends, since the gratification of his own desires is his only "standard of value." That is to say, man, in his struggle to maintain life, must use all his powers of cunning if he is to survive.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 31ff.; Jacobs, Clackamas Chinook Texts, pp. 95-96; idem, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 59ff. (Klickatat); idem, "Santiam Kalapuya Myth Texts,"p. 91.

[2] Skinner, "Plains Cree Tales," pp. 350-351.

[3] Jacobs, Clackamas Chinook Texts, pp. 94-95; idem, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 207-208; Adamson, pp. 252-253 (Cowlitz); Boas, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 85ff.

[4] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, pp. 98ff., 177ff.; idem, Clackamas Chinook Texts, pp. 13-16; Sapir, Wishram Texts, pp. 149ff.; Boas, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 79ff.

These are by no means all the Coyote stories reported even in the rather meagre collections of myth materials available from these Indians of the Lower Columbia, but they will suffice. Despite his foolishness and unprincipled ways, Coyote is highly regarded by the Indians because of the good that he did as Transformer-Culture Hero. A modern, semi-Christian cult called Smohallah has come into the region in recent times, but it has not attempted to abolish Coyote. On the contrary, an adherent of the cult said that Jesus had sent Coyote into the world. This man narrated all sorts of Coyote stories, including those of his adventures with girls, and yet he said, "A fine, brave man was Coyote."[1] Another Indian identified Coyote with Jesus himself, since both had appeared long ago, and both had come into the world to make it better.[2]

But while the populace may idolize Coyote, he is never worshipped as a god. He is a man, as is explicitly stated in the following quotation from a Kittitas myth:[3]

> "Poor me! What am I to do?" says Coyote. "I am only a poor fellow. But I am a man, too. I have been traveling here and there because I am a man. I am going back to my house now. The people do not want me any more." And so he went away and stayed there forever.

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[1] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, p. 242.

[2] Sapir, Wishram Texts, p. xi.

[3] Jacobs, Northwest Sahaptin Texts, p. 216 (Upper Cowlitz).

CHAPTER XIII

COASTAL OREGON

The several tribes of the Oregon coast must be given separate treatment because their mythology is different from that of the interior, showing influences from the coastal tribes to the north and south, as well as from the inland to the east. There is a range of mountains dividing the coastal plain from the Kalapuya Indians along the Willamette River. The coastal tribes live along little streams which flow down from the mountains and into the ocean. Each stream had its own "tribe" or village-unit, but these have been grouped by ethnologists into larger units based on linguistic affinities. Thus, the Tillamook in the north are the largest group; south of them lie the Alsea; then come the Suislaw or Lower Umpqua, the Coos, the Joshua (Coquille), the Rogue River (Tutuni), and the Tolowa whose habitate extends into California. (See Figure 6.) Linguistically, the Tillamook are the most southerly Salish; the Alsea, Suislaw, and Coos make up a subdivision of the Penutian family, being related most closely to the Kalapuya; while the Coquille, Tutuni, and Tolowa are Athabascan, part of the far-flung Dené family. (See the Language Table.)

Ethnological data and folk tales from these tribes are rather sketchy and uneven, but the material available suggests that at one time the mythology was much richer and more developed than the fragmentary materials which have been collected.

These peoples lived mainly by fishing, as might be supposed, and had a simple culture. Their ceremonial life likewise was non-complex, consisting mainly in shamanistic performances. The guardian spirit quest appears to have been practiced by shamans, primarily, in the northern half of the region, according to data gathered in the twentieth century.[1] In the south of the region the Athabascan youths went out to specific holy places in the hills, to lakes, caves, etc., to seek various types of "fortune" believed to be obtainable at those places. Drucker insists that these powers were considered impersonal.[2] The religious life of the Tolowa blends into that of the Yarok, Karok, and Hupa of northwestern California, which is distinctive and will be dealt with in chapter xv below.

Coyote is not referred to by name in the myths of the Tillamook, as reported by Boas,[3] but his place is taken by the anthropomorphic Asaiyahal (no translation). He is a typical Transformer-Trickster of the type of Coyote on the Columbia River. He traveled along the coast and the rivers long ago, going in a northerly direction. Because he became too quickly satiated on the double-sized mussels at a certain beach, he ordained them thereafter to occur only one to a shell. He sent his penis across the bay at Tillamook to rape a girl, and today there is a peninsula there. Tubers are not found in this region today because of Asaiyahal's wish. Like Coyote, he raped a girl and then "cured" her in the disguise of a shaman-doctor, by raping her again. He appeared repeatedly to some women carrying tubers, begging them to give him some to eat, until at last they gave him a next of bees. He caught and roasted some salmon, but closed his eyes and sang a little song while waiting for them to cook. The fish danced and slipped away. "How foolishly I have behaved!" said Asaiyahal. After five Panthers had tied some things to his hair while he slept, Asaiyahal was frightened at his reflection in the water and ran away from the "monster" for a whole day. He changed himself into a baby in order to be held in the arms of some pretty girls. He turned three cannibal women into rocks, and he outwitted the East Wing so that winters became milder and summer and winter were made to alternate. Some persons say he transformed himself at last into a stone at the mouth of the Columbia River.[1]

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[1] Philip Drucker, "Contributions to Alsea Ethnography," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, XXXV, No. 7 (1939), 97ff.

[2] Philip Drucker, "The Tolowa and Their Southwest Oregon Kin," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, XXXVI, No. 4 (1937), 226.

[3] Franz Boas, "Traditions of the Tillamook Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XI, Nos. 40 and 41 (1898), 11.

The foregoing are traditions from the northern Tillamook. The southern Tillamook around the Siletz River call him Tsaaiyahal, and their Alsea neighbors speak of Tk'a or Seuku, who is apparently the same figure. They tell similar tales about his exploits and transformations. It is definitely stated that he put the salmon in the rivers. Like Coyote, he sent his son up a magically-growing tree and took possession of his son's wives. When the son got down, he threw his father into the ocean wrapped in a whale skin. (Cf. Raven inside the whale, and Coyote swallowed by a river monster.) After floating about in this garb, he landed and was ravenously hungry; he ate and ate--but the food was running out his anus and armpits. He set out on his travels in order to kill the evil beings that were in the world. When he had gone north to the Columbia and set that right to rights, he turned back again south and created a human couple at each place where there is a tribe today.[2] He transformed himself finally into a dead tree located in Yaquina terrritory (northern Alesa). Every man in passing would shoot an arrow into the tree for "luck," so that it bristled with arrows.[1] (Similar trees and rites are found among the Yurok: see chapter xv.) Another tradition of the neighboring Siletz people was that Tsaayahal had changed himself and his wife and child into a group of rocks in the Siletz River, to which offerings were made by each canoe rider passing by.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 140-141.

[2] Leo J. Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts and Myths (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 67; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1920), pp. 77-91, 234-235; cf. Leo J. Frachtenberg, Coos Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. I; New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), pp. 21-37.

However, we are told also that this rock was prayed to as Tk'a, the Salmon Master, who was also concerned with the proper handling of wild berries. If people wasted these foods, Tk'a would become angry and withhold his foods the next year. He was said to know the very thoughts of people. Eclipses were attributed to Tk'a's anger.[3] The Siletz considered Tk'a as their ancestor. This same Tk'a or Tsaaiyahal is considered Chief of the land of the dead,[4] which probably is equated here as elsewhere on the coast with the "salmon world" beyond the western sea.

The tribes were assigned their places by the "creator," according to an Alsea story, when he called the people together one day and sent them out to their respective places. At that time he taught them their languages, how to get food and prepare it, how to ward off storms by dancing, etc. There was a flood tradition, but no one could remember the myth.[5] The "Creator" here probably is Tk'a, but another informant told the same story with Coyote in the principal role.[6] The same informants told other Coyote stories,[7] as did other informants from among the Alsea. It was Coyote who changed all the myth-people into animals at a great festival.[1] He got caught in a hollow tree and escaped by dismembering himself, etc.[2] He appears as a minor character in a Tk'a story.[3] However, it is obvious that there is no clear distinction between Coyote and Asaiyahal/Tk'a. The anthropomorphic figure probably is the more archaic in the mythology of the people, but he is so nearly like the Trickster-Fixer Coyote that their stories are interchangeable.

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[1] Boas, "Tillamook Indians," p. 146.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147; Franz Boas, "Notes on the Tillamook," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, XX (1923), 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 11ff.

[5] Frachtenberg, *Alsea Texts and Myths*, pp. 109-115.

[6] Leo J. Frachtenberg, *Lower Umpqua Texts* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol.IV; New York: Columbia University Press, 1914) pp. 31-33.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-95.

However, certain attributes of Tk'a (and Tsaaiyahal?) do not "belong" to the Trickster-Hero. He is called the master of fish and wild fruits, and is said to know the thoughts of men, and to cause eclipses (see second paragraph above). These attributes belong to the morphology of the "High God," not to the Trickster. Either there was confusion in the minds of the Indians who gave the reports (quite likely in view of the degenerate state of tribal culture), or else there has been an unusual combination of structures. The Coos, to the south, consider Thunder to be in charge of all food which comes from the water,[4] and some such sky-being seems more appropriate for the attributes of Tk'a cited above. Along the Columbia, as we have seen in previous chapters, Coyote is the one who released the salmon, but he is never confused with the Salmon Master who is the giver of salmon today.

These tribes also tell stories about five brothers and a sister who travel and transform monsters, ordain certain things, have other heroic adventures, and eventually go to the sky to become the Thunder.[5] These figures remind us strongly of the Transformer-groups of the Salish of British Columbia.

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[1] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts and Myths, pp. 35-55.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 75ff.

[4] Melville Jacobs, "Coos Myth Texts," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, VIII, No. 2 (1940), 234-235.

[5] Boas, "Traditions of Tillamook," pp. 30, 138; Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts and Myths, pp. 13, 91ff.

Jacobs in the early 1930's obtained a unique composite myth from the Coos, which indicates the poverty of our other collections of materials from these coastal people. The myth allegedly was told only once each winter at about the same time. Its telling required several nights. All Coos narrators knew it and could recite it, the informant stated. The myth tells of five successive "world-makers" or "tricksters" (both terms are native), who are related to one another as father and son. It is not specified that these world-making Tricksters were Coyotes, but they must have been so regarded, popularly at least, in view of the following bits of information. The first Trickster is said to have lisped, as Coyote usually does in other tribes of this region.[1] The second Trickster put pitch on his anus when the food ran out of it, and hence children often call coyotes "pitch-on-anus."[2] The fourth Trickster was turned into a coyote-animal by his son[3] (who probably was not a Coyote but a fully anthropomorphic hero). Many familiar Coyote stories are blended into the long myth: the First Trickster made two girls out of alder bark and pretended to die in order to marry them,[4] and later he traveled to the Columbia River and back.[5] The fifth one in the succession is the son whom the Trickster sends up the tree to the sky world, in order to get rid of him. After having many adventures in heaven, the youth returns to find his children have been blinded by the semen of their lecherous, incestuous grandfather. The hero sends the elder man off to be a coyote, and then himself becomes the father of the human race (stated but not explained). When his work is finished, he goes up to the sky world.[6]

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[1] Jacobs, "Coos Myth Texts," p. 185. [2] Ibid., pp. 190-192.

[3] Ibid., pp. 219-221. [4] Ibid., p. 187. [5] Ibid., p. 188.

[6] Ibid., pp. 213-221; cf. Frachtenberg, Coos Texts, pp. 21-37.

Not all the trickster stories were incorporated into this cycle, as others were reported,[1] but evidently there was a strong tendency toward systematization of myths among the Coos. It is interesting to note that the good and heroic son, whose powers were obtained by a visit to the sky, is the last in the series of world-makers. It is he whom the narrators wish to glorify, suggesting that the formulators were the shamans or other spiritual leaders for whom the older myth-hero, the Trickster, is offensive.

From the Upper Coquille (or Joshua) Indians to the immediate south of the Coos, Frachtenberg obtained an excellent elaborate text of a creation myth.[2] Fragmentary versions of apparently the same story were collected from the Coos also.[3]

> There were two men in the beginning, Xowalaci ("the Giver"?) and his unnamed companion. These two lived in a floating sweat house. The Giver dropped five cakes of mud (or rocks) into the ocean, one on top the other, and out of the uppermost one the earth grew, pushing aside the water. They smoked until the land was solid. Trees appeared on the land, and they disembarked. They found a man's tracks on the land, and five times the Giver made the water cover the earth to try to destroy whoever was making them, but to no avail. At last the Creator despaired and sighed "This is going to make trouble in the world." Thus there has been evil in the world from the beginning.
>
> The Creator made two figures out of mud, had his companion put them in the sweat house, and then called them to come to life. He was trying to make people, but instead a pair of dogs came into being. These soon bore pups of many kinds. Again the Creator tried to make people, and this time snakes appeared. The Giver felt badly, and told his companion that the one who had made the tracks was the cause of his failures. He killed all the snakes but two, and these he commanded to live in the ocean and surround the world like a belt, to hold it together. Five bad dogs he made into sea monsters.
>
> The companion of the Giver asked to be allowed to try to create people. He smoked three days, and a house appeared. A beautiful

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[1] Jacobs, "Coos Myth Texts," pp. 224ff.

[2] Leo J. Frachtenberg and Livingston Farrand, "Shasta and Athapascan Myths from Oregon," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXVIII (1915), 224-228.

[3] Frachtenberg, Coos Texts, pp. 5-14; Jacobs, "Coos Myth Texts," pp. 239-240.

> woman stepped out of the house. The Creator rejoiced: "Now we shall have no trouble in creating people!" The two men were invisible to the woman, and she was sad because she thought she was alone. The Giver told the man to marry her and populate the earth; then he went away. But the man was shy and he visited the woman as she slept. He did not make himself known to her until the son she bore as a result of his visit had grown into a youth. Then he appeared to her in visible form, and became subsequently the father of all the coastal tribes of the region.

Obviously this is a shamanistic myth, and perhaps partly ritualistic. The two men floating in the sweat house are the head shaman and his assistant. They are also the Creator-High God and the First Man, both of whom, it seems, are possessed of considerable creative ability. The inability of the Creator to make real human beings is a strange feature of the myth, and a difficult one to explain. In one of the Coos versions, the Creator is alone (Jacobs), while in the other there are two men called "Arrow-Youths" (Frachtenberg). Probably, different shamans had different concepts about the Creator-God/s.

Who is the mysterious maker of footprints? In the Coos versions the tracks were left by an evil shaman: in one account a man, in the other a woman, whom the Creator/s killed. Was the evil person considered to be Coyote? Did the shamanistic Creator try to destroy him and his works by flood, as in other mythologies, but fail, as always, to do away with certain "evil" conditions in the world which previously had been established by the Trickster-Fixer?

This raises the question also of whether the whole account is to be regarded as a first-creation or a re-creation myth. It seems to me the latter alternative is more plausible, since there is nothing in this account about the time of the animal-people, the myth-age. The myth seems to be a new explanation of the origin of the present world, in which a shamanistic pair of beings from a transcendent realm rather than a terrestial Trickster-Hero are the Originators.

In another myth of the Joshua (Coquille) Indians, Coyote is cast in the role of Culture Hero and Transformer.

> Coyote goes east to attack the Sun because it has deceived him into thinking spring had come in January, so that he had thrown out all his winter provisions. Coyote and his war party cross the eastern ocean with the help of Mice, and learn that there are a hundred suns and moons. Coyote kills half of them (leaving fifty weeks?) and threatens to destroy them all if they ever fool him again. Then he divides the year into twelve periods.[1]

This myth reminds us of the journeys of other Trickster-Fixers to take vengeance on the Sun, especially that of Hare.

Coyote is notorious for his great appetite for food and for his disposition to lie, steal, and kill in order to obtain it. The story of his being swallowed by a whale is told here, as of other Coastal Tricksters. So also are many tales of his sexual adventures and transforming deeds.[2] He left tracks all over the country, as do all Transformers, which may be seen today in the rocks.[3]

The Upper Coquille tribe which is the source of the myths cited immediately above is the most northerly of the several Athabascan groups in this region. Unfortunately, good myth collections do not exist from the Tutuni, Tolowa, and other Athabascan tribes. Some groups had become totally extinct before anyone came to record their myths. Drucker, who studied the Tolowa and their neighbors in 1933-1934 did not have time to record more than outlines of the mythology of these people, and he has published scarcely anything in this regard. He stated that their myths were long and numerous, and that myth narratives or "formulas" were recited on all ceremonial occasions by "shamans" who owned them.[4] In these respects, evidently, the Tolowa much resembled the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa whose culture, mythology, and ceremonials are quite singular. Drucker speaks of a Creator called "Rich Man Above" by the Chetco, who was addressed at sunrise daily with a prayer such as this: "Help me, Creator, my Father, that I may live longer in this world. You created this world; everything in this world you made. Grant that my children live long and happily in this world. . . ."[1] The Tolowa creation story tells of one or ten Creators who thought the world into existence. Before this, there was only water and darkness. The earth came floating from the south. At its center (site of the main Tolowa town today) was the first redwood tree under which were the tracks of all the creatures which the Creator's (or plural) thought had caused to exist. These were the "first people," who turned into animals, stars, trees, rocks, etc. "when the people came."[2]

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[1] Frachtenberg and Farrand, pp. 228-233. [2] Ibid., pp.233-238, 238-242.

[3] Jacobs, "Coos Myth Texts," p. 227.

[4] Drucker, "Tolowa and Their Southwest Oregon Kin," pp. 256, 268.

Stephen Powers' notes on Tolowa mythology seem to be at sharp variance with Drucker's material. He says that the Chetco had a tradition that their ancestors arrived in boats from the north and found two kinds of people inhabiting the region. One group was war-like, and these they exterminated. The others were small and white, of mild disposition, and were easily enslaved. These they called Wogies. The culture of the Wogies was superior to that of the Chetco. One night the little people fled from their masters after a great feast had been held. When the white people first appeared in the neighborhood they were taken for Wogies, and all the tribes in that region use that term for the whites, Powers said.[3]

It is difficult to reconcile these traditions of Powers' with those of Drucker. We know, however, that the Wogies who gave the people their culture and then went away are the "First-People" of the distinctive Northwest California mythology: these beings who first lived on earth now are the supernaturals of the transcendent world. This peculiar notion will be dealt with in chapter xv to follow.

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[1] Ibid., p. 277. [2] Ibid., p. 268.

[3] Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), pp. 69-70.

Among these Athabascans, Coyote is known as a Trickster who went about doing some good but much damage.[1] No myth is reported which would link him in any way to the creation.

The rituals of the Tolowa resemble those of the Northwest Californian group in style, but were much simpler than the latter. They will be mentioned again in connection with the Yurok.

In summary, we see that the northern Oregon coast mythology is dominated by a single Trickster-Transformer who is the same in type as Coyote, if not in fact identified with him. This same figure, perhaps, is sometimes regarded as the Salmon Master, and as such is the object of offerings: but this aspect is aberrent and doubtful. Beginning with the Coos and among the Athabascans to the south the influence of Northwest Californian culture is evident, while the creation stories may indicate Central California influence. Coyote's place in this mythology cannot be assigned with any degree of certainty due to the paucity of the material. At most we can say he was known as a Trickster and sometimes as a Transformer-Culture Hero. Additionally, there was probably a fairly well-defined belief in a High God Creator, and a tendency to substitute this Supreme Being and an idealistic First Man or Hero for the Trickster-Fixer Coyote.

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[1] Drucker, "Tolowa and Their Southwest Oregon Kin," p. 268.

CHAPTER XIV

SOUTHERN OREGON AND NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Introductory Remarks on Culture and Religion

Most of the tribes of Southern Oregon and Northern California may be considered together conveniently because of the similarity of their mythology. The groups to be discussed in this chapter are the Takelma, linguistic brothers of the Kalapuya and Coos and members of the large Penutian family; the Klamath and Modoc, also members of the Penutian stock but more closely related to the Sahaptin tribes of Washington; and the Shasta, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Chimariko, and Yana, close relatives in the Hokan stock (consult Figures 6 and 7 and the Language Table).

These tribes are all of a similar culture. They are hunters and gatherers, living entirely upon what they can take from the rivers and forests. (The gathering of wild vegetable foods becomes increasingly more important the farther south we proceed in this region, until it predominates in central California.) The ceremonial life of the people also is simple. In many respects the religious culture of these tribes resembles that of Washington and northern Oregon. All the young men who hoped to amount to anything in life went or were sent on a quest for power at puberty. The quest was like that undertaken by shamans and the goal was to receive a song.

At about the time his voice began to change, a boy would be sent to the mountains to stay for about five days. He would fast, dive deeply into certain cold mountain lakes, build fire, pile rocks, and perhaps lacerate himself. He would wander about on the mountains in the night, listening for the sound of a spirit. Probably he would become unconscious and dream. Then the spirit would appear, usually in the form of a little man, and would teach the youth a song. The boy would repeat the song until he had learned it.

The spirits encountered most often were those of animals, but anything in nature might be a spirit helper. Besides the song, the youth would be blessed with some practical kind of "luck" or occupational skill: power to be a hunter, runner, gambler, arrow-maker, or, in the case of a shaman, power to cure disease, control weather, etc.

As in other parts of the Plateau Culture Area, these tribes had shamanistic dances and "spirit singings" in the chief shaman's house or men's house in the dead of winter (January-February), at which any who wished might sing his spirit song and dance. When a man heard his song being sung, he would go into a frenzy, the spirit would enter into him, and he would sing and dance in imitation of the spirit.[1]

These winter dances were sponsored by a particular new shaman or group of shamans for several consecutive years after one had first received his power. The first dance was under the supervision of the older shamans, and was for the purpose of confirming his alleged powers. The subsequent dances not only served to advertise his power, but also helped to increase it. Additional spirits might come to him during the dancing. The singing and dancing, as has been said, were not limited to shamans, but anyone who had acquired a spirit-helper might become possessed on these occasions.

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[1] The Achomawi tell a myth about a boy who went crazy when his sister was abducted during her puberty dance. He turned into Tsisnam, a cannibal who catches and devours people, and danced. In the end, the girl was rescued and the boy, after having been submerged in the river for a while, became normal once again. (Jaime DeAngulo and L. S. Freeland, "Two Achumawi Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLIV, No. 172 [1931], 132-136.) This story, which is strikingly like those told of the Kwakiutl cannibal dancers, must refer to a kind of spirit possession known to the Achomawi and exhibited in the winter dances. No ethnological report has mentioned anything of this sort, however, to my knowledge.

Shamans were mostly men in all the tribes except the Shasta, where shamanism seems to have been mainly a women's vocation. In dancing or in curing, Shamans summoned their spirits to come to them from their homes in lakes or mountains. The spirits were, then, believed to reside ordinarily in the hills where young men went to look for them.[1]

Girls also sought power, but they rarely went on overnight quests. Their powers came to them during their puberty rites, or at childbirth, or during their times of mourning. Girl's puberty rites were quite important in this region, being one of the few formal ceremonials. When a girl's first menses occurred, she would be sent out to the hills to gather wood during the daytime, while her father called upon the spirits to help her. Her relatives would be summoned, and each night for five to ten nights there would be dancing. During this period the girl had to observe the usual taboos, eating sparingly, drinking through a tube, scratching with a stick and so on. As the girl was forced to work all day and dance most of the night, while eating very little, the puberty ceremonies constituted quite an ordeal for the girl.[2]

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[1] Thomas R. Garth, "Atsugewi Ethnography," Anthropological Records, XIV, No. 2 (1953), 162-163, 187-188; Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, XXX (1930), 71, 93ff., 107ff., 112.; Edward Sapir and Leslie Spier, "Notes on the Culture of the Yana," Anthropological Records, III, No. 2 (1943), 279-280, 285; Edward Sapir, "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XX, No. 76 (1907), 34, 40-41; Catherine Holt, "Shasta Ethnography," Anthropological Records, III, No. 4 (1939), 330-35; Roland B. Dixon, "The Shasta," Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, XVII, Part 5 (1907), 420-421, 488, 489; Roland B Dixon, "The Chimariko Indians and Language," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, V, No. 5 (1907-1909), 303.

[2] Garth, pp. 161-162; Dixon, "The Shasta," pp. 457ff.; Sapir, "Religious Ideas Takelma," p. 34; Dixon, "Chimariko Indians and Language,"p. 303; Sapir and Spier, pp. 272-273.

Both shamans and ordinary men and women sought to augment their powers by repeated power quests. Shamans, of course, followed the most strenuous regimens, but others also might return to the sacred places in the mountains in order to be visited again by a supernatural being. A peculiar custom in this region was the quest for power undertaken at the time of bereavement. The deceased one's family[1] or the whole village[2] used the sweat lodge, being led in prayer by the chief. After sweating, all bathed, and then the mourners might go up into the mountains to seek out the spirits in their favorite haunts at night. The rationale seems to be that power has been diminished through sorrow or the evil influence of death and will be restored by the spirits who take pity when they see the bereaved ones grieving.[3]

An interesting Coyote myth was told by the Klamath which has bearing on the mourning customs, and also illustrates an aspect of the character of Coyote:[4]

> Coyote's wife had died, so he burned up the house they had lived in, and all their belongings. He sought renewal of power, going along singing in mourning song. He wanted it to get dark quickly so he could swim for power. He saw a woman along the road, but he said, "I do not want a woman; I am mourning my wife's death." He likewise turned aside from picking up a pair of moccasins he saw lying by the roadside, and from food: he must eschew all property and fast. (So far he was observing the proper rites.) But then he came upon a pile of ripe plums, and his resolve gave way. He gorged himself on them, and became so ill he could not swim. He ordained that people thereafter should not eat plums while in mourning.

Coyote, as usual, is unable to obey the rules for obtaining spiritual power, which is foreign to his nature. Yet in this story, as occasionally happens, he is made to ordain the proper customs, since he is known as the one who established everything in the beginning.

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[1] Spier,"Klamath Ethnography," pp. 71ff.

[2] Garth, pp. 166ff.

[3] Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," pp. 74ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

As we have found elsewhere, the relationship between the mythology and the spiritual life of the people is not a close one. The myth-beings are not the same as the spiritual powers encountered on the quest today, even when the names are the same. A shaman might, for example, have a coyote-spirit, in which case his song would be in the lisping "Coyote dialect,"[1] but this does not mean that the Coyote of mythology is regarded as a god or spirit. There are no well-defined, true deities in this region,[2] although some especially powerful spirits of nature come close to being regarded as gods. Any spiritual power might be addressed in prayer. The sun was the object of daily prayer for well-being, in rites offered by one or only a few old men of a village, on behalf of all (Shasta).[3]

A prayer to the new moon was recorded from the Takelma:[4]

> May I prosper, may I remain alive yet awhile. . . . May I do just as thou doest, may I rise again. Even when many evil beings devour thee . . . still thou dost rise again. In time to come, may I do just like thee!

This probably is a prayer to rise up from illness and other critical experiences to health and strength again, rather than a prayer for life after death, which would not be a matter for prayer among these Indians.

Even though the sun, moon, and other such powers were addressed in prayer, it seems unsuitable to call them gods. They are the more potent spirits, and those which would seem to be more capable to helping men in general. They do not appear as characters in the mythology, and the myth figures rarely approach the structure of gods. However, lurking always in the shadows and appearing sometimes in the myths is a High God-Creator figure, sometimes identified with the Trickster-Fixer. The Takelma, for example, have a vague idea of a supreme being called Haap Kemnaes, "Children-Maker," but no myth concerning him is known.[1] The Klamath-Modoc figure called K'mukamtch is also a sort of High God, but he is also a Trickster. It is necessary to devote a major portion of this chapter to this figure and to Coyote among the Klamath and Modoc, because of the quantity of the material available and the complexity of the problem.

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[1] Sapir, "Religious Ideas Takelma," p. 42.

[2] Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," pp. 93, 100.

[3] Dixon, "The Shasta," p. 490; Holt, p. 336.

[4] Sapir, "Religious Ideas Takelma," p. 37.

K'mukamtch and Coyote among the Klamath and Modoc Indians

The Klamath and Modoc appear to have regarded their Culture Hero and Transformer-Creator as something of a High God. His name, K'mukamtch, means "Old Man of the Ancients," or "Primeval Old Man." Often this was shortened to Kemush, "he is old."[2] Ptish-amtch nalam, "Our Old Father," was another epithet. He is said to live now in a house at the zenith, having finished his work on earth. But in many respects he does not conform to the requirements of a High God: He is not addressed in prayer, apparently, nor is he a supreme being in the myths: rather he is a typical Trickster-Fixer. His final disposition to a place at the zenith should not be considered to make him a High God, but it should be compared with the ends of other such characters of mythology: they become the moon, go to the sky, go to the far north, etc. Whether or not he should be considered a supreme being depends partly on whether or not he is the same as the Chief Above, who is the subject of the unique myth reported by Joaquin Miller in his book of 1873, Life Among the Modocs.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 34.

[2] Albert Samuel Gatschet, The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. II; Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1890), pp. lxxix and following.

[3] Cited in Clark, Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 9-11.

> Before people were on earth, Chief Above grew tired of his cold home in the sky. He made a hole and pushed through it a quantity of snow and ice, which piled up in a heap almost to the sky (Mt. Shasta). He started walking down the mountain. About halfway down he thought, "There should be some trees on this mountain." Wherever he touched the earth with his finger, a tree sprang up. In his footsteps the snow melted and ran down, making streams.
>
> The Chief broke off pieces from the giant stick he had carried from the sky, and as he threw them on the ground and into the rivers they became animals and fish. He made the birds by blowing on the tree leaves.
>
> Then the Chief brought down to earth his family, the sky people. The mountain became their lodge. The top was the smoke hole out of which sparks sometimes came (Shasta is an old Volcano). Once the chief's daughter went outside the lodge and one of the Grizzly Bears took her for his wife. Children were born. When the angry Chief found them, he condemned the Grizzlys to be animals and drove the children away: they were the first humans. The Chief took his family and returned to the sky.

No other reference to a "Sky Chief" or to this myth occur in any other collections. Apparently, it was one of those speculative shamanistic stories which would have been known to only a relatively few persons. Perhaps in later times the Sky Chief came to be merged into the personality of Kemush.

Another creation myth from the same tribes has Gopher and Kmukamtch as dual Creators. The story resembles in some points the creation myths of the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Maidu, and probably indicates influence from these tribes to the south.[1]

> In the beginning Kmukamtch was alone, drifting upon the waters. He stranded upon Gopher's House, and joined him. Gopher fed his guest with foods which he brought out of his mouth. These were the foods which would be in the world to come. Gopher put Kmukamtch to sleep while he burrowed and raised up the mountains of the Klamath world.[2] Then the two played games and in so doing produced many features of the landscape. Kemush then created animals and people. The tribes were formed from a piece of some material placed in their respective locales: the Achomawi from a piece of obsidian, the Shasta from marble, the Klamath from tule. As the smoke from the campfires of the two creators rose,

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[1] Curtis, The North American Indian, XIII, 210, cited in Theodore Stern, "The Trickster in Klamath Mythology," Western Folklore, Vol. XII (1953).

[2] Gatschet, p. 104, has a hint of this story: He says Mole added to Kemush's work by making the mountains.

> Gopher's was seen to be inferior, and he acknowledged Kemush as the "Elder Brother."

Stern,[1] who has done the most recent work among the Klamath (1951-1952), says that the Indians today refer to Kemush as "Earth-Maker" even though they know the above story only in fragmentary form.

Another myth, which seems to be better known, states that Morning Star called Kmukamtch into existence from the ashes of the Northern Lights, and told him to make the world. He made the land flat and bare (how?) Then he went to the place of the setting sun where he danced with the "spirits of the dark" who became bones each morning. He took some of these bones in a pack on his back, and succeeded in bringing them back to the world he had made. He scattered them about at different places, and from these bones which came to life the tribes descended. Then he took the path of the sun to the zenith, and made his home there.[2]

Curtin[3] reported a Modoc myth quite similar to this one, except that the visit to the underworld occurs after Kemush's son and daughter and other people have died. Like Coyote on the Columbia River, Kemush follows his daughter to the land of the dead to bring her back. In this version Old Man Coyote is said to be the ruler of the underworld(!), a strange role indeed for him. (Some informants stated that Coyote was the husband of Kemush's daughter, while others said her husband was Wolf.[4])

Kmukamtch appears as the one who presides over the council of myth-animals, who argue and decide how things are going to be in the world to come.[5]

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[1] Stern, p. 165.

[2] Clark, pp. 132-133 (Klamath); cf. Gatschet, p. lxxxi (probably Modoc); Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," pp. 102-103.

[3] Jeremiah Curtin, Myths of the Modocs (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1912), pp. 39-45.

[4] Stern, pp. 167-168.

[5] Gatschet, pp. 103-104.

In the Modoc versions, however, Coyote usually appears in this role.[1] (The Modoc have proportionately more Coyote stories than the Klamath.[2]) When Kmukamtch is the chief, Coyote argues against him; but when Coyote is chief, no mention is made of Kmukamtch and it is the other members of the council who argue against the chief. For example, the Modoc version states that Coyote wanted ten months of winter, but an old bird said there should be three, and his will prevailed. In one Modoc myth, Coyote made twenty-four moons, but while he was out of the assembly, the Chief, Kemush, destroyed half of them, to give the year twelve months.[3]

While the Klamath themselves never think of Kemush and Coyote as the same person, and are incredulous when told that many of their stories about Kemush (see below) are told about Coyote by other tribes,[4] it is obvious to the outside observer that the two have very much in common, and that the "Old Man" figure probably has been built up out of the attributes and myths of the Coyote, primarily. Both are Tricksters, both Culture Heroes, and both Transformers. Kmukamtch differs from Coyote in that he is sometimes pictured as the Creator of the world, while Coyote is never cast in this role in this region. The Old Man usually is considered anthropomorphic, and this fact is another indication that he is a more recent figure than the theriomorphic Coyote. In the myths alluded to above in which either Coyote or Kemush presides over the council of animals, Kemush is not present when Coyote is named as the chief, although Coyote is present when Kemush is chief. This is still another indication that Coyote is the more ancient character.

As Culture Hero and Transformer, Kmukamtch made a fish dam at Klamath Falls,[5] and at three other places he set up sweat lodges for use at times of mourning.[1] He ordained the first-sucker rites, and the cave where he first observed these ceremonies still exists.[2] Many present-day places are named for him because he visited them long ago, and numerous natural features are attributed to his transforming deeds.[3] (These are all Klamath myths.)

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[1] Curtin, pp. 49-55. [2] Stern, p. 163; Gatschet, p. cii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 105. [4] Stern, pp. 169-170. [5] Gatschet, p. 94.

Coyote, also, is the benefactor of mankind in several myths. His good gifts sometimes are mingled with bad ones, however. Coyote led an expedition of animal-people against the "Ten Sickness Brothers" in the east who alone possessed fire. They succeeded in stealing the fire, passing it in relay fashion, but the Sickness Brothers pursued them to their homes, and for that reason there is illness in the world.[4] (This is a strange adaptation of the fire-stealing myth, but it is not hard to explain. Coyote is made responsible for illness, in that it came into the world because of the titanic deed of Coyote against the spiritual powers.) In like manner Coyote led a party of men against the Ten Sun Brothers in the west and returned with the sun and five months of summer. Coyote is responsible also for bad weather: he foolishly boasted that he could swallow anything, and tried to contain the winds. They burst his stomach and blew out over the world, and ever since there have been storms and blizzards.[5] (As the one who established the world-as-it-is in the beginning, Coyote is held responsible for both good and bad weather conditions.)

In a long, rambling story, Coyote is depicted as the father of the first couples from whom all the tribes are descended. Because his children quarreled, Coyote said there would be war in the world always. As he traveled after this, he did the things usually done by the Transformer.[6] (These stories are all from the Modoc, who have relatively little to say about the Old Man.)

Kmukamtch manifests the full range of trickster traits. Cunningly he incites the sage-hens to make war on each other, and then he volunteers to cremate the slain heroes. As he is roasting his jucy dinner, his plot is discovered, and he takes flight.[1] In what appears to be a degenerate version of a culture-hero story, the Old Man floats down the river as a baby in a cradle, in order to be picked up by some girls. His object is to steal their food, camas roots (a wild food), and when he has done so, he tries to shift the blame onto the Antelope.[2]

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[1] Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," p. 73. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

[3] Gatschet, pp. 142-143. [4] Curtin, pp. 49ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 85ff. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 129-144.

His superabundance of sexual potency is strongly emphasized, as is true of the anthropomorphic Trickster-Heroes of the lower Klamath, whom we shall discuss in the next chapter. In this respect he is like Coyote, too, of course. The size of Kemush's penis is mentioned frequently. When he impersonates his foster son, he tucks his member under his belt to conceal his identity. Night Hawk makes a breeze with his wings which lifts Old Man's loin cloth and exposes the imposter.[3] When he pretends to die and returns disguised as his daughter's suitor, his penis again gives away his identity. At another time he transforms the penis into meat drying on a rack, and offers it to passing women for food. He lunges after girls swimming in the river,[4] which is probably a modified version of the tale of the penis sent across the river. (The Klamath know this story in all its usual detail as a Coyote myth.)[5]

In still another trickster story, Kemush, like Coyote on the Columbia, masturbates in private, only to have the news of his deed broadcast by a feather floating down the river.[6]

The complete story of the Trickster's sending his son up a magically-growing tree and then seducing the son's wives, has been collected by Stern.[7]

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[1] Stern, pp. 165-166. [2] _Ibid_., p. 167. [3] _Ibid_., p. 166.

[4] _Ibid_. [5] _Ibid_., p. 164. [6] _Ibid_., p. 166.

[7] _Ibid_., p. 166; cf. partial versions: Gatschet, pp. 94-97 and Curtis, pp. 210-212.

It begins with the Old Man's causing sparks to fly and strike the women so that they jump and expose their privates. Kemush sends his son up the tree on a pretense, and abandons him there. Butterflies let the son down eventually. He returns and kills his father, but the Old Man comes to life again, and covers the world with pitch, setting fire to it. He does not succeed in destroying his son by this means, however. This story, of course, is one of the best-known myths of the Plateau, and is well-known also on the lower Klamath in Northwestern California. It is told about Coyote by most tribes, but here and in Northwest California the Anthropomorphic Trickster-Fixer is the main character. The theme of the myth, as has been stated, is the conflict between the self-reliant Trickster and the spiritually-blessed youthful hero who enters mythology in order to displace the older figure.

Kemush is like Coyote not only in his transforming and erotic aspects, but he is also a fool. Several such incidents have been mentioned already, and this one more will suffice:

> Seeing five lynxes in a tree, Kmukamtch imagined himself dressed in their skins. He jerked off his old rabbit skin robe and tore it to shreds. Then he tried to kill the cats, but one by one they made their escape. As they slip from his grasp, he sees his new coat growing smaller and smaller! Finally, he is forced to piece together the remnants of his old blanket.[1]

In the minds of the Klamath, the Old Man is sometimes identified with the Mink (or Marten, as Gatchet translated it). The pair of brothers, Mink (Marten) and Weasel, are the most popular figures in Klamath mythology today, according to Stern.[2] "Mink is clever and resourceful, a warrior; tricky, but consistently just in the roles he plays." His younger brother Weasel is always getting into trouble. He is mischievous, childish, and only rarely manifests any power. He is not really malicious, but is only curious. He is well-meaning, but inept. Similar pairs of brothers are found, as we shall see, in the mythology of several northern California tribes. The Mink is the noble, monster-slaying Transformer, while Weasel is his silly companion.[1] Together the two include in their personalities the traits of the Trickster-Fixer, and they must be considered one kind of development and degeneration which the older, complex figure sometimes undergoes in mythology. (Compare in Greek mythology Prometheus and Epimetheus.[2])

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[1] Gatchet, pp. 125-126. [2] Stern, p. 161.

Just why Kmukamtch should be identified with Mink rather than Coyote is not entirely obvious. Gatschet noted that the relationship was made between the two by the Indians themselves: "To a certain extent Marten is the counterpart of Kmukamtch and performs the same deeds that he does, it appearing as if Kmukamtch acted under the mask of Marten. . . ."[3] Similarly, Gatschet said that Kmukamtch's son sometimes appears as the younger brother of Marten, the Weasel. One of Stern's informants kept using one name for the other and correcting himself in telling one tale; still the Indian insisted that the two were not the same.[4]

It seems probable that what has happened here is that the anthropomorphic Kmukamtch has gained the foremost position in Klamath mythology, displacing Coyote by taking over all of his attributes and most of his myths. He is therefore scarcely more noble than the Coyote, because he is equally a Trickster. However, there are tendencies in the mythology to make him a truly admirable figure: he is credited sometimes with the creation of the world and is said to live now in the highest heaven. Furthermore, he is identified with the heroic Mink or Marten, who represents the "higher" aspects of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. But as he is presented to us, he is still the many-sided Trickster-Hero, quite comparable to Coyote in other tribes of the region.

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[1] Cf. Theodore Stern, "Some Sources of Variability in Klamath Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, LXIX (1956), 379.

[2] Cf. Karl Kerenyi in Radin, The Trickster, p. 181.

[3] Gatschet, p. cii. [4] Radin, The Trickster, p. 170.

Where did Kmukamtch originate historically? Stern believes that he "belongs to a series of anthropomorphic deities extending from northwest California north along the Oregon Coast," and that he represents a fusion of the Coyote of the Plateau region with the anthropomorphic creator of central California.[1] This theory is plausible. Certainly he must be compared with the anthropomorphic Trickster-Culture Heroes of the Yurok, Wiyot, and Hupa (see next chapter). The influence of these tribes might have reached the Klamath via the river which rises among the Klamath and empties into the ocean in northwestern California.

The Takelma

The Takelma, whose "Supreme Being" Haap Kemnaes was mentioned above, are like the Klamath and certain other tribes in this general region in that they do not consider Coyote as the Culture Hero. In his place the Takelma have a pair, the Daldal (perhaps "dragonfly") brothers, the younger of whom is the alter ego of the elder. Daldal was originally one person, but when he started on his journeyings he shot an arrow straight up in the air, so that when it fell it cleved him in half: thus he became two persons! The "younger" brother proved to be foolish, prankish, easily victimized, unable to control his passions and appetites, etc. The elder Daldal, on the other hand, was consistently benevolent and heroic. He slew and transformed monsters, extricated his brother from his predicaments, undid the damages done by the younger brother, and so forth, ending by transforming himself into a mountain.[1]

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 171, 183.

Obviously, the Takelma have split into two personalities the complex "Coyote character," in much the same way as other tribes in the region have done with their pairs of brothers (Mink and Weasel, for example). Having lost the understanding of the meaning of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero as a picture of man matching his wits against the universe, the Takelma have separated the idealistic from the "realistic" aspects of the character, and made them into two figures.

Coyote has not thereby been eliminated from their mythology, however. Quite a number of tales are still told concerning him, mostly to his discredit. Coyote is the butt of a series of jokes by the good hunter, Fox. Coyote envies his hunting skill, and Fox tells him that he kills his game by doing certain strange things--all of which are lies, and lead only to pain and embarrassment for Coyote. Coyote gets revenge by sending Fox up a high tree after an eagle's next, and then making the tree fall with him. (A modification of the abandoned hero myth.) But Fox, who was killed, comes back as a ghost and frightens Coyote to the far eastern end of the world.[2]

Coyote gets caught in a hollow tree, and after a Woodpecker has made a little hole, he throws himself out piece by piece. Crow steals his eyes and intestines before he puts himself back together; he uses berries for substitute eyes, but when he eats, the food pours out his anus because of the lack of viscera.[3] (An excellent parody of the shaman's ordeals of initiation by the spirits.)

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[1] Edward Sapir, Takelma Texts (Anthropological Publications of the University Museum; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1909), pp. 18, 34-42.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 79-85.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 91-95.

Coyote refuses to give Bug a blanket to put over his dead child, which would have restored him to life (cf. initiation rites), and thus permanent death comes into the world. Soon afterward Coyote repents his decision when his own son dies, but it is too late.[1] Coyote pretends to be Panther, his strong and handsome neighbor, in order to deceive two girls who are coming to marry Panther.[2] (An example of Trickster versus Hero.) He fights with Pitch ("tarbaby" motif) and is overcome.[3] No culture-hero stories about Coyote were reported from the Takelma, since they have apparently transferred this function to Daldal. No creation myth was found.[4]

The Hokan Tribes of Northern California

Among the Shasta, southern neighbors of the Takelma and eastern neighbors of the Modoc, Coyote was the principal myth figure. The Shasta told stories about two brothers, one of whom was wise and the other foolish, but these seem not to have been Transformers.[5] Eagle may have been regarded as a "High God" or Creator, but no myth about him could be found.[6]

The tradition of a world-flood was important, as it is recorded in several versions.[7] Coyote is always the principal survivor of the flood, escaping by climbing Mt. Shasta. The flood was due to Coyote's antagonizing a water spirit (or Beaver). Afterward, Coyote revived the animal-people who had been drowned, turned them into animals, and sent them out over the world.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 99ff.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 64-70.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 87.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 6.

[5] Roland B. Dixon, "Shasta Myths," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XXIII (1910), 8ff., 12-13.

[6] Cf. _ibid_., p. 18.

[7] _Ibid_., pp. 18, 36-37; Frachtenberg and Farrand, pp. 210-211.

The idea of a flood in which the world is buried and later reborn, as has been stated earlier, is a shamanistic or spiritual motif. Coyote, as the reviver of the dead, is cast in the role of the Master Shaman who restores to life the initiates. This is an unusual and incongruous role for Coyote, but it would appear that among the Shasta the old Trickster-Hero has been adopted and utilized by the shamanistic thinkers, rather than being put aside in favor of a new Hero or God. He is more in character as the one who causes the flood by antagonizing a spirit-being.

Coyote is known also for his deeds as Benefactor and Ordainer. He led the expedition to steal fire, and was the hero of this exploit.[1] Then he gave men the fire drill, and told women to gather fire wood. Coyote ordained death, so that the world would not become overcrowded, and because he said that it was good that people should mourn; but he was sorry when his own son died soon after.[2]

> Coyote followed his son to the land of the dead, burned wild parsnips, and forced the dead to give him back his son. He carried him safely out of the underworld, observing all the taboos; but he broke the taboo against scolding him for ten years, and the boy died again. Coyote went a second time to the world below, but he could not gain his son's release again. At home again, Coyote slept and died, and went to the world of the dead forever.[3]

Thus the Shasta account for death in two different ways: by the decree of the Trickster, and by the failure of the Trickster to meet the requirements imposed by the spirits of the dead. We have met with both these motifs before on the Plateau. The second type is probably the less-archaic, since it involves more speculation about the underworld and manifests more anxiety and sorrow concerning death. But the theme of both explanations for death is the same: death _might_ have been a temporary state, if only the Trickster-Fixer had not caused it to be permanent. In the first type of explanation, Trickster decrees death for a good reason, but in the second type there seems to be no good reason for death: it is a result of a failure on the part of the one who established things long ago, and it is sad. Its only redeeming feature is that _all_ men die, and therefore they can be reunited with loved ones when they, too, depart from this earth.

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[1] Dixon, "Shasta Myths," pp. 13-14; ibid, pp. 209-210.

[2] Dixon, "Shasta Myths," pp. 19-20; Frachtinberg and Farrand, p. 209.

[3] Dixon, "Shasta Myths," pp. 19-21.

Coyote is a monster-slayer: he kills the Grizzly Bear by letting it swallow him; then he cuts out its insides.[1] He killed the Rolling Head.[2] He beat the tricky Rogue River people in contests[3] (probably an adaptation of the story of the Trickster versus the village of supernaturals). Eagle was stronger than Coyote when they attempted to climb Mt. Shasta, and Coyote was blown to pieces by the wind;[4] and he was smarter than Coyote when he stole the latter's dinner while Coyote was sleeping.[5] Coyote benefitted mankind when he killed half the evil moons of winter, nearly freezing to death in the battle,[6] but he was utterly foolhardy when he threw out his and his grandmother's provisions in mid-winter because they were stale. (They survived by eating themselves again and again!)[7] The Shasta tell also the well-known stories of Coyote's being trapped in a tree; raping girls as they bathe in the river and returning disguised as a doctor; and being grieved when his sons are killed in a raid on another village to steal money (_sic!_), while Antelope's sons survive.[8]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 20, 23; Frachtenberg and Farrand, pp. 214ff.

[2] Dixon, "Shasta Myths," pp. 21-22.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 25-26.

[4] _Ibid_., pp. 23-24.

[5] _Ibid_., p. 29.

[6] _Ibid._, pp. 30-31 (cf. the Coquille myth in chap. xiii).

[7] _Ibid_., pp. 32-33; Frachtenberg and Farrand, pp. 218-219.

[8] Dixon, "Shasta Myths," pp. 33-35; _ibid_., pp. 222-223.

In other words, the Shasta have most of the myths of Coyote which we have seen and discussed previously in chapters on tribes of the Columbia River and elsewhere. For them he is Trickster, Transformer, and Culture Hero.

Shasta mythology appears to have been centered in and organized around the one main figure, Coyote, but that of the Achomawi and Atsugewi is much less systematic, having a number of different animal-figures in prominent roles. The dualism which is a marked feature of the creation stories of the Maidu to the south (see chapter xvi) is present here in the personages of Fox and Coyote:

> In the beginning all was water. A cloud formed, grew lumpy, and became Coyote. Then in like manner, Silver Fox appeared. They became persons. By the power of thought, they brought into existence a canoe, and they floated in it for many years until it became old and mossy. Then Silver Fox made Coyote sleep. He combed out some of his hairs and rolled them into a flat cake which he placed on the water. It spread out and became the earth, which Fox soon covered with vegetation and so forth by the power of thought. He awakened Coyote and pretended he knew nothing about how the land had come into being. Coyote leaped onto the ground and began at once to eat berries and crickets, ravenously.
>
> The two built a house and thought about how to make people. They stuck little sticks into the ceiling, and these turned into all sorts of animal and bird people. Pine-Martin (a bird) was made chief, and Eagle-woman the chieftainess.[1]

The above is an Achomawi myth, and an Atsugewi myth is virtually identical except that it explains that Coyote and Silver Fox were living in the sky before they came to make the earth.[2]

Real people were made by Silver Fox. He whittled some sticks and at sunset they became alive. Fox sent them out in different directions. Coyote tried to imitate Fox, but when his people came alive he chased the women and they became just pieces of wood again.[3]

Silver Fox and Coyote argued about the laws by which the world would be run, and Coyote's will usually prevailed. Fox wanted babies to be born from shells and beads, but Coyote ordained sex relations. Fox wanted trees to be low and spreading, with fruit easy to reach. He wanted game to be easy to kill, by a woman's merely pointing her finger. Coyote said these things would make life too easy. Coyote wanted ten months of winter, so the people sent him to live on top Mt. Shasta, where he nearly perished.[1] Coyote tried to imitate Fox's magic hunting techniques, but after an initial success, Coyote would become greedy and try to gather or kill too much and his luck would be spoiled.[2]

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[1] Roland B. Dixon, "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXI (1908), 159-160.

[2] Ibid., pp. 170-171.

[3] Ibid., p. 169.

Silver Fox, like Wolf among the Shoshoni, is the personification of the shaman, and as the spiritually-endowed person he is the opposite of Coyote. The myth of the creation depends upon a shamanistic ideology: things are made to grow magically and are conjured up by the power of thought. Coyote sleeps while the creation takes place, because he has nothing to do with such supernatural transactions. Coyote apparently is allowed to assist in the creation of the people of the myth-age, the animals and birds. However, he has nothing to do with the making of real people, since this is something which shamans do in the initiation rites. From the shamanistic point of view, Silver Fox had to originate in the sky-world, and, for lack of a better explanation, they said Coyote did also. Coyote seems to have little power in the creation myths, yet his will prevails over that of Fox when the laws for the world are established. Thus the myth-makers acknowledge that the world is indeed as the Trickster-Fixer made it, but they do not accept it as the "best of all possible worlds": if Silver Fox had had his way, it would have been a paradise. The older mythical view accepted the world as good because it was ordained by the Trickster-Fixer, but the spiritualistic mentality knows of a higher and better realm, and sees the Trickster as the maker of evil.

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[1] Ibid., p. 171; C. Hart Merria, An-nik-a-del, The History of the Universe (Boston: Stratford Co., 1928), pp. 148-149.

[2] Dixon, "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales," p. 172.

Merriam, who obtained his material over a period of years through friendship with an unusually well-trained Achomawi man, was told a radically different account of the creation.[1] A very abstract sort of deity was the ultimate source of the universe: Tikado Hedache, World's Heart. He was the the grandfather of the all-wise Creator, An-nik-a-del (who, as it turns out, is the Blue Lizard). However, the story opens with Coccoon Man (coccoon of the moth) floating around upon waters.

> Coccoon Man floated for ten years before landing on some white foam. While he sang with eyes closed for five years, the foam gradually became solid land. Walking about on the new earth he found a boy, An-nik-a-del. The boy demonstrated some magic powers, and told the other that he, not Coccoon Man was the creator of everything, in that he had been motivating the other's thoughts up to that very moment. Then he sent him to find three other beings who like themselves had no parents: Coyote, Silver Fox, and Frog Woman.

The story continues at great length. Coyote appears frequently as a bragging, lying fool. He does a few minor things to shore up the creation, but he claims he is the greatest man in the world. "Yes," says Frog-Woman, "you are the greatest--fool!"[2] The story makes Coyote the least powerful of the five first beings, and puts Blue Lizard (An-nik-a-del) in the role of principal Creator.[3]

This story must be regarded as the effort of an intelligent, creative shaman or group of shamans, who has/have built up this story out of many separate fold tales and shamanistic conceptions. No doubt such stories as this existed in many tribes among the religious elite, but they are relatively rare in our collections for obvious reasons. The idea of a spiritual force back of the universe (World's Heart) may be entirely native, since such a conception could quite conceivably arise within the shamanistic ideology. The Blue Lizard, in this myth, is the true Creator, the one whose mind guides the

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[1] Merriam, pp. 1-8, etc. [2] Ibid., p. 13. [3] Ibid., pp. 9-32.

Coccoon Man, another shaman-like creator who is in the place of Silver Fox in the more popular creation myth. The myth-maker misses no opportunity to ridicule and discredit Coyote, who for him is just a great fool and braggart (since he does everything in his own power, without the use of rituals or spirit-helpers). However, Coyote's place among the first beings is secure: he must be fitted into the story; he cannot be ignored. In the same way, all the other figures who have a part in some creation story known to the reconteur are coordinated in this myth, but at the same time all are subordinated to the one figure whom the teller wishes to glorify, the Blue Lizard.

The Achomawi and Atsugewi attribute permanent death to the will of Coyote in the beginning.[1] Coyote is not a hero, but a failure, in the expedition to steal fire for the people.[2] (But we know that he is mentioned at all in this story only because ancient tradition attributed the theft to him.) Dog, rather than Coyote, is the fire-bringer here. The Two Brothers here are Fisher (a kind of weasel) and Weasel,[3] quite like the pair found among the Klamath and Modoc. Coyote must have been the most popular figure anciently, if not currently, since the landscape is dotted with places where Coyote "died" and was revived, etc.[4]

The Yana Indians, living along the streams in the mountains south and west of the Achomawi and Atsugewi, were another branch of the Hokan stock. Four dialects divide the Yana on our maps into Northern, Central, Southern and Yahi (extreme south). Our myths are from the Northern and Central Yana only.[1] The celebrated Ishi, the last survivor of the Yahi, reportedly told one of his white benefactors some forty tales, but unfortunately these were not recorded.[2] The Yana stories which have been collected show Yana mythology to be much like that of the Achomawi and Atsugewi, with many animal characters.

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[1] Ibid., p. 151.

[2] Dixon, "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales," pp. 165-175.

[3] Ibid., pp. 167-168; Merriam, pp. 127ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 150-151.

No cosmogonic myth was obtained, but several myths of the origin of man were taken down. Curtin's version says that Silkworm (same as Coccoon Man in the above myth?) made people at the close of the mythological age by placing sticks on top of a mountain and calling them to life.[3] In Sapir's version, Lizard and Cottontail Rabbit meet and discover that neither of them has a father, and that they are alone in the world. Thereupon they decide to make people. They inscribe a circle on the ground, place twenty sticks at each of the four cardinal points, and Lizard takes them to the surrounding regions. These become the neighboring tribes of the Yana. The two realize that they have no more long, straight sticks left, so the Yana (at the center) must be made from inferior twigs.[4] Dixon's version is similar, except that the characters are Coyote, Gray Squirrel, and Lizard:

> Coyote wants to make people, and the others finally consent. They cut sticks for the neighboring tribes, and Lizard puts them in their places. They put short sticks for the Yana into a basket of boiling water, and set it out on the roof of their sweat house over night. Next morning it is full of people. Coyote refuses to let them out until they "speak right," that is the Yana language.[5]

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[1] Cf. Edward Sapir and Roland B. Dixon, "Yana Texts," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, IX, No. 1 (1010), 2-3.

[2] Theodora Kroeber, Ishi in Two Worlds (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 198.

[3] Jeremiah Curtin, Creation Myths of Primitive America (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1898), pp. 467-468.

[4] Sapir and Dixon, p. 76 (Central Yana).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210 (Central Yana).

These myths of the creation of people contain some archaic elements, but they probably are colored by rituals of initiation practiced by the shamans.

In most of the stories collected, Coyote is pictured as a fool, a deceiver, a person easily duped, and a highly erotic adventurer. In the myth of the theft of fire, it is again Dog, not Coyote, who is the hero: Coyote and others are unsuccessful in their attempts.[1] The more noble characters in the mythology are Silkworm, Lizard, Grey Squirrel, Silver Fox, Cottontail, and Marten (brother of Mink, as among the Achomawi-Atsugewi and Klamath-Modoc). To these characters various acts of creation, transformation, and ordination are attributed. In one of Curtin's myths, Eel is cast in the role of traveling Transformer, pushing apart mountains, making creeks, stocking them with salmon, etc. Water Lizard and Water Snake are his helpers.[2] Apparently only one good work was ascribed to Coyote: he vanquished the insane rolling skull of Wildcat.[3]

More typically, Coyote feigns illness and lies by the door in order to look up the skirts of his sister when she steps over him. Then he sends her to a dance, goes later himself disguised as another, dances with her, and sleeps with her all night in the woods. She gives birth to ten coyotes.[4] Another time he left his wife and went on a hunting trip with his mother-in-law, contriving to rape her in the night, so that she later bore a litter of pups.[5] Coyote has his way at the creation of man, in that people must die and stay dead. Soon the people send a rattlesnake to kill Coyote's son.[6]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 31ff.; Curtin, pp. 365-370.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 339-340.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 326-335; Sapir and Dixon, pp. 114ff., 202-203.

[4] _Ibid_., pp. 103-107.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 112-113.

[6] _Ibid_., pp. 90-93.

Lizard's will prevails about how human hands shall be made (like his, not like Coyote's).[1] Once Coyote's wife was deceiving him with a secret lover, but Coyote found out and got revenge.[2] Meeting Frost on the trail one day Coyote admired his arrow points which looked very keen. He traded his flint points for those of Frost, but he soon discovered Frost's were just ice which melted.[3]

The antagonism between Silver Fox and Coyote which is a prominent feature of Achomawi and Maidu mythology is found in a Yana myth of the Northern dialect.[4]

> Coyote and Silver Fox were living together, but they did not share their food with each other. Coyote wished for five months of winter so widows would have a hard time, over-ruling Fox's plan for two cold months only. Fox hunted by magic devices and obtained much food. When Coyote imitated his methods he was not content with a reasonable amount of food, and kept repeating the tricks until he lost his luck and was injured, while what he had already obtained disappeared. Fox also tricked Coyote into trying to obtain food in ways which could only result in pain and trouble for Coyote.
>
> Fox had his shadow for a wife, but Coyote frightened her and she ran away. Coyote kept stealing Fox's food, and Fox snared and killed his partner. Fox tried to kill all the Coyotes, going to every place where Coyote had urinated (cf. Maidu myths, chapter xvi), but he forgot the Klamath Lake. From here Coyote revived and returned, setting fires all along the way. But as he neared, Fox made berries, fruit, grasshoppers, and other food which Coyote likes, and Coyote ate and was pacified. Coyote became so friendly after eating his fill that he even gathered some fruit and offered it to Fox when he reached home. But Fox, who pretended he had been mourning for his slain friend, would not eat. Coyote commented that it was beginning to look like spring, but Fox said nothing.

The unique ending to this tale of the conflict between the Trickster-Hero and the shamanistic hero is dfficult to interpret. Fox, in this conglomerate story, is as much a trickster as is Coyote. They deceive and cheat each other, and Fox tries to kill Coyote. The myth seems to say that the shamans cannot destroy Coyote for all their power and wisdom. The ending would seem to show Coyote trying to make friends with his enemy, while Fox, for his part, remains aloof.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 210-213.

Yana mythology, insofar as we know it, appears to have nothing distinctive, but is a mixture of the mythologies of all the neighboring tribes. Coyote is a popular figure, but he is yielding his place to more benevolent characters, whose traits conform more to the shamanistic ideas and ideals.

Practically nothing has been obtained of the mythology of the Chimariko, a small northern California Hokan tribe. The theft of fire is attributed to Coyote and his animal companions.[1] Other stories cast Coyote in an unfavorable light. He claims to be a handsome chief, but people say he is lazy.[2] He is the inferior companion of Dog in an obscure story which ends with an account of the flood which destroys the myth world and ushers in the present age.[3]

In summing up the mythology of this region, we may say that in most of the tribes we see Coyote as the ancient Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, but he is being displaced from his prominence by other figures: the anthropomorphic K'mukamtch among the Klamath-Modoc, Daldal and his brother in the Takelma tribe, and by Silver Fox, Lizard, and other more noble animal figures in the other tribes. The dualism which is inherent in the character and deeds of Coyote becomes expressed in the pair of brothers, one a wise Transformer, the other a silly fool, usually pictured as two species of weasels. The dualism of the ideology of the shaman versus that of the Trickster-Fixer of mythology is expressed by assigning the creation of the world to a good Creator whose benevolent and perfect plans are thwarted by the malevolent Coyote. These developments are by no means unique, but are the very ones we have met with and shall meet again in other places. The dualism of the two world views, for example, will find very prominent expression in Central California. But before examining the mythology of Central California, we shall turn our attention to the remarkable and distinctive northwestern corner of that state.

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[1] Dixon, "The Chimariko Indians and Language," p. 304.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 349-353.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 304, 341-346.

CHAPTER XV

NORTHWEST CALIFORNIA

The World Renewal Cult System

A distinctive cultic system for "world renewal" exists in Northwestern California among the tribes of the lower Klamath River and its tributary, the Trinity. The Yurok, Karok, and Hupa have the cult in its most highly developed form, while the Wiyot, Chilula, and Tolowa certainly must have had elements of the system. Data for the Athabascan tribes immediately to the south of these is meagre, but they too probably had similar rites: some such are definitely reported for the Sinkyone.[1] (Consult Figure 7) All evidence points to a Yurok origin for the cult.[2]

The Yurok and Wiyot are isolated tribes of the Algonkian stock, the Hupa, Tolowa, and Chilula are Athabascans, while the Karok are related to the Shasta as members of the Hokan stock (see Language Table).

The World Renewal Cult as it is practiced on the Klamath and Trinity Rivers and on the Yurok coast, consists of both public and secret rites which are celebrated annually or biennially (or were, until fairly recent times) at about a dozen towns in the three tribes. (Thus there are several ceremonies within the bounds of each tribe each year.) The exoteric and apparently less-sacred parts of the ceremonies are the White Deerskin Dance and the Jumping Dance.

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[1] Cf. Gladys Ayer Nomland, "Sinkyone Notes," University of California Publications and Ethnology, XXXVI, No. 2 (1935), 167.

[2] Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, p. 7.

These dances are performed by a line of men standing abreast in one spot, with two or three of them also singing. The dancers carry or are dressed in elaborate costumes which are the chief "wealth-objects" of the tribe. The dancers usually do not own these things, but they have been hired to dance and display them for their aristocratic owners, who are the sponsers of the dance. Unlike the other rites of the World Renewal Cult, these dances appear to have no hidden, symbolic meaning. They are said simply to have been given "in the beginning" by the same beings who gave the esoteric rituals and for the same purpose: to renew the world and assure the well-being of the people. The dances, then, as occasions of wealth-display, are related to the wealth-display dance complex of the whole Northwest Pacific Coast from this region northward.[1]

The esoteric rites are under the direction of a single leader, sometimes called a "shaman," but not truly a shaman: rather, a formulist. The title of "priest" is not unsuitable for this leader. The formulist is the man who knows the sacred myth of the origin of the ceremony and can recite it and direct the many activities connected with the ceremony. The main part of the proceedings extends over about ten days, usually. The duties of the formulist are to purify himself by fasting in isolation in a sacred enclosure for several days before the rites begin; to make a long itinerary or several itineraries through the woods to sacred spots at which formulas are recited and other acts performed by himself and his companions; to oversee the building or repair of a sacred structure (usually a house, but sometimes a fish wier); to direct other ritual acts of the ceremony (pantomines, games, dances, etc.); and finally, after the esoteric rites and the dances are ended, to go into retreat for a period of days or weeks. All the acts which the priest performs are symbolic of things done in illo tempore and are explained (obliquely) by the narratives which he recites. There is, then, the closest possible relationship between myth and ritual among these people.

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[1] A. L. Kroeber and E. W. Gifford, "World Renewal: A Cult System of Native Northwest California," Anthropological Records, XIII, No. 1 (1949), 3-6, 110; Walter R. Goldschmidt and Harold E. Driver, "The Hupa White Deerskin Dance," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXV, No. 8 (1940), 105.

The purpose of the whole ritual complex is three-fold: to insure an abundance of food, to ward off disease, and to renew or repair the world and thus avoid cataclysm. The purpose of each act in the long ritual was related to one or more of these purposes.[1] Underlying the ceremony is the idea that the world ("nature") becomes impure and "run-down" and requires purification and renewal periodically. The myths seems to imply that the impurity and aging process came into the world with the advent of human beings. The myths undertake to explain the events by which the present state of the world came about, and tell how the rituals were given by which the evil influences in the world can be counteracted and the good influences revitalized.

The tribes of Northwestern California have developed in a unique way the universal North American concept of a race of mythical pre-human beings. In most tribes these people are thought of as animals in human form, or animal-people. These beings were transformed into real animals, for the most part, immediately before or after the human beings came on the scene. They are often changed by the Transformer or by the Creator who makes the first human couple or fathers the first human children. However, among the Northwest Californians, the first-people are fully anthropomorphic and do not have animal names or characteristics. Their origin is not explained; usually it is stated that so and so came into being at such and such a place. These people lived where the

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[1] Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 1-3, 105.

Indians live today, but when the human beings began to come (like invaders, in some myths), the first-people fled in terror, most of them going across the ocean to the spirit world, but some of them transforming themselves into rocks, trees, animals, and other natural phenomena. These first beings are now the people of the spirit world, for the most part. The Northwest Californians recognized an identity between the people of the myth times and the spirits living today: something rather unusual in Indian thought. This fact seems to be a corollary of the close relationship between myth and ritual. The Indians have a special name for these first-people: they are known as woge by the Yurok and Tolowa, Ikhareya by the Karok, Kikunnai by the Hupa and Chilula, and Kyoi by the Sinkyone.[1] In English they are referred to often by ethnologists as the "immortals," a term which we shall occasionally employ also.

Formulas or stories with magic potency are important not only in the great ceremonies, but also in every-day life.[2] Goddard, for example, recorded a number of narratives whose recitation would act as "medicine" to cure an upset stomach,[3] one for purification of those who have buried the dead,[4] one to assure an easy delivery of the first child,[5] and so on. Drucker states that the Tolowa and Tutuni also used formula-myths in this way, reciting the story of the origin of a thing in order to master it and bring about a happy resolution of the difficulty.[6] Nomland reports the same for the Sinkyone: their rites are accompanied by the recitation of the story of origin.[1] Goddard, similarly gives several love-charm stories from the Chilula.[2] These formula-myths are quite comparable to the shamanistic incantations of Eastern Siberia mentioned in chapter i.

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[1] The Wiyot may have lacked this concept: Kroeber failed to find it. (A. L. Kroeber, "Wishosk Myths," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XVIII, No. 69 (1905), 91.

[2] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 4.

[3] P. E. Goddard, "Hupa Texts," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, I, No. 2 (1904), 349.

[4] Ibid., pp. 366ff.

[5] Ibid., pp. 284-285, 343ff.

[6] Drucker, "The Tolowa and Their Southwest Oregon Kin," pp. 256-276.

The ceremony for the renewal of the world was, therefore, a repetition in words and gestures of the events that constituted the present world; the ceremonies performed to insure a good salmon run, or a plentiful supply of eels, deer, acorns, etc., consisted of a recitation and dramatization of the obtaining of these things in the beginning; the rituals for the removal of disease and defilement repeated the acts performed for these purposes by the immortals in myth times. These facts become obvious when myths and rituals are compared. However, much of the meaning of many details of the myths and rituals is hidden from us because of the esoteric nature of both, and the veiled language in which the myths were narrated. While considerable material for the study of these tribes has been gathered, it still leaves much to be desired, and there are large gaps in our information.

The Origin of the Present World

The principal figure of the myths is a Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero who is known by various epithets in the different tribes. The Yurok call him Wohpekumeu, which means "Widower-from-across-the-Ocean." In their myths this man comes from the other side of the ocean followed by a son whose mother has recently died. The Karok have translated this name into their own (Hokan) language, as Sieruk-Pikiriv. Most of their myths about the origin of their ceremonies do not mention him, however; instead they speak of ten Immortals and Coyote.[1] The Hupa call their Culture Hero Yimantuwinyai (The-One-Lost-Across") or Yimankyuwinhoiyan ("Old-Man-Across"), who is the same figure as the "Widower." His epithet here refers to his departure from this world to the land across the ocean. (They do not know the myth of his origin across the sea, but say that he came into being at a place on the Klamath, in Yurok territory,[2] or at the north end of the world.)[3] The same names are used by the Chilula.[4] The Wiyot call him Rakshatlaketl ("South-West-Young-Man") or Gatswokwire (not translated).[5]

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[1] Nomland, p. 167.

[2] P. E. Goddard, "Chilula Texts," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, X, No. 7 (1941), 353.

All these characters, who are really one, are both benefactors and tricksters, like Coyote whom they closely resemble. Indeed, some of the same familiar stories told in Washington, Oregon, British Columbia, and elsewhere about Coyote are told here about the Widower, Old Man, or Southwest Youth. The Karok, in fact, assign these myths to Coyote, and they attribute to the Widower and his son only the institution of the Jumping Dance. (Certain other ceremonies are attributed to some rather shadowy "immortals.")[6] At the same time, there are many stories told in the other tribes about Coyote in which he clearly is separate from the Widower and Old Man.

Because of the esoteric nature of the ritual myths and the fact that there are a great many short formula-myths which are private property, inconsistencies arise when we try to compare the myths collected in order to compose a coherent account of myth-times. The origin of the Widower or Old

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[1] Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 41, 114-117.

[2] Goddard, "Hupa Texts," p.123. [3] Goddard, "Chilula Texts, " p. 361.

[4] Ibid., pp. 353-354.

[5] Kroeber, "Wishosk Myths," pp. 91, 96-97; idem, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 119.

[6] Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 23, 21, 31, 113ff.

Man is variously given. The Hupa and Chilula say he "came into existence" spontaneously at a certain place, usually at Kenek or another town along the Klamath River in Yurok territory. (This is further evidence for the Yurok origin of this personage, and for the dances he is said to have instituted.)[1]

According to two Yurok accounts which have been published, Widower came from across the ocean and was the creator of the land. He had left the world on the other side because his wife had died, and he came in search of another land. He brought this world into existence by wishing, or by singing and weeping. The land appeared small at first, then enlarged. This happened at Kenek, a town in the center of Yurok territory, on the Klamath River.

> He was lonely and he wept. "I must have someone to talk to!" A waterspout or geyser erupted from the ground beside him, and as he looked at it the upper half of a woman appeared in it. He wept some more, and cried: "I want a whole woman!" She became a complete female being. Then he wept for his son Kapuloyo ("He-from-Downstream"), who heard him and came to him from across the ocean. Widower gave the woman to his son for a wife. The two soon had a son of their own, Kewomer ("He-from-Above").[2]
>
> Then Widower created grass, flowers, and other vegetation. The son said, "We need food, too," so he made elks, rabbits, deer, etc. To get fish, he entered the river, went down to its mouth, and returned bringing back fish which formerly had stayed in the ocean. Then Widower went away, making people at other places.
>
> But after a while he became "woman-crazy." So potent was his passion that if he even looked at a girl she became pregnant. The girls hid from him. He did not try to find them in their houses, but he would play all sorts of tricks to entice them to come out of their houses. Finally, he returned to Kenek, wanting to get possession of the woman he had given to his son. He sent the son up a high tree, ostensibly to get a baby hawk for a pet for the grandson; but he made the branches blow off the tree and the son was stranded.
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> The old man took possession of the woman. When the grandson, Kewomer, saw him having intercourse with his mother, the Widower

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[1] Goddard, "Hupa Texts," p. 123; P. E. Goddard, "Notes on the Chilula Indians of Northwestern California," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, X, No. 6 (1914), 353-354.

[2] One version ends at this point: Robert Spott and A. L. Kroeber, "Yurok Narratives," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXV, No. 9 (1942), 232-233.

> ejaculated semen into the boy's eyes, blinding him. Soon Kapuloyo managed to get down from the tree. He returned, and threw the little Kewomer up into the sky, "the land of children and deer."[1]
>
> The old Widower vowed never to have sexual connection again, and he started back to his homeland. Along the way many women lay by the trail, tempting him, but he passed by. Finally, on the shore, Skate Woman (a sea creature which looks like a vulva) overcame his resolve. Once in her embrace, however, she wrapped her limbs tightly around him and carried him off to the other side of the ocean.
>
> When he was gone, the people tried to make the world good with laws, but they could not help but be like the Widower. There was a great flood, and the first people changed.[2]

This story is full of puzzles for the interpreter. Why is the precipitating event for the creation of the earth the death of the creator's wife in the other world? What is the significance of the old man's being a widower? If he wanted a woman when the water spout appeared, why did he not take that woman for his wife at that time, instead of calling his son and giving her to him? Who are the people whom Widower creates in other places? They cannot, surely, be the immortals. How does this story fit into the other accounts in which the world is at first populated by immortal beings? The people whom Widower made must have been animal-people, since they "changed at the time of the flood, which probably means they became real animals. Other myths do not agree with this one, and do not mention a flood. Let us consider some other accounts of the career of Widower, which may shed some light on the problem.

In one Yurok version,[3] Widower's son does not originate across the ocean, but in Karok territory. Widower was traveling around trying to seduce girls. He turned into a little boy in a canoe, and a girl came out of her house and looked at him. From his glance she became pregnant, so she and her friends made the old man stay at that place for a while (Orleans, in Karok territory). Up to this time giving birth meant death for the mother, since babies were cut out of their mother's womb. But Widower rubbed some "medicine" on her abdomen, and the baby boy was born easily. Widower took the boy to Kepel (Yurok) and raised him, and the youth married and had a son. Then follows the tree-climbing incident. When the son gets down from the tree, he throws his own son into the sky, as in the previous version, and then goes far away.[1]

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[1] The Indians sometimes invoke Kewomer for aid, calling him Brother, at the time of a thunderstorm. Cf. Spott and Kroeber, p. 233.

[2] Erick Homburger Erickson, "Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXV, No. 10 (1943), 271ff.

[3] Jean Sapir, "Yurok Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XL (1928), 253-254.

Can it be that the Widower is a widower because his first wife died in childbirth? All the tribes of this region ascribed the "invention" of natural childbirth to the anthropomorphic Culture Hero. It seems likely that this part of the story would have been used as a medicine formula in pregnancy.

Several myths speak about the appearance of smoke on the mountains signaling the coming of the Indians, the real human beings. The Hupa refer to the smoke as a sign that disease is coming--which seems to amount to the same thing in their world-view.[2] When the first people see this sign, they prepare to go away. All the myths about the activities of the Old Man probably are considered to take place, as it were, "under the shadow" of the impending advent of people. One Hupa text says that Yimantuwinyai set out on his travels when he saw the smoke. He had a wife and child at home, but he traveled to the south end of the world and married there also, and had another son. Word was brought to him that the first people had buried his son in the north--

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[1] The son, like the grandson, was invoked by the Indians. During a thunderstorm they might look at the north and pray, "Kapuloyo, I am your son, help me." (Spott and Droeber, p. 233.) Widower was rarely, if ever, prayed to.

[2] Goddard, "Hupa Texts," p. 127.

buried him alive. He took his new son with him and returned hastily. He tried to undo the damage--to bring the dead boy back to life--but to no avail. (The dead boy kept running back to the grave in one version; in another the people refused to allow the Old Man to restore him to life.) The first people now were leaving, because the world was defiled. Old Man ran after them and threw his living son to them, into their boat, so that they were forced to take him with them. (Thus he gained immortality for one of his children.) Then he called the animals, Coyote, Wildcat, Cottontail, Wolf, etc., to him, and taught them to dance. (He was giving them the dances of the immortals.) He gave the dances to the various towns along the river. The immortals did not like this, so they sent a woman (Skate) to tempt him, and she swan away with him, taking him forcibly across the ocean.[1]

This account should be compared with the first one given above. In both, the Old Man leaves a home where he has a wife and son: in the former version, the wife has died, but in this account nothing is said about her. In this account as in the other, he goes to another place and joins himself to another woman. In the ending of both accounts, he is borne across the ocean in the arms of the Skate Woman. Both accounts have to do with the time of the "change." In other points the two stories do not agree. This myth seems to account for the origin of death. The Old Man's son is said to have been buried alive: does this mean that he was murdered by the immortals? If so, why? The reason for the abduction of the Old May by Skate Woman is explained: the immortals want to stop the Old Man from giving their sacred ceremonials to the people (who in this account are animal-people, it seems). The immortals have left the earth because of the defilement of death. Does this mean that

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[1] Ibid., pp. 132-134, 366ff.; cf. Kroeber and Gifford, p. 113.

Old Man's son who died or was killed was not of the same race as the others? This myth, like the first one, raises many questions which we cannot answer.

A series of stories from the Chilula seems to indicate that the real people, the mortals, were the children of Old Man by the girls he encountered on his travels. As he went about impregnating women he said, "I want people to be in the world." Some people said to him, "It will be so everywhere. People will come into existence because you first did this. Men and women will live together since you have first lain with women." Then, as Old Man retraced his steps along the river where he had first traveled, he saw the children he had squired and said, "I made the people. I did it well." But at one place he found them burying a dead person.[1]

If this Chilula myth represents the view of all the tribes of this region, it would appear that the myths mean to say that through the sexual passion of the Old Man a new race of beings came into existence, i.e., humans, who were themselves sexual beings, and also mortal. These new people defiled the land, bringing disease and death. The Old Man would seem to be the first sexual being, possessed of a superabundance of fertility. Through his passion, nature was corrupted, and a new race brought into being. But although most of the immortals were hostile toward mankind, the Old Man cared for them (they were his children), and he gave them the formulas and dances of the immortals. By means of these they could gain, temporarily, some of the qualities of the immortals, and could be enabled to renew the aging earth, drive away disease, and remove all the defilements of mortal, sinful humanity, so that the earth would continue to bear fruit and animals would continue to be given to man for food.

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[1] Goddard, "Chilula Texts," pp. 361-364.

Among the Yurok, as we have seen, Widower is said to have crossed the ocean and created land. Kroeber obtained another quite different story of the origin of the earth, also from the Yurok, which is difficult to harmonize with other accounts. He says this myth is a very common one, but better told in this version than is usual:[1]

> At first, water covered everything. The earth began to grow and rise up, but there was nothing on it except a young man and his female dog. He asked, "Where are we?" and she answered, "On earth." After a while he was seized with passion and had intercourse with her. She gave birth to five pups. He killed three and kept two, one of which had a human face. Then he lay with her again, and more pups were born, but one child was an almost-perfect woman, except that her upper arms were grown to her body. The female dog was jealous and growled when the girl came near her father. But he managed to take her as wife, free her arms, and cause her to give birth, first to a girl, then a boy. From these the human race came.

This myth resembles one from the Kalapuya, in which one girl and a male dog survive from the "first world," which is the first of four before the present one. The girl gave birth to twins twice, each time a dog and a human child. From the human children, the world was repopulated.[2] This story also may have affinities with the Joshua creation story (chapter xiii) in which dogs are produced the first time the Creator tries to make a human couple. This myth may belong to an older strata of mythology than that which ascribes everything to the Widower-from-Across.

In the above myth, no creator is mentioned: the earth simply "grows." In the other Yurok myth, Widower is the Creator, as well as the Culture Hero and Trickster. To the north and south of the Yurok, however, there are indications of a separate Creator and High God in the mythologies of the tribes. We have referred in chapter xiii to the creators in the Joshua and Tolowa tribes. The Wiyot to the south have a true High God-Creator in the person of Gudatrigakwitl, "Above-Old-Man." According to myths obtained by Kroeber in the first years of the twentieth century, Above Old Man appeared in a world that was covered with water. He took a little dust and blew on it, in one account, and it became land. He made the various things on the earth, using no material whatsoever, merely by wishing and by joining and spreading his hands. He made a fog and did his work in secret, all at one time.[1] (The resemblance between the Creator and the shaman surely is not a coincidence.)

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[1] Spott and Kroeber, pp. 233-235.

[2] Jacobs et al., "Kalapuya Texts, pp. 173ff.

It was the wish of Above Old Man that people should be able to renew their youth, rising like plants from the roots, or becoming young when they sneezed. But an *insect* opposed this plan, and so there is death.[2] Once he sent a flood to destroy the first race of people he had made, because they were bad.[3]

Gudatrigakwitl is considered to be living in the sky now, in a world of perfect light. He is invoked in times of emergency and crisis, but not regularly. People going to sea pray to him to calm the waters on the ocean. He makes snow storms by shaking his head. "He can make all the deer come to him," and is said to have made the deer and acorns in separate acts of creation. He gave men fire, dances, and rules of conduct.[4]

The Mattole, an Athabascan tribe to the south, tell of Big Man who first fashioned the bare ground on the waters. He made also one man who wandered for a time on the wasteland. Then Big Man caused a dust storm, and the human male hid his face. When the storm had passed, the man saw that Big Man had made the world as it is now.[5] This story agrees with the myth of the Wiyot that the earth was made "in a cloud" secretly. (This myth is about all that is known of Mattole mythology.)

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[1] Kroeber, "Wishosk Myths," pp. 93-94, 97-98.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 94-96.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 96.

[4] Cf. Kroeber, *Handbook of Indians of California*, pp. 119-120; Gladys Reichard, "Wiyot Grammar and Texts," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, XXII, No. 1 (1925), 151ff.

[5] Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 110.

Goddard recorded a unique story from the Hupa concerning the birth of Yidetuwinyai, "The-One-Lost-to-us-in-the-North." Quite possibly this being who is rarely mentioned in myths is simply an epithet for the Old Man Lost Across, but he is presented as a separate figure. According to the myth, which is a formula to prevent nausea in pregnancy, the Sun and the World existed alone. Finally the Sun (male) despaired of ever finding a woman for a wife, and he impregnated the World below him. (When she felt ill, he found an herb which relieved her.) Two sons were born, Yidetuwinyai, and "Ground-Lies-Around," i.e., the soil or earth. The Sun returned to the sky; but Yidetuwinyai, in another story, appears himself to be the sun: he travels over the world every day, and he takes care of the dead. When the Indians came, he went away to the north, hence his name.[1] This myth would seem to be an old tale of the Hieros Gamos of Sun and Earth, otherwise unknown north of southern California. The search of the Sun for a wife reminds us of Widower's quest for a woman in certain myths cited above.

The Chilula spoke of a High God type, Nin-nis-san-ma-na-win-yai, "He-Who-Came-Down-for-the-World," who caused a flood because some of the First-People "talked badly." Present-day Indians fear the Sun who "hears everything," and they would not talk much about funeral customs to the ethnologists because of fear that the Sun would "do something bad."[2]

We have made mention above of Yurok prayers to the son and grandson of Widower, who are believed to reside respectively in the north and in the sky, and to have power to control the weather. It is evident from these rather sketchy notes that all the tribes in the area probably had more or less definite ideas of Sky Deities who controlled the weather and food supply (see also the next section), and were guardians of the moral law. Sometimes they also ascribed to this being the work of the creation of the world, but at other times this was considered the accomplishment of the Culture Hero-Trickster.

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[1] Goddard, "Hupa Texts," pp. 343ff., 349-350.

[2] Goddard, "Chilula Texts," pp. 373-374, 378.

The Origin of Fish, Game, and Vegetable Foods

A popular story of the origin of salmon is told all over the region, with Old Man, Widower, Southwest Young Man, or Coyote as the hero. The story employs the same motif of deception used by Raven in certain Northwest Coast stories, in which he obtains olachen from the owner by causing him to think that he, too, has these fish (see chapter ii, etc.).

> Coyote (Karok), Widower (Yurok), Old Man Across (Hupa), or Southwest Young Man (Wiyot) goes to the house of two women who are keeping the salmon. He carries a mandrone berry branch or pieces of alder wood (both used in rituals). These resemble either the eggs or the flesh of the salmon, and the women think he must have salmon too. They let him enter their house and dine with them. When he finds out where the fish are kept, he releases them and makes the river channel in which they run (or conducts them up the already-existing river). He teaches the people how to catch and handle the salmon properly, and inaugurates the first-salmon and other rites connected with fishing.[1] (This is, of course, a ritual myth.)

No myth of the sending of the penis across the river has been reported for this region, but the story may have been known. In Chilula land there is a rock beside the river, split in half, called Yimantuwinyai's Stone. The tradition is that the tricky Culture Hero sent his penis through the crack and thus secretly impregnated a group of girls who were digging camas roots near by. The stone is believed to cure barrenness in women who fondle it.[2]

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[1] Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 120-121, 116-117; Powers, pp. 37-39; Reichard, p. 153; Goddard, "Hupa Texts," p. 123; Kroeber, "Wishosk Myths," p. 97.

[2] Goddard, "Notes on Chilula," p. 279.

Occasionally there are hints that the Trickster-Hero gave or withheld salmon at certain places along the river according to his reception or rejection by the girls of the place. As he traveled he also performed certain transformer deeds: killing monsters, changing them into harmless and useful things, etc.[1]

In one Hupa story the Old Man Across deceives an immortal who has all the deer penned up, employing the same tactics used in the release of salmon story.[2] The Karok say that Coyote obtained acorns at the same time that he freed the salmon,[3] and that he also obtained fire in the same manner from another woman.[4] Thus the original myth of the theft of fish by a certain kind of deception has become the pattern for a series of Culture Hero stories. It should be noticed that the myth resembles that of the release of salmon by Coyote on the Columbia River only in that the fish are being kept by some women, and must be released by the Hero. The strategy employed by the Trickster-Hero is quite different in the two myths. (On the Columbia, Coyote becomes a wooden dish and eventually a baby, in order to be picked up and carried home by the women.) Raven uses the same strategy in obtaining release of the Olachen fish (and certain other things) as is used by the lower Klamath Heroes, as has already been remarked. (Raven's contriving to be born as a baby in order to steal the sun is perhaps comparable to Coyote's turning into a baby in order to release the salmon.) The important thing about all these myths is that the Culture Hero is a _Trickster_, and obtains the things men need from the powers of the universe who do not wish men to have them, _by means of trickery_. Man uses his wits to outsmart the spirits--this is the significant theme.

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[1] Goddard, "Hupa Texts," pp. 125ff.; Kroeber, _Handbook of Indians of California_, pp. 73-74.

[2] Goddard, "Hupa Texts," pp. 123-124.

[3] Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 116ff. [4] Powers, pp. 38-39.

The Hupa ascribe the origin of acorns to a separate figure, Yinukatsisdai, "He-Who-Lives-Upstream," who is a bearded dwarf, who created and now controls the vegetable food supply.[1] He has his counterpart in Yurok belief in the character, Megwomits.[2]

The Yurok have a Culture-Hero called Pulekukwerek, "Downstream-Sharp," a "grave and unconquerable character who smoked tobacco but never ate, passed women by for the sweat-house, and by strength and supernatural gifts destroyed monster after monster."[3] He was born at the far north (downstream) end of the world, and when his work was finished he retired to the happy land beyond the sea. He appears to be the shamanistic ideal of womanhood, and as such is a more noble figure than the tricky Widower.

Interpretations of the Cult and Myths

Gifford concluded from his studies of the World Renewal Cult in all its local manifestations that it was made up of six elements:

1. First-fruits rites for fish, acorns, eels, etc.
2. Concept of a race of pre-human immortals who established the culture of the Indians.
3. Spoken formula-myths.
4. Fixed timing (a ceremonial calendar).
5. Localization: ceremonies must be performed at the same spots where the immortals enacted them.
6. Two spectacular dances.

He opined that the first-salmon, acorn, and eel rites were the most ancient parts of the complex, and that the wealth-displaying dances were not integrally related to these rites.[1]

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[1] P. E. Goddard, "Life and Culture of the Hupa," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, I, No. 1 (1903), 77.

[2] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 73, 134.

[3] Ibid., p. 74.

I agree that the first-fruits rites, which are found over a wide area, probably are the oldest elements in the ceremonial complex. The myths concerning the origin (by theft) of these things also appear to be quite archaic, and the theme of the myths probably is one of the most ancient in all mythology. Shamanism seems to have contributed little to the ceremonials, in contrast to those of the Kwakiutl and other Northwest Coast people, and in contrast to the rites of Central California. Here the recitation of the myth and the repetition of the deeds of the immortals are the all-important features. There is no frenzy or simulated possession by spirits. The leader is a priest, not a shaman. The model imitated is the Culture Hero, not a shamanistic figure.

An important element in the complex not listed by Gifford, is the idea that the coming of human beings into the world brought about a defilement of the world. Since that time, the world has been in need of periodic renewing. In the last analysis, the ceremonies are rites to ward off death: death from disease, famine, or cataclysm (the last is stressed especially on the coast).[2] During the proceedings the myths of origin are recited, and acts symbolic of the first creation of the world are performed: the "world house" or sacred sweat lodge is repaired (Yurok coast, Karok), the priest steps heavily as he walks to firm the earth (Karok),[3] a new fire is kindled (Karok), the priest keeps an all-night vigil beside a sand pile representing the sacred mountain (Karok),[4] and so forth. The world is revitalized and life and health are insured for another year, because the mortals have done what the immortals did in the beginning.

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[1] Kroeber and Gifford, p. 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 102-103.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 19ff., 115-116.

It seems obvious that the Widower or Old Man is basically Coyote, exalted to an anthropomorphic body and divested of his foolish traits. (The foolish aspects remain with the Coyote, and most of the Coyote stories reported from these tribes picture him as a fool.)[1] In the Kepel Fish Dam Ceremony he is just a clown.[2] Only among the Karok has Coyote retained his place as Culture Hero and principal Trickster-Fixer: while the two sacred dances are attributed to Widower, Coyote is honored as the one who stole salmon, acorns, and fire for men. He also had a hand in making the first World Renewal rituals, but he wished them to be too hard (too strenuous) and was opposed by the ten ikhareya who actually gave the rites.[3] (No creation myth was obtained from the Karok, but Powers noted in 1877 that "Kareya"--obviously equivalent to ikhareya--made the world and everything in it. In a story almost identical to those of the Nez Perce and their neighbors [chapter ix] Kareya says he is going to give the animals their respective ranks on the following morning, according to the order of their appearance. Coyote tries to stay awake by propping open his eyelids with sticks, but falls asleep, and appears before Kareya last of all. But Kareya gives him greater cunning to compensate for his weakness.)[4]

Coyote is foolish, but he is not simply a fool, among the Karok.

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[1] Cf. Powers, pp. 35ff.; Sapir, pp. 254-258; Goddard, "Hupa Texts," p. 237; John P. Harrington, Karuk Indian Myths (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 107; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1932), p. 25.

[2] T. T. Waterman and A. L. Kroeber, "The Kepel Fish Dam," University of California Publications in American Anthropology and Ethnology, XXV, No. 6 (1938), 74.

[3] Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 115ff.

[4] Powers, pp. 35ff.; Gifford, pp. 174ff.; cf. Sapir, "Yurok Tales," where Coyote ends as only a fool.

But for the Yurok, and probably the Hupa and the others, he is only a fool. The Widower has usurped his place as benefactor of humankind, and has taken over most of his important trickster stories as well. Among the Yurok Widower has become so important that he is regarded even as the Creator, as we have seen, and in the Kepel Fish Dam ceremony he is identified (probably) with the Salmon Master.[1]

Coyote is the first officiant at the Karok World Renewal rites, performed in myth times. That is, he stands in the place of man, rather than among the immortals who are the givers of the rites. Coyote does not belong to the race of immortal first-beings, but he belongs to this world, even though he lived in myth-times. (He is one of the animal-people, the true forerunners of men and animals, while the immortals are the spirits, conceived of as once living on the earth.) The Old Man or Widower of the other tribes, in contrast, is one of the immortals, but he casts his lot with man (he is their father). The immortals will not allow him to remain with men and teach them to be like the gods, so they entice him away from the earth. Coyote represents man who is his own master, but Widower/Old Man is already on the way to deification. He must be separated from the human race by force, but he does end among the immortals. To imitate Coyote is to imitate real man, but to imitate Widower/Old Man is to imitate a divine being, a very god. But he is not a high god of shamanistic provenence: he is a "Dema deity," a direct development out of the Trickster-Culture Hero.

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[1] See Erickson, pp. 280ff.; and Waterman and Kroeber.

CHAPTER XVI

CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

Language, Culture, and Religion

This chapter will deal with a large number of small tribes of several linguistic stocks inhabiting the central two-thirds of the state of California. Concerning the northern half of this region we have an unusually rich collection of mythological material: it has been studied intensively by University of California ethnologists under the leadership, especially, of Alfred L. Kroeber. It has not been possible for the Southcentral Californian tribes to be studied in such depth, since the influence of white civilization has been much stronger there. The southern part of central California is inhabited by a relatively few tribes: chiefly the Costanoan, Yokuts, and Miwok (all Penutian language), the Salinian (Hokan), and the Western Mono (Shoshonean). But to the north of an imaginary line drawn parallel to San Francisco lie a bewildering number of small linguistic units: the Maidu group, including the Nisenan, in several subdivisions; the Wintun group, including the Patwin; and some additional Miwok groups (all members of the diverse Penutian family); the various Pomo tribes (Hokan), the Yuki-Huchnom-Wappo (a separate language, with affinities to the Hokan, Penutian, and Algonkian[1]); and six or seven Athabascan "tribes." (See Figure 7 for the location of all of these groups.)

The economic life and material culture of these people is simple; the people live chiefly by gatherin nuts, roots, and berries, and secondarily by hunting small game and by fishing. There is no tribal organization in the northern half of this region, although such is found south of the "center line." The political structure in the north, characteristically, is of a type which has been called "tribelet." The tribelet is a unit of one or a few villages, owning a definite (small) territory, having no name for itself except for some geographical landmark in the region, speaking a dialect usually identical with that of several neighboring tribelets, but wholly autonomous.[1]

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[1] Cf. Driver, pp. 575-576. See also the Language Table.

The Yokuts and Miwok of the south have a true tribal political structure, in contrast, and a more complex social structure which includes clans and moieties.[2] The clans are "totemic" and hereditary (paternally), but are not exogamous. The rule of exogamy is applied only between the two moieties. The moiety division is recognized all across both the Miwok and Yokuts territories. Indeed, according to native thinking, all nature is divided into halves, with one part of mankind belonging to one and the other part to the other. For the Miwok these are the "Water Side" and the "Land Side," although the logic of the classification often escapes us; and the Yokuts are divided into "Upstreamers" and "Downstreamers," divisions which are by no means geographic. Deer, Antelope, Coyote, Beaver, and Buzzard clans are on the Water Side in Miwok thinking, and Bear, Puma, Wildcat, Fox, Eagle, Jackrabbit, Raven, etc. are on the Land Side.[3] The Yokuts similarly assign Coyote, Falcon,

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[1] A. L. Kroeber, "The Patwin and Their Neighbors," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXIX, No. 4 (1932),258.

[2] A. H. Gayton, "Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXIV, No. 8 (1930), 365.

[3] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 455.

Buzzard, Hawks, Condor, and so on to the Downstreamers, and Eagle, Raven, Crow, Bluejay, Bear, Wildcat, and Jackrabbit clans to the opposite moiety.[1]

The myths of these southerly tribes consist almost entirely of animal-character stories, and the conflicts between myth figures reflect the dualism of the social structure. The Yokuts, at least, had two chiefs in each village, ordinarily, one for each moiety. The Eagle Chief usually had a precedence over the Coyote Chief, but the two administered the tribe jointly.[2] The significance of this fact for understanding Yokuts and Miwok mythology will become apparent later.

Central California was rich in cultic and ceremonial life, with secret societies and tribal initiation rites. All the tribes in our area, with the exception of most of the Athabascans, the Wintu and Wintun, the Northeast Maidu, and the southern half of the Yokuts, had some form of the "Kuksu Society." This cult system has been studied intensively by Kroeber,[3] Edwin M. Loeb[4] and others, and has been shown to consist in an eastern form, Hesi-Aki (Patwin and Maidu) and a western form, Kuksu (Pomo, Yuki, Kato). (Not much is known of the cult in the southern half of our region, among the Miwok and Yokuts.) The essential elements in both cults are the impersonation by one or more masked dancers of a spirit-being during the rites of initiation and at healing ceremonies. Those who have been initiated by the Kuksu (or Moki in the east) belong to a secret society whose primary function is to cure the sick. The being who is impersonated is a great healing spirit, and is usually identified as the creator of the world and the Culture Hero. The initiation includes (usually) a simulated death and resurrection of the candidates, and in some tribes there is an extensive period (of several months, perhaps) confinement for instruction in esoteric lore, including especially the myth of creation. While true cosmogonic myths and anthropomorphic creators are not co-extensive with the Kuksu Cult,[1] the cult has had considerable influence on the mythology of the region.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 494-495. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 496-497; cf. Gayton, p. 362.

[3] Kroeber, "The Patwin and Their Neighbors"; *idem*, *Handbook of the Indians of California*; and A. L. Kroeber, "The Valley Nisenan," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, XXIV, No. 4 (1929), 4.

[4] Edwin M. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (1926); Edwin M. Loeb, "The Western Kuksu Cult," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (1932); Edwin M. Loeb, " The Eastern Kuksu Cult," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (1933).

A more archaic cult found alongside that of the Kuksu is the Ghost initiation. In the western tribes (Pomo, Yuki, Kato) there is an impersonation of the ghosts of the dead ancestors (often specific individuals) who come to initiate all the boys of the tribe. This initiation also employs the "death and resurrection" symbolism, and it includes instruction and exhortation by the chief and older men. These rites are kept secret from the women (in contrast to the Kuksu which allowed women members), and the bullroarer is used to represent the voice of the spiritual beings.[3]

The Hesi/Aki in the eastern tribes combines these two kinds of initiations or cults into one, and organizes members of the society into ranks. All boys are initiated into the lowest rank, at least. Many dances are included in the series: those of ghosts, animal spirits, etc.[4]

The Patwin have three cults, the Kuksu, the Hesi, and another called

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[1] Kroeber, "Patwin and Their Neighbors," p. 304.

[2] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," pp. 28-30, 67-68, 127, 103, 109-110, 115-118; idem, "Eastern Kuksu," pp. 227, 334-36.

[3] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," pp. 4-7, 26-28, 66, 102, 107, 121, 126, 115; idem, "Eastern Kuksu," pp. 214-215, 223.

[4] Kroeber, "Patwin and Their Neighbors," pp. 329-341; Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu," pp. 189, 165, 382.

Wai Saltu, North Spirits. This last is somewhat akin to the Ghost initiation, but shows northern influence (the Nomlaki or Wintun have it[1]). It is an initiation by spirits which possess the novice and drive him crazy, so that he has to be "tamed."[2]

All of these cults obviously are inspired and informed by shamanistic ideology and experience. The creation myths which are associated with them bear also the stamp of the mind of the shaman, as we shall see. (All this is in contrast to the World Renewal cult system of northwestern California, discussed in the previous chapter.)

Central California has been of great interest to students of comparative mythology and the history of religions because of its wealth of creation stories. Our concern here is not with the myths of creation as such, but with the place of the Trickster-Fixer in relationship to these myths. We shall be interested in the person of the Creator and the place assigned to the Trickster with respect to the Creator and his deeds.

Throughout our region Coyote is the Trickster, but in some tribes he is the Creator also, or at least the Maker of the present world following a flood; in others he is the more or less helpful assistant of the Creator; and in some cases he is the opponent of the Creator, making evil things and spoiling the good plans of the High God. The Creator often is the Kuksu deity in the northern half of our region; in the south he is the Chief Eagle or Hawk, when he is not Coyote.

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[1] Walter Goldschmidt, "Nomlaki Ethnography," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XLII, No. 4 (1951), 326-331.

[2] Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu," pp. 208-213; Kroeber, "Patwin and Their Neighbors," pp. 315-318; cf. chapter xiv above concerning the spirit dances of Northern California.

The Wintu-Wintun

In 1898 Jeremiah Curtin published an elaborate creation myth from the Wintu, which may be summarized as follows:[1]

> Olelbis ("Dwelling-on-High") built for himself a sweat house in the sky where he lived. His two "grandmothers" (stone women) told him how to make it. In the center of it was a great oak tree, dropping acorns continually. The day after he finished the house, which was called Olelpanti Hlut (sky house), a world fire occurred on the earth below. Lizard had caused the fire because someone (Coyote?) had stolen his flint and brought it to the world. Olelbis sent Wind and Water to put out the fire. But when the cataclysm had passed, the earth was left a flat, bare rock. [Thus we see that this myth has to do with the re-creation of the earth after the destruction of an earlier world which was inhabited by myth-beings with animal names. Much is assumed and not stated in this introduction.]
>
> Olelbis asked the survivors, Mole and Gopher, if they knew where any dirt could be found. Gopher knew of some at the west end of the world where he had hidden from the fire. He made several trips carrying basketsfull of dirt to Olelbis, who scattered it on the rocky surface below.
>
> Olelbis found a little lake left on top of a rock, in a depression. Using a pole, he traced out furrows for rivers and streams, and the water flowed from the puddle over the earth. He scattered acorns and other seeds over the land, and vegetation sprang up.
>
> Coyote lived a little east of Olelbis' house, having come there to escape the world fire. Coyote caught a Wokwuk bird, a wealth-giving supernatural creature, and dismembered it (or it fell apart by itself?). From the pieces of its body came the deer, all the animals, dentalia, abalone, and blue beads. He threw his coat upon the earth and coyotes scattered over the land.
>
> Olelbis gathered all the "people" of the world (animals) to his house. He ordained what animals they were to be, and sent them to the earth below. [Coyote, as the ancient Trickster-Transformer, is said to have made the animals, but Olelbis, the High God, transforms them into real animals and ordains their places in the new world which he has made.]

Olelbis is said by Curtin to rule on high, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. He has for his wife Mem Lomis, Water Woman, who gives rain to the earth. He delegated the task of making human beings to Wolf, who created them out of sticks in a sweat house (a mountain). When Coyote came along, he wanted to make some people too. He made some girls and boys, but the boys were too rough and he could not endure their hitting him on the back, so they became sticks again. Finally, he made some weak sons who became poor hunters (coyotes).[1] (Coyote is not a suitable initiation master: he does not know how to make men properly.)

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[1] Curtin, Creation Myths of Primitive America, pp. 1-48.

Subsequent investigators of the Wintu have been severely critical and skeptical of this and other stories told by Curtin, and of the style in which he told them.[2] The ethnologists point out that all of Curtin's material was obtained from one man, who admittedly was possessed of exceptional narrative abilities.[3] Olelbis is known today as a Creator, but he appears seldom in the myths and is primarily a figure of "speculative thought," rather than the noble, Supreme Being of all the people as Curtin had depicted him.[4] The Sun is addressed in prayer more frequently than is Olelbis; yet one woman said she had been warned as a child not to do wrong, because "Olelbis will see you."[5] Olelbis, then, would seem to be a true High God, watching over man, and the Lord of Animals and controller of weather.

A present-day shaman told Miss DuBois a fairly coherent account of the making of the world by Olelbis (or Nomlestowa, West Spirit, another name for him), which included the making of the river by tracing with his finger down Mt. Shasta, the original barren rock surface of the earth, and the destruction of previous worlds by wind, fire, and water. Each world had an evil people whom the Supreme Being destroyed.[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 243-263; cf. Cora DuBois and Dorothy Demetracopoulou, "Wintu Myths," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, XII, No. 5 (1931), 377-78.

[2] Especially *ibid.*, p. 281.

[3] Cora DuBois, "Wintu Ethnography," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, XXXVI, No. 1 (1935), 72-73.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75; cf. DuBois and Demetracopoulou, p. 290.

The destruction of several worlds previous to this one is a notable feature of the mythology of the whole Central California region. This motif recalls a similar idea in Aztec mythology, but the beliefs in a world fire and flood are widespread in North American Indian mythology. They occur in the oldest strata of mythology, often as half-forgotten ideas. The concept of destruction and recreation of the world is paralleled, significantly, in the shamanistic experience of death, dismemberment, re-integration, and rebirth. Just as the shaman has to undergo such an experience before becoming strong and invulnerable, so also the world has to pass through one or more such experiences in order to become fully created. The world which is destroyed, of course, is the myth-world in which the people were "bad" from the shamanistic view point: they did not worship the gods or honor the spirits, but they lived in their own powers, with the Trickster-Hero as the prime example of the era.

Goldschmidt, working with the Wintun or Nomlakai immediately south of the Wintu, found no knowledge there of a being called Olelbis. There was a fear of the omniscient spirit or spirits up above,[1] but apparently no one knew a name or names for this being/s. In the only creation myth obtained here, a boy called "Saltu" (Spirit) is the maker, and Coyote a hindrance to his work:

> Saltu was born to a primeval woman, who went into the sky and abandoned the boy immediately after his birth. Coyote found him and stayed with him. The boy made food appear magically. When he grew up, the boy visited his mother in the sky, then traveled over the world, waving his hands and causing things to come into being. He traced with a stick and made the ocean and rivers. He made a beautiful girl out of clay, but when Coyote found out about her, he went into her room and she vanished. Saltu kept Coyote away while he made a human couple, from whom people are descended. He told the people how to be shamans.
>
> The people would not follow the leadership of Saltu. The world was destroyed by a flood, and again by a fire. Each time some people were saved to repopulate the earth. At last the people killed Saltu and he went up to heaven forever.[2]

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[1] Goldschmidt, p. 351. [2] _Ibid_., pp. 349-351.

Saltu is obviously a shamanistic-type God or Hero. His birth was supernatural: the woman evidently is from the sky. Coyote, known always as the first in existence, raised Saltu, but the boy obtained his power from a visit to the sky. He transformed the world, not by trickery, but by shamanistic power. It was he who made human beings, since in the view of the spiritually-minded, Coyote could not do anything properly. This hero-god taught the people to be shamans--like himself. The last part of the myth, the martyrdom of Saltu and his ascent to heaven, probably depends upon Christian influence.

The Wintu and Wintu myths are important for comparison with the creation myths found farther south, in the zone of the Kuksu cult. They show that the idea of a Supreme Spirit or Sky God was already present in native speculative thought before the cult of the curing-creator spread over the region. The myths indicate that this High Being was quite distinct from Coyote, and that Coyote was pushed into the background by those who attributed the creation to the High God.[1] Olelbis and the Saltu are shamanistic myth-figures, the one a High God, the other an ideal Hero-Transformer. (Tulchuheres, "One-Dug-Up," is an ideal hero-type in Wintu mythology, thus corresponding somewhat to Saltu.[2]) These are not ancient myth characters, but relatively modern figures, conceived under the influence of the ideology of shamanism and spiritualism. The High God, especially, is the creation of shamanistic speculation.[3]

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[1] Coyote is mainly a Trickster and occasionally a Culture Hero and Transformer here. He always is the ordainer of death. Cf. Dorothy Demetracopoulou and Cora DuBois, "A Study of Wintu Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLV (1932), 380.

[2] Cf. Curtin, pp. 121-160; DuBois and Demetracopoulou, "Wintu Myths," p. 281.

[3] Ibid.

The Californian Athabascans

Virtually no myth material is available from the Athabascan Whilkut, Nongatl, Mattole, and Lassik tribes, and only a little more than that has been gathered from the Wailaki, Sinkyone, and Kato. As these tribes lie midway between the Northwest corner of California and the Central region, their mythology and religious practices probably partook of influences from both sides. We know, for example, that the Sinkyone had a world renewal ritual and first-salmon rites with a priest-formulaist as leader, like those of the Wiyot, Yurok, etc., although the cult is not reported from the intervening tribes. The maker of the earth, however, was said to be the Kuksu deity of the Central region, called here Nagaicho, Great Traveler, the name also used by the Kato. The Sinkyone formulist said:

> Nagaicho made this world and patted it down so everything would stay in place. But bad men were not satisfied and tore it down, tore up the ocean banks, tore up the trees, tore down the mountains. Since that time we have had to sing and dance every year to make it right again.[1]

The name Nagaicho probably has become known only quite recently to the Sinkyone. Earlier investigators heard the Creator spoken of as Kyoi (name for a myth-person).[2] However, the name of the Creator is considered very sacred, and many persons would not utter it, according to Nomland.[3] She reports that Nagaicho was a thoroughly noble and good character, never tricky or erotic; he created the world, established its order, made man, and taught him his arts, and gave man everything for his welfare. Coyote was present at the time the world was set in order, and he is responsible for much that is not good in the world, including death.[1] Nagaicho sent a flood to destroy the first world because people were not obedient to him. He repopulated the earth from a couple who were saved by floating in a basket.[2]

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[1] Nomland, p. 167.

[2] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 150.

[3] Nomland, p. 170.

However, Coyote is remembered as having stolen the sun and moon for mankind: the "one good thing he did," as an Indian said.[3] The myth of the theft of the sun is widely told in Central California, and reminds us of the great culture hero feat of the Raven farther north. However, here the details of the myth are the rather simple ones of the theft of fire myth:

> The world was in darkness. Coyote went east in search of the sun (and moon) He managed to get the light from the people who were keeping it, and carried it off in a basket. (In a Lassik version he became a girl and was taken home by Eagle-woman to be a wife for her son: this is the most "ingenious" version.) The people pursued him and he eluded them several times. At last, cornered, he threw the bright ball on the ground and it burst, the pieces flying high into the sky.[4]

The Mattole say that "Big Man" first fashioned the bare earth, and put on it a single man. The man wandered around for a while, until suddenly a mighty wind arose. The man fell flat on his face to hide from the dust and the sand. When the storm passed, he arose to find the world finished as it is today. The Mattole also have a flood tradition.[5] These fragmentary notes suggest a tradition of the destruction of the world by wind and water, as in the Wintu mythology, by a High God who controls the weather phenomena.

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[1] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 150.

[2] Nomland, p. 170; cf. A. L. Kroeber, "Sinkyone Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXII, No. 124 (1919), 347.

[3] Nomland, p. 172.

[4] Ibid., p. 172; Kroeber, "Sinkyone Tales," pp. 346-47; P. E. Goddard, "Lassik Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIX (1906), 136-137; idem, "Wailaki Texts," International Journal of American Linguistics, II, No. 3 (1921-1923), 99-102; idem, "Kato Texts," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, V, No. 3 (1908), 191-194.

[5] Powers, pp. 110-111.

Like the Sinkyone, the Wailaki have made the Kuksu deity, whom they call Ketanagai (Night-Traveler), their principal myth figure and god. He is addressed only by the shamans, who call him Father. The Walaiki, however, had no Kuksu-impersonation cult. (Neither did the Sinkyone but the latter had a ghost dance without impersonations, and the shamans alone were able to see the ghosts enter.[1]) The Walaiki had a shamans' training school, with candidates being taken into the hills for eight days, returning each night for dancing. If the training succeeded in inducing a spirit to take possession of a candidate, he was later inducted in a secret ceremony inside the shamans' dance house.[2]

Kentangai is not, in the myths we possess, a High God or Creator, and he shares Coyote's erotic nature. He was not mentioned in a collection of tales obtained in 1901-1906 by Goddard,[3] but the following myth was told to Loeb some twenty-five years later:

> The people saw a flood was coming. A man, his wife, and her mother were saved on a high mountain. They repopulated the earth.[4] Then Ketanagai came from the north. He taught the people to hunt and fish. He danced, disguised as a woman, and seduced the women when allowed to sleep with them. He instructed the women in arts and crafts. After giving instructions to everyone, he traveled on. He found Coyote lying dead, having been killed by a Bear. He called to him, and he awoke.[5]

Goddard's Walaiki texts, which are presented with literal English translations only, are practically unintelligible, but the most prominent character in them is Coyote. He is depicted as Trickster and Culture Hero: He steals the sun, fire, and salt for mankind.[6]

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[1] Nomland, p. 167.

[2] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," pp. 75-78.

[3] Goddard, "Wailaki Texts," p. 78.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 105.

[5] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," p. 74.

[6] Goddard, "Wailaki Texts, pp. 99-104.

The Kato materials are in a more satisfactory state. The Kato are the southernmost Athabascans in California and at the same time the northernmost tribe possessing the Kuksu-impersonation cult. In the myths obtained from this small tribe, Thunder-Man (Tcenes) and Great Traveler (Nagaitcho) compete for the honor of being the Creator. Probably Thunder is the older character: the Walaiki also consider him as a "dangerous being,"[1] and the Coast Yuki have no Creator but Thunder.[2] It seems likely that the Kuksu society deity, Nagaitcho, was in the process of displacing the older High God Thunder in the creation myths, which were told as part of the secret instruction of the tribal school and the "boy's high school" or elite Nagaitcho society.[3] The following story is taught, with many variations.

> Thunder lived all alone in the sky. The earth below was all water. One day he found a baby lying by the trail, wrapped in white leaves and crying. He took it up, and it soon grew to be Great Traveler (the Kuksu deity). The two looked down upon the watery chaos below, and each questioned the other about what should be done about creation. They went down to a spot at the north end of the world. Thunder caused a woman to appear suddenly, to be the wife of Traveler, and gave him also a dog for a companion. Again they pondered what to do about the earth.
>
> Thunder walked on the water, but Traveler could not duplicate the feat. Thunder caused a great deer to arise in the water and it swam toward the south. Thunder made the earth grow out of it (or on top of it), when it stopped at the center. (The deer now supports the earth and causes earthquakes when it moves.) The water receded, and Thunder departed, leaving the earth to Traveler and his wife.
>
> The wife ran away, but the Dog and Rattlesnake stopped her. When Traveler found her she was dead, but he revived her (he _is_ the Kuksu deity, we call to mind, who revives the initiates). Traveler and his wife had intercourse, and a baby was born. Others followed, one by one. Thunder saw this method of populating the earth was too slow, so he made a great many people at one time (different tribes?).[4]

Some versions gave a larger place to Traveler. In an old text obtained by Goddard in 1906, Nagaitcho re-creates the earth after a great flood has receded. (Thunder, with Traveler as a companion, had made the first world.) He walks along with his dog, making streams, trees, rocks, hills, waves, etc. When he finishes he surveys his creation and says, "I have made a good earth, my Dog!" Then he returns to his home in the north.[1]

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[1] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," p. 73. [2] _Ibid._, p. 56.

[3] _Ibid._, pp. 32-34. [4] _Ibid._, pp. 22-23.

There are numerous fragments which speak of Thunder and Traveler engaged in tests of powers, such as walking on the water and splitting open a tree, at which Thunder naturally excels; likewise, when Nagaitcho has made images out of clay, Thunder has to put life into them before they become living men.[2]

Noticeably absent from all these versions obtained from the Kato is Coyote. I suspect that Nagaitcho has been put in his place, as the rival of the High-God-Creator. That Coyote was once the Culture Hero of the people is proved by the myths of his theft of the sun, moon, stars, and fire, which Goddard obtained.[3] For the most part, however, Coyote is known as a Trickster and dupe. He has for his "counselors" his excrements, and when he is killed he calls, "Come back my hair," and he springs again to life.[4]

The Yuki Group

The Yuki, who comprise a distinctive language group, are found in four principal divisions: the Yuki proper, Coast Yuki, Huchnom, and Wappo (see Figure 7). For the Coast Yuki, Thunder (*Te* or *Keyumka*) is the only Creator. "No-Head" (*Koyimkole*) is the Kuksu deity, but he does not appear in the creation myth. There is a "ghost initiation" for all the boys and a Kuksu initiation for select youths, both involving a period of seclusion for instruction. Thunder is never impersonated.[1]

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[1] Goddard, "Kato Texts," pp. 184-191; cited also in W. Schmidt, *High Gods in North America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 29-30.

[2] Goddard,"Kato Texts," pp. 184-191; Loeb, "Western Kuksu," pp. 24-25.

[3] Goddard, "Kato Texts," pp. 191-197.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 211-219.

The Yuki proper may be subdivided culturally into northern and southern halves. In the north no Kuksu society is known, but instead a tribal initiation for boys is held called the Obsidian Ceremony, led by the principal shaman. There is no impersonation of ghosts, but a simulated death and resurrection of the candidates is carried out. Selected youths undergo a second initiation and additional instruction in order to become shamans. There is no secret society, however.[2]

The southern half of the Yuki had the Ghost and the Kuksu initiations, both. Ghosts were impersonated in the former. But the Kuksu deity, Taikomol (He-Who-Walks-Alone), was not impersonated in the initiation, but only in curing rites. Knowledge of the esoteric myths of Taikomol was the main teaching imparted in the initiation training period of the Taikomol society.[3]

In the creation myths, Taikomol is a noble Creator-God, and Coyote, his companion, is an assistant:

> Taikomol came into existence as a down feather floating on the primeval water and gray mist. Coyote was already there, however, and heard Taikomol speaking in the foam. Coyote wondered how he could be there. Taikomol sang a song, "What shall I do?" and by this means he came into existence. Coyote listened and watched as the body of Taikomol took shape. Taikomol addressed Coyote as "my mother's brother" (Thus acknowledging him to be of an older generation). Taikomol sang, "Long ago you were a man, long have I been eager to become." Coyote tried to sing along with him but he lisped. Taikomol said Coyote's singing made him feel like laughing. Coyote hung onto him, and would not let him walk away. Taikomol fed Coyote with food taken out of his body. Coyote ate and muttered, "Taikomol is bad, stinking!"

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[1] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," pp. 55-56; Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 216.

[2] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," p. 72.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68; A. L. Kroeber, "Yuki Myths," *Anthropos*, XXVII (1932), 905-906.

> Taikomol took from his body the materials with which to weave the earth (as a basket). He floated on the water. He sent Coyote to get pitch to make the earth firmer. When the foundation was fast, he clapped his hands, spoke the magic words, and the earth enlarged into a flat plain. Coyote was glad, Taikomol had Coyote kill and flay four whales, and out of these Taikomol made the sky. Coyote watched, for he was to tell the people to come about these things. Taikomol made the mountains, rivers, etc.
>
> Taikomol had Coyote to build a house. Inside it Taikomol laid down some carved sticks. Next morning the sticks had become men, women, and children: a whole village. Taikomol sent Coyote to teach the people the Ghost Initiation (Hulkilal).
>
> Taikomol created a woman to be his wife and had intercourse with her, as an example for human beings. He and Coyote set off travelling and made other tribes, taught them their language, and so forth.
>
> Coyote's son died, and Taikomol wished to restore him to life, but Coyote refused. Thus death became forever permanent.
>
> Taikomol returned and taught the Taikomol initiation, for the use of select youths. When he finished, he said, "I didn't think I could do all this! I was nothing but a down feather, but now I have become a great man!" Then he ascended into the sky, accompanied by his sons.[1]

In this version Coyote is subordinated to a servile position under the Kuksu deity, and in two other partial versions he is not mentioned at all.[2] Yet there are several suggestions in the myth that Coyote was once a personage of pre-eminent importance. He gives the Ghost Initiation, and the fact that he is present in the world when Taikomol comes into existence (and is called Uncle and is said to have been a man since long ago) shows that he is an ancient figure in the process of being displaced by a new deity of more noble dimensions.

The Yuki remember Coyote as the stealer of fire, light, and acorns,[3] and he is said to have made the first "human beings" from sticks, but later he turns them into animals.[5] (These would be the people of myth-times.) The following tale of Coyote as fool invites comparison with the creation myth in which Taikomol "weaves" the earth like a basket:

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[1] Kroeber, "Yuki Myths," pp. 907-912. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 913-918.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 920-926. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 926-927.

> Coyote wove a basket out of roots, but he foolishly used roots that were still attached to a tree! When he finished, he could not lift the basket, of course. At last he realized his trouble, and cut the bottom free--but then the bottom dropped out and the contents were spilled. He went away carrying his useless basket as if it were a good one.[1]

The usual complement of trickster stories are told about him here as elsewhere.[2]

The Huchnom creation myth begins with Taikomol alone in a watery world as a down feather. He made the world, according to one version, with the help of Gopher; however, it sank back into the primeval sea. A second world was made, but it lacked light, and the animal-people who inhabited it ate one another. Taikomol destroyed this world by fire, according to Kroeber's informant, or by water, according to Foster's source. Taikomol made a third world, the present one: new, white, and clean. He stabilized it by placing a giant Coyote, Elk, and Deer at the north end and making them lie quietly. He built a dance house, laid sticks in it, and slept. The next day the people came running out, chattering happily. When a man died, Taikomol caused him to return from the grave the next day. The people said the man stank, so he was sent away and death was made to be permanent. But Taikomol gave the Ghost ceremony to keep people alive for a long time on earth. He gave also the Taikomol ceremony and then retired to heaven.[3] The similarities and differences between this myth and the long Yuki myth cited above are obvious.

The Huchnom have another myth about a contest between Taikomol and Thunder (Onamel Nun), the prominent deity in Kato and Coast Yuki mythology. The Huchnom, however, make Thunder come out second-best. Both Taikomol and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 939. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 936-938.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207; George M. Foster, "A Summary of Yuki Culture," *Anthropological Records*, V, No. 3 (1944), 232-233.

Thunder are impersonated in the Kuksu ceremony, the latter dressed as a great bird.[1]

Coyote is absent from these accounts, as he is in those of the Coast Yuki, Kato, and some of those from the Yuki. Powers[2] however, reported a story in which Coyote is pictured as the survivor, together with his two sons, of a drought, a plague of locusts, and a world fire. They eat many grasshoppers and are thirsty. Coyote's sons drop along the wayside, and only he reaches water at Clear Lake. He drinks the lake dry. A man pricks his stomach and the water flows out. The grasshoppers he has eaten become fish. No other Coyote stories are reported in our meagre collections from the Huchnom.

The Wappo, a Yukian group long separated from the others of their stock, have a Kuksu ceremony but do not make this figure the Creator of the world. Instead, like most of their Pomo neighbors, they attribute the making of this world and mankind to Coyote Old Man (Huthas), in company with his grandson Chicken-Hawk and aided by the High Being, Moon or Kuksu.

> There was a flood. Coyote and his grandson survived by hiding in a rock. When the water went down, Coyote built a sweat house and put some feathers on the floor. He made the feathers become people, but they were incomplete: they could not talk. Coyote went to Old Man Moon and obtained a sack of words, and thus he gave them speech. Next day he went after a sack of fleas, to make them move. Still they could not laugh, so Coyote went to Moon for a third time to get a sack of laughter. On a fourth trip he obtained a bag of "walking" and the fifth time food. When they ate the food they became whole at last.[3]

Another version explains the flood as having been made by Chicken Hawk Chief, to kill his brothers at whom he was angry. He was able to do this be-

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[1] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 207; Loeb, "Western Kuksu," p. 62.

[2] Powers, pp. 144-145.

[3] Paul Radin, "Wappo Texts, First Series," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XIX, Part 1 (1924), 44-47. (There is no "second series").

because he had killed the Thunderbird and had gained his powers (to make rain). Later, Coyote made new people, and had to get bags of "qualities" as above from the Kuksu (Hututca, Big Head). He opened the bags on the way home, and Kuksu himself had to come, before the people became whole. At last, Coyote and Chicken Hawk went across the ocean and made a happy land for the dead.[1]

These myths obviously are more concerned with the making of men than with the re-making of the world. The former, however, is the counterpart of the latter. In the Yuki and Kato myths above, the making of men, as in the initiation rites, is the climax of the secret lore revealed at the time of initiation. These Wappo myths sound like descriptions of an initiation ceremony, with the leader going out on successive days to return with another "gift" for the boys who are being made into men (the taboos of their confinement are being lifted one by one).

The Wappo, like the other tribes, have subordinated Coyote to the Kuksu deity, but in a different way. Coyote is allowed to remain in charge of things, but he is shown to have no real power of his own: he must go to the High God to obtain the qualities which will make his creatures real men. (In the second version, Kuksu has to come in person, finally.) The old Coyote of mythology, of course, would never have sought the aid of a supernatural being! The shamans have completely subordinated Coyote to their ideology, and make him conformable to their system of initiation by priests and spirits.

Chick Hawk, as we shall see later, is from the Miwok, who have groups living to the north and south of the Wappo. The only other myth about Coyote which have been reported here are trickster tales.[2] Driver[3] reports, however, that Coyote is the "chief deity" and the object of prayer, together with the Kuksu. This is a rare thing, since Coyote is not a god; however, his real character has been severely distorted here, as we have seen.

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 58-75, 114-147; cf. Loeb, "Western Kuksu," pp. 107-108.

[2] See Radin, *Wappo Texts*, pp. 76-85; Henriette Kroeber, "Wappo Myths," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXI (1908), 223.

[3] Harold E. Driver, "Wappo Ethnography," *University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology*, XXXVI (1936), 217.

The Pomo

The ethnological map of Northern and Central California (Figure 7) does not do justice to the Pomo, who may be further subdivided into village tribelets, each with its own peculiar traditions. Gifford and Kroeber[1] have arranged the mythological data from the various Pomo groups into tabular form, and we can see at a glance that only two Pomo groups, the Walker Valley North Pomo and the Lucerne East Pomo, report traditions of an anthropomorphic Creator. There is one additional such example,[2] apparently overlooked by Gifford and Kroeber, from the Sherwood Valley North Pomo, neighbors of the Kato and Huchnom.

> Feather-Man (Kuksu) came out on the ocean and became a man. He created the world by speech. While he was making people, Coyote and Lizard argued about men's hands, and Lizard's wish prevailed (an episode found all over Central California).

Thunder is said to have been the father of the Kuksu Feather-Man. Thunder gave men their arts and knowledge and then departed to the sky, leaving Feather-Man in charge below. The people prayed to both. The myth cited above is obviously of the Kato-Yuki type.

Almost all other Pomo groups attribute the creation (actually re-creation) of the world to Coyote. Usually the stories have to do mainly with the repopulating of the earth after a flood, and Coyote is the maker of men (from sticks or feathers placed in a house). One unique exception is a myth from the Potter Valley North Pomo which says that Mole made the earth, burrowing to form the hills. Coyote came into being second, and tried to assist the mole, but he did things wrongly and Mole stopped him.[1]

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[1] E. W. Gifford and A. L. Kroeber, "Culture Element Distributions IV, Pomo," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXVII, No. 4 (1937), 158.

[2] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," p. 4.

The anthropomorphic Creator of the two Pomo groups mentioned above is called Madumnada, Madumda, or Marumda. However, the investigators report that they were told that Madumda or Marumda was the same as Coyote. Barrett[2] says that the informants referred to Madumda and to Coyote-Madumda (a compound name) interchangeably in creation stories (Walker Valley), but they never used the name Madumda for Coyote in trickster tales, and deAngulo's informant, Benson (Lucerne),[3] likewise stated: "Everyone knows that Marumda is the same as Coyote." The name Marumda cannot be analyzed by the Indians, but it seems to be related to Maru, meaning "sacred," "mysterious," "dream portent," "myth," etc.[4] Maru is the name given by the Pomo to the modern Ghost Dance movement.[5] The Pomo who speak of Marumda address him in prayer along with other spirits who do not appear in myths.[6] Despite the claim that Coyote and Marumda are the same, the two appear as separate characters in some myths.

Three elaborate creation myths have been recorded, together with many short or fragmentary accounts, from the Pomo tribes. Barrett's "Composite Myth" from the Clear Lake region (Southeast or East Pomo) is the oldest on record, having been obtained in 1904:[7]

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[1] Loeb, "Western Kuksu," p. 4.

[2] S. A. Barrett, "Pomo Myths," Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, XV (1933), 17. Madumda may be mentioned in a body of myths without being described as a Creator, but shown only as a High God.

[3] Jaime DeAngulo and William R. Benson, "The Creation Myth of the Pomo Indians," Anthropos, XXVIII (1932), 262.

[4] Ibid., p. 263.

[5] Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," p. 161.

[6] Ibid., pp. 310-312.

[7] Barrett, "Pomo Myths," pp. 93-109; S. A. Barrett, "A Composite Myth of the Pomo Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIX, No. 72 (1906), 37-48.

> Coyote pretended to be an old woman in order to entice two Duck girls to come near him. While they were helping him, he raped them, and they bore four children, of whom Coyote managed to save two. Coyote continued to live at the village where he had been staying, and people treated his children badly when he was away hunting. To get revenge, he set the world on fire. He and his children were rescued at the last moment by Spider, who lifted them up to heaven on her "rope." Coyote went to the house of his "elder brother" Madumda. The latter scolded him for his evil deed, and sent him back to earth to do better.
>
> Coyote returned and ate greedily of the roast corpses of the animal-people. He was thirsty and he drank deeply of the only water available, the ocean. Soon he fell down sick upon the hillside. The hill was Kuksu's house. Kuksu came out and doctored him, jumped on his belly and burst it, and thus Clear Lake and the streams were formed. The creatures eaten by Coyote came to life again as water-animals and fish, just as Coyote had planned it. Coyote said he would make a dance house and call the Kuksu to come later.
>
> Coyote built many houses, calling upon the birds to help him. He took a pair of feathers from each bird, and laid a pair in each house, except that he put a single hawk feather in one house. He thought"Let them become people," and he designated their future powers (they were "animal-people," destined to become real animals and also animal-spirits to help men). Next morning they woke up as "people," and they had a big dance. The Hawk was made chief.
>
> Coyote then stole the sun, and Crow fixed it in the sky. Again they all danced. They Coyote said that since the people would not obey him, they were to become animals and do what they wanted to do. He himself then became a coyote.[1]

The above myth seems to be a much better version of the myth Powers reported from the Kuchnom, cited a few pages earlier. Undoubtedly, it contains some very ancient elements: world fire, eating of the corpses, drinking up all the water, and then disgorging the whole to create new living beings and transform the earth. Coyote has become a shamanistic kind of figure, able to revive the dead and make them new creatures. The motif of being swallowed by a monster and regurgitated to new life is an initiation symbol, patterned after the shamanistic experience of death and rebirth. This motif crops up in the mythologies of many tribes: for example, on the Columbia River and on the Upper Mississippi and Missouri; but ordinarily the Trickster-Fixer kills the monster and thus releases the people: he is not the monster! Probably in older versions Coyote released the swallowed people from an evil being who had eaten them and drunk up all the water. Now the healer Kuksu is put in the place of the old Trickster-Hero, and the latter is subordinated to both the Hero-Healer and the High God Madumda.

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[1] Similar versions: Barrett, "Pomo Myths," pp. 120-121, 124-125. Coyote burns the world, eats corpses, drinks water: *ibid.*, pp. 111-127, 121-124, 125-126. Coyote steals sun: *ibid.*, pp. 135-146, 76-79. Coyote creates people: *ibid.*, pp. 166-167, 48-50, 58-61. Coyote imitates Wolf and both make people: *ibid.*, pp. 62-75.

Coyote is shown as the master of initiation in the third paragraph of the myth, a role in which he often is cast by the Pomo. Probably, before the coming of the Kuksu Cult Coyote was held to be the one who conducted the first initiation, which was the re-creation of men after the fire and flood (or after being swallowed). Coyote's initiation rites are continued in the old "Ghost initiation" mentioned earlier, which is explicitly ascribed to him by a Yuki myth cited above. But even this role is a development away from Coyote's proper and original character as Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. As maker of men in a myth employing initiation scenerio, Coyote is a shamanistic type; and as we have seen, the Trickster-Fixer is the antithesis of the shaman and the spiritual ideology which he represents. For some unknown reason, the shamans of the Pomo have chosen to develop Coyote along their own lines of thought, instead of casting him aside in favor of new figure of their own creation. The Kuksu deity, of course, is such a new creation, and where he and his cult have become dominant, Coyote has begun to be subordinated to him. Additionally, Coyote is also subordinated to High Gods where they occur, and the latter tend to take over Coyote's function as earth-maker (Transformer).

The last elements in the myth are among the oldest. Coyote as the thief of the sun is one of the most basic Trickster-Fixer myths. His end is also typical of the older type: he turns into the coyote, and lives today in his descendants.

DeAngulo obtained a long creation myth through the Clear Lake Chieftain Benson, who supplemented his own memory with information from an aged man of one of the tribes in the region.[1] He insisted he had heard the story from his grandfather when he was a little boy.[2] In this account, Marumda and Kuksu are the chief actors. However, Benson's comment that Marumda and Coyote are the same should be borne in mind.

> Marumda, the old man, lived in a cloud house in the north. He decided he would make a world, so he journeyed to the house of his elder brother Kuksu who lived inthe south, in a similar dwelling. They smoked, scraped bits of dirt from their armpits, mixed hairs with it, rolled balls, and walked around ceremonially. Then they made one ball of the two, and Marumda took it in his sack. (Cf. the Wappo myths above.)
>
> Mirumda lay down to sleep with the little ball tied to his ear by a string. It jerked him in the night, and he threw it out into space. It became the earth. A coal from his pipe became the sun. He walked over the earth, talking, and thus creating the hills, trees, streams, etc. He experimented with making people, using rock, hair, feathers, sticks, sinews and flint. Each became a different species of animal. He taught each what it should eat.
>
> But after a time the people grew wicked, and committed incest and other crimes. Marumda went to Kuksu and suggested that it would be good if he (Marumda) should destroy the world with a flood. Kuksu agreed, and Marumda sent the rain. He was nearly drowned himself, but was rescued by Spider who pulled him up to Kuksu's house. Kuksu told him to make a new race. Marumda went back and floated on the water till he landed on a mountain peak. When the water subsided, he walked about and made the earth anew. But this world became evil too, and after consulting with Kuksu, he destroyed it with fire. Spider rescued him as before, and Kuksu sent him back to make the earth once again.
>
> After teaching the new race the proper way to live, Marumda left them. Soon these people, too, became incestuous, and Marumda reported to Kuksu. Kuksu told him to deal with the people as he saw fit, since they were *his* people after all. This time Marumda killed the people with a great snow storm.
>
> The fourth world was made and given instructions by Marumda, but again it became evil. After visiting Kuksu, Marumda destroyed the people with a whirlwind.
>
> Marumda planted sticks and tied strings to them with the other end attached to his ear. While he slept, new people came into being. They jerked

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[1] DeAngulo and Benson, p. 262.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 295.

> his ear and wakened him. He taught them their culture, and this time he gave them different languages. He also gave these people the Kuksu rites. Then he retired from the world, visited Kuksu and received his blessing, and returned to his place in the north.[1]

In both this myth and the one previously given, the Creator must go to the sky and report on his work to a Supreme Being. (The names of the principals are different, but the theme is the same.) It seems likely that in the former myth we see Madumda in his proper role as Sky Deity. In the second account, Kuksu has become a High God, and Madumda has been equated with Coyote, standing in his place as Creator. He still has his sky home, but he now humbles himself and comes to earth as a creator and destroyer of the world, always consulting with his "elder brother" before undertaking anything.

Clark and Williams, patronnesses of the Indians and amateur ethnologists, obtained about 1950 a long, esoteric and rather philosophical myth from the southern Lake Pomo (Southeastern). The chief of the Kuksu Society imparted the tale to the women because for some time no young men had presented themselves for initiation into the cult. He feared that his myths would die with him, so he shared them with his white friends.

"The great secret is this," he told them. "There are not many gods, but one. He is the nameless Great Spirit who has revealed himself to all men in many forms."[2] He then told the following myth:

> In the beginning there was silence in which dwelt the Nameless Great Spirit. His name is too sacred for a man to speak. After untold ages, he called for water, and it appeared. He took the form of Turtle. Turtle grew lonely. Finally, he dived to the bottom of the sea and returned with mud which he shaped into a ball. He ordained it to grow, and shaped it with earthquake, flood, and storm. He placed mountains, trees, plants, lakes, etc. on it. Then he said, "We need a Mother of vegetation," and

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 263-295; also Jaime DeAngulo, "Pomo Creation Myth," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XLVIII, No. 189 (1935), 234-262. The above is greatly abridged.

[2] Cora Clark and Texa Bowen Williams, *Pomo Indian Myths* (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1954), p. 98.

Grandmother Bear appeared. Like the vegetation, she hibernates in the winter and comes back in the spring to seek her children (the plants) who have been imprisoned by the Frost Giants.

Then the Nameless One created fire. Out of the fire crawled Lizard. Next he called forth air. The Thunderbird flew through the sky. He brings rain. Then the Nameless One took the form of White Goose Man, whose Pomo name means "Earth-water-air-fire," the first four elements or forms of the Nameless One. He is the "Father of Creation."

The nameless One called forth the ruler and creator of man, Coyote. He represents mankind. He is both divine and foolish, like man himself.

Nameless One called into existence light. Panther Woman, the "light of understanding," came into being. She gave four rules for right living: no murder, no dishonesty, kindness, and faithfulness to marriage vows. She is the symbol of woman on earth. Finally, Nameless One took the form of Kuksu, the healer. He is the ruler of the underworld, and brings back new life in the spring. Meadowlark the Destroyer and Bumblebee the Preserver are his associates.

The Eight Great Ones: Turtle, Bear, Lizard, Thunderbird, White Goose, Coyote, Panther, and Kuksu, are the forms the Great Nameless One has taken.[1]

This myth, while admittedly esoteric, is unique and will remain somewhat suspect for the professional ethnologists because of the conditions under which it was obtained. There are evidences in the text that the authors have permitted their own interpretations to be mixed with the narrative of the old chief at certain points. However, after making due allowances, I think we must accept the reliability of the account in its outline at least. The text, of course, is not so much a myth as it is a piece of "systematic theology" or interpretation of mythic traditions. It reminds us a little of the teachings of the Sun Dance shaman-priests of the Oglala Dakota (see chapter vii). It is a good example of the kind of formulation and systematization of which Indian spiritual thinkers were capable.[2] It is, of course, possible that some of the ideas have been influenced by non-native teachings.

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[1] Ibid., pp.99-102.

[2] The Chief said the myth is symbolized in the Round House. The center pole represents Nameless One, the subterranean structure the three-tiered universe, and the eight-sided poles the Eight who are One. (Ibid., p. 102.)

The diving Turtle is not reported elsewhere for the Pomo, but he is well-known to the Patwin and Maidu. Coyote appears here, as he does usually among the Pomo, as the Creator of men. The authors even state that he "represents" man, being both divine and foolish, but this may be their own interpretation.

While the myth of diving for earth is rare in Pomo mythology, it is not unknown. All the people except the birds were drowned in a flood, according to an East Pomo account. The birds dived for mud and enlarged their mountain refuge. Finally, the water receded.[1] A North Pomo version states that Coyote sent Mole diving, and the latter made mountains. Then the waters subsided and Coyote made new people from sticks.[2]

The Pomo, of course, know a great many trickster stories about the "Foolish Coyote" or "Coyote Old Man" to which we shall make reference later.

Central and Southern Penutian Tribes

The Patwin, Nisenan, Miwok, and Yokuts all agree in giving a prominent role in their sacred myths to Hawk or Prairie Falcon. We have seen this bird as the relative of Coyote in Wappo and certain Pomo myths. He assumes a more prominent place in the myths of the south-central tribes.

Some of the Patwin attribute the re-creation of the world after the deluge to the Hawk (Katit). Coyote, however, is closely associated with him in the undertaking, and among other Patwin Coyote is the Creator. (We have no material from the Southern Patwin. The Hill Patwin are more akin to the Wintun and Pomo in their mythology, while the Valley Patwin are influenced by the Maidu and Miwok.)

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[1] Barrett, "Pomo Myths," pp. 126-127.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 129-131.

> There was a great flood, and the Hawk, with other birds, escaped to the sky. Hawk killed the other birds, except for four pairs, and saved some feathers from each. Somehow, Coyote and Turtle were with him. Coyote suggested that Turtle dive. The Turtle brought up a tiny bit of sand. Hawk put the other two to sleep, and dropped the cake of dirt through the sky hole. The water went down, and the earth was dry again.
>
> Coyote became lonely, and Hawk gave him permission to make people: "You are old and wise." Coyote made them from sticks. Then Coyote made all the plants and animals for man's food, and taught all the ways to prepare them for eating. From the feathers Hawk had plucked, Coyote made whole towns of people.[1]

The mountains were made by bits of dirt dropped by the flying Hawk, in another version.[2]

For the Hill Patwin, Coyote was usually regarded as the Creator. He ordered a Snake to make the hills, and he made people out of snakes[3] (a very unusual motif). Kroeber reports a Hill Patwin version in which Coyote is the more or less helpful companion of a Creator called "Self-Made." Coyote is said to have "made life hard," as opposed to the intention of the others.[4]

The Miwok, Yokuts, and other south-central California tribes have a strong tradition of the creation (re-creation) of the world after a fire and/or flood, often by diving for earth. There is no unanimity as to who the Creator was, but Coyote always is mentioned prominently in connection with the event. Very often Hawk-Chief or Eagle or others are present. We should bear in mind that these tribes had totemic clans and monieties, and this fact may account for the traditions naming several (and different) animal ancestors as being present in the beginning.

A Lake Miwok version of the re-creation says that Coyote's grandson Hawk-Chief stole from Weasel, and Weasel sent a world fire. Coyote put out the fire with a flood. After the flood, Coyote and Hawk, who had been separated, found each other, and at first they did not recognize each other (they had been changed by the experience, evidently). Coyote rebuilt the world, stole fire, made the sun rise, created human beings, and so forth. After people were made, Coyote and Hawk had to leave, and they departed for the land of the dead to which people later would come.[1] (Compare Wappo myths above.)

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[1] Kroeber, "Patwin and Their Neighbors," pp. 304-305.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 305; cf. Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu," p. 214.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 214-223.

[4] Kroeber, "Patwin and Their Neighbors," pp. 305-306.

The Coast Miwok have a tradition that Coyote went across the ocean and sent a flood to punish Falcon (same as Hawk). Falcon survived, and Coyote returned on a raft. His raft was a mat, and he threw it on top of a mountain. It grew into a new earth. He saw a feather drifting toward him--it was his grandson Falcon. Coyote reshaped the earth and made new people out of feathers,[2] or sticks.[3] (The floating feather reminds us of the myths of the Yuki in which the Kuksu deity is born from a down feather drifting on the waters.)

The Plains and Southern Miwok tell the following story of Coyote and Hawk (Falcon):[4]

> Condor roosted on a certain large rock beside the river, and the rock gave birth to the powerful Falcon. Flying around one day, Falcon saw a singing tree (elderberry). His father told him to ask help from his grandfather. The grandfather, he said, looked like a stump floating in the river. Falcon broke off a piece of the stump, and it became Coyote. Coyote knew everything. He told Falcon how to get the tree, which was well-guarded. Falcon obeyed Coyote, and came back later with a branch from it. Coyote told him to plant the pieces of the branch all around to be medicine, food, and musical instruments for future people, whom he was planning to make.
>
> Falcon engaged in combat with the Kilak, a monster bird, and was killed. Coyote went to the place and killed the demonic bird, and re-

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[1] DeAngulo and Freeland, pp. 232-237, cf. p. 242; C. Hart Merriam, The Dawn of the World (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark and Co., 1910), pp. 138-152.

[2] Ibid., pp. 157, 202-205.

[3] Loeb, "Western Kuksu Cult," p. 113.

[4] Merriam, Dawn of the World, pp. 66-87; S. A. Barrett, "Myths of the Southern Sierra Miwok," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XVI, No. 1 (1919), 6-9; cf. idem, "Pomo Myths," pp. 58-60, 179.

> vived the Falcon. A world-fire broke out, and the two hid under water till the fire had passed. Then Coyote proceeded to make human beings. He lay as though dead, and when the birds came to peck his "corpse," he closed up his anus and caught them, and plucked out their feathers. Coyote and Falcon stuck feathers in various places to make villages. Coyote turned the former people into animals and birds.

This remarkable myth seems to be a distinctive Miwok conception of the ending of the myth-era and the beginning of the present era. Falcon is a "youthful hero" type, by virtue of his supernatural birth, and also because of his experience of death and resurrection after combat with the monster bird. We have come to expect such figures in mythology to be rivals of the Trickster-Fixer, but here they work in perfect harmony. This is explained, I think, because in Central California Coyote often has been remodeled by the shamans into a figure who conforms to their own ideology. Here we see him as one who can revive the dead and bring people to life from feathers: a master of initiation. He is also a kind of supernatural being who can advise Falcon on how to make a journey to the spirit world to steal from the magic tree. Coyote, of course, is eminently qualified to advise about how to steal from the spirits, but he is not ordinarily cast in the role of counselor: instead, he just goes on the expeditions himself. In the hands of the shamans, he has become a supernatural guardian spirit, who helps the youthful Hero.

The episode of Coyote's pretending to be dead and catching birds in his anus is remarkably like the Trickster story of the Northern Plains and Woodlands, in which the Trickster gets revenge on the Buzzard who dropped him into a hollow tree by the same strategy Coyote uses here (see chapters vi and viii). It seems hardly possible that the source of the two stories is the same, and yet the details are so similar that it seems equally impossible that they did not have the same source. The motif would be a very old one: Trickster plays a trick which is a parody of the shamanistic experience of death, dimemberment, and rebirth.

The Southern Miwok tell the earth-diver myth:[1]

> Coyote ordered different ducks to dive for earth, but the Frog alone succeeded. Coyote scattered the dirt around, and it became the earth. He planted seeds for trees and plants. He called a council, and the animal-people discussed how real people should be made. Coyote made them and placed them in villages.

Coyote usually is credited with the theft of fire and the sun here, as elsewhere in Central California, but occasionally others are named in his place.[2]

Yokuts creation stories are much like those of the Miwok, except that Eagle, Falcon, or some other besides Coyote is often in charge of the creation.

> Eagle sent ducks diving, after having first caused a tree to grow in the watery waste. The Turle, however, was the one who brought up the grains of dirt. Eagle scattered it, and the waters receded.[3]

Another version states that Falcon and Raven made the earth after a small duck had brought up some sand. They mixed it with tobacco and Raven created the land on one side of the river and Falcon on the other[4] (moieties). In another Yokuts account, Coyote asked Eagle, the chief, to try to make an earth, because they were eating up the mountaintop on which they were living. After Mudhen had brought up some dirt, Eagle made a new land; but Coyote ran on it too soon and made it rough. Eagle and Coyote sent the animals to different places, and they became the ancestors of the different clans (they turned into human beings). Both Eagle and Coyote went up into the sky.[5] In an otherwise similar account, Coyote made the first woman and slept with her.

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[1] Barrett, "Southern Sierra Miwok," pp. 4-5.

[2] Merriam, Dawn of the World, pp. 33-53, 60-64, 89-90; and A. L. Kroeber, "Indian Myths of South Central California," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, IV, No. 4 (1907), 202.

[3] Gayton, p. 370.

[4] Kroeber, "Myths of South Central California," pp. 204-205.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-211, cf. p. 218.

She killed him (with a toothed vagina?) and the other animals revived him. Then he made her "right."[1]

Still another Yokuts imformant said that Coyote made the world, giving directions to Panther, Eagle, and Wolf who were his helpers.[2]

The neighboring "Western Mono" (Paiute) tribe has taken over some of the south-central California mythology, and they tell not only the Shoshonean story of the woman whose tribe was killed and who escaped to marry a great man and become mother of all the people,[3] but they also say that the world was remade after a flood by Prairie Falcon, Crow, and Coyote, who sent Grebe diving for dirt.[4]

Practically no mythological material is available from the Costanoan and Salinian Indians. The only Costanoan creation myth known begins with Coyote, Eagle, and Hummingbird standing atop a mountain, looking upon a world that is flooded:

> The water went down, and Eagle sent Coyote to see if the land was yet dry. It was. Coyote also found, as Eagle knew he would a beautiful girl in the river. Eagle told him to marry her and repopulate the world. Coyote didn't know where babies should be formed, and he suggested various strange parts of the anatomy. The other two said the place would be in the abdomen. Coyote made his wife louse him, and eat one of the lice. Thus she became pregnant.
>
> Coyote wanted other wives, so he found and married several. He had five children, whom he sent to found the five villages of the Costanoan. He told them how to obtain and prepare the various foods, and taught them all other things they needed to know.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[2] George Stewart, "A Yokuts Creation Myth," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XIX, No. 75 (1906), 322.

[3] Edward W. Gifford, "Western Mono Myths," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXXVI, No. 142 (1923), 311-319.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 305-306.

> Coyote was mean to his children at home (in another tale). He hid some salmon in the fire to cook for his dinner, but told his children there was nothing but ashes there.
>
> Coyote was jealous of the wisdom of Hummingbird, for he was the wisest man. Coyote believed himself to be the wisest. He tried in every way to kill Hummingbird, but he could not do it, and only injured himself in the process.
>
> Once he pretended to have a thorn in his eye in order to get a girl to come near him so he could seize and rape her.[1]

These are all the myths about Coyote which we possess from the Costanoan.

The one Salinian creation myth known says that Eagle sent Kingfisher diving for earth after a flood. When he had remade the world, he revived Coyote, and sent him out to collect the bones of the other animal-people so he could restore them to life also. Eagle made a real man out of clay and a woman from a feather. Coyote had intercourse with the woman first, though it was very painful. The couple cohabited and conceived, and Coyote explained to them what was happening, and that the world would be populated in that way.[2]

While our material for south-central California is sketchy, there is enough to show that Coyote is here, as elsewhere, an old myth figure who is in constant peril of losing his pre-eminence to some more noble figure, such as Eagle or Falcon. Coyote is remembered, however, as the giver of culture to men, the one who stole fire and put the sun in place, and as the fun-loving Trickster who himself often is tricked. Sometimes he is also made to be the overseer of the earth-dive,and the Creator of the world. As in north-central California, Coyote here has sometimes been used by shamanistic formulators as a type of shamanistic figure, but as such he is plainly "out of character." Coyote is one who lives by his wits and has no powers except those with which he was born.

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[1] Kroeber, "Myths of South Central California," pp. 199-202; idem, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 472-473; Edward W. Gifford and G. H. Block, Californian Indian Nights Entertainment (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1930), pp. 100ff.

[2] J. A. Mason,"The Ethnology of the Salinian Indians," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, X, No. 4 (1912), 190-192.

The Maidu

In the northeastern part of Central California, among the Maidu Indians, Coyote has become the known as the source of evil in the world, while the good creation is attributed to the Kuksu deity, who here (usually) as in the Yuki and Kato tribes, is held to be the Creator as well as the Healer.

All the Maidu groups, including the Nisenan, agree in making Coyote a marplot, but the Nisenan say that Hawk or Falcon was the Creator. Turtle was the successful diver.[1] Another myth states that Moon was the good Creator.[2] The other Maidu tell of a High God type called Wonomi ("Without-Death"), Yodom Yeponi ("World-Initiate," that is, a member of the secret society), Yohosin-Yeponi ("In-the-Sky-Initiate"), Kodo Yanpe ("World-Namer"), and Kodo Yapem ("World-Maker").[3] The Valley and Hill Maidu, but not the Northeast (Mountain) Maidu, have a type of Kuksu society, a secret group into which all males of the tribe are admitted.[4] The myths of Wonomi are taught during the sixteen-day instruction period of initiation.[5]

Roland B. Dixon, thanks to whom we have most of our Maidu material, professed to find a "system and sequence" in the myths of the Valley, Hill, and Mountain Maidu. The Valley and Hill people lack certain episodes of the travels of Earthmaker which are found in Mountain Maidu traditions. The Mountain Maidu tend to locate the earlier episodes in the creation of the cycle to the west, the region of the other Maidu tribes. The creation of the world took place, according to valley tradition, at a spot in their territory. The Valley people say that Earthmaker departed for the east when he left them.[1] Evidently, the traditions concerning Wonomi or Kodoyeponi traveled from west to east, along with the Kuksu cult (Hesi) which did not, in fact, reach the Mountain tribes at all.

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[1] Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu," p. 190; Kroeber, "The Valley Nisenan," pp. 275-276.

[2] Powers, p. 341.

[3] Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu," pp. 157, 197.

[4] Ibid., pp. 165-167, 200.

[5] Ibid., p. 169.

The myths disclose the following sequence, according to Dixon, with all the events taking place in the mythic era, Beteito. There are four periods:

1. The coming of Earthnamer and Coyote, the making of the world and preparation of it for the first people.

2. The creation of the first animal-people (and in the Northeast myth, the planting of the germs of the human race).

3. The long period of conflict between Earthnamer and Coyote, and among the animal-people.

4. Final struggle of Earthmaker and Coyote, ending in the departure of the former, leaving the world in the hands of Coyote, and ending the myth era. (Human beings burst forth from the ground in the Northeast myth.)[2]

An Indian of the Valley Maidu at Chico gave Dixon the following account of the creation.[3]

> At first there was only water and darkness. Then from the north came a raft, bearing Turtle and the Clown (a secret society performer, probably a double for Coyote). Earth Initiate descended from the sky on a rope of feathers. He was radient and kept his face covered. He boarded the raft,

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[1] Roland B. Dixon, "System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XVI, No. 60 (1903), 35; idem, "The Northern Maidu," Bulletin of the Museum of Natural History, XVII, No. 3 (1905), 337.

[2] Dixon, "System and Sequence," p. 32; idem, "Northern Maidu," p. 334.

[3] Roland B. Dixon, "Maidu Myths," Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, XVII, No. 2 (1902), 39-45.

and the Turtle asked him to make the earth. Earth Initiate asked where dirt might be found, and Turtle volunteered to dive for it. He obtained a few grains under his nails. Earth Initiate rolled it into a ball and laid it on the raft. Soon it grew to be the earth. They landed at Tadoiko (traditional center of the world, near Chico).

At Turtle's request, Earth Initiate called to his brother and sister, Sun and Moon, and summoned the stars also to their places. The Clown called out loudly as they arose. Then Earth Initiate caused a great tree to grow up, bearing twelve kinds of acorns. While these persons were gone away on a tour of the newly-made world, Coyote emerged from the ground, accompanied by his "dog" Rattlesnake. The others returned soon, and all built houses and lived there at the center.

Earth Initiate made birds, trees, animals, etc. The Turtle offered suggestions. Earth Initiate told Coyote he was going to make people. He formed a pair out of clay and slept between them in the sweat house. In the night the woman tickled her maker, but he refused to move (or engage in sex play). In the morning the people were fully alive, white, and beautiful. Coyote wanted them to have paws, but Earth Initiate gave them hands like his own. The man was Kuksu, and the woman Morning Star.

Coyote tried to make a couple also, but when the woman tickled him in the night he laughed, and his people were glassy-eyed.

Earth Initiate sent Kuksu to bathe in the lake. On the way he became an old man, but he emerged from the lake youthful again. Earth Initiate ordained that people should thus renew their youth, and went away. He also had made it easy to obtain food: people merely set out baskets at night, and in the morning they were full of food.

Coyote came and said he had a better way of doing things. He gave a mourning festival. Rattlesnake told Kuksu he would do what was best, and he lay in wait for Coyote's son who was running in the ceremonial race. He fell dead when Rattlesnake struck him, but only Coyote knew what had happened. He began to weep, and everyone joined in with him. He tried to revive his son in the lake, but it was too late. Coyote then ordained burial.

After that everything changed. People suddenly began to speak different languages. Kuksu sent them out to be different tribes. Kuksu's wife went away (died), and soon Kuksu followed. Coyote followed and saw they had gone to the house of his son. He returned and told the people; then he killed himself and went to be with them.

According to Dixon's "sequence," this is a myth of the creation of the animal-people and the conflict between Coyote and the High God-Creator. Actually, the scheme does not fit this myth, which is not concerned with the animal people at all, but with real people, who in the end are sent out to start the different tribes. Earth Initiate is said to have made the animals as one of the acts of his creation. We are dealing, here, in other words, with a late-type myth, which simply ignores the old myth age of animal-people who are later transformed into real animals. Coyote, Turtle, and Rattlesnake are the only representatives of that forgotten era. This is a shamanistic type of myth which is not interested in transformation but in creation by shamanistic, spiritual power. The central figure is not a Transformer but a true Creator, who descends from the sky, from the region which is the source of transcendent power.

By contrast, Coyote is autochthonous, and has no supernatural attributes. He cannot make real people, because he cannot observe the ritual requirements. The Creator had planned for a method by which men might renew their youth, by diving in the water of a lake (as Shamans and spirit-questers do). Coyote came later and changed this good plan of the Creator, and instead of a ritual for renewal of youth Coyote gave a ritual for mourning the dead. (From the non-spiritualist point of view, Coyote's ritual is more practical and realistic.) But it was because of Coyote's evil wish that death came into the world.

The first man is called Kuksu, and presumably it is he who appears now in healing rites, etc. In the mythology of the other Maidu groups, it appears that the Creator himself is to be regarded as Kuksu.

A brief and incomplete version of Creation is on record from the Hill Maidu. According to this account, Wonomi (Immortal) came with Coyote on the flood, in the beginning. (No description of the earth creation is given, but we may assume an earth-dive by a Turtle, probably.)

> Wonomi and Coyote traveled together. Wonomi made eight women by laying sticks on a blanket beside his campfire, and sleeping with them. He did not laugh when they tickled him. Coyote tried to duplicate this feat, but he laughed and his women turned back into sticks.
>
> When the people wanted babies, they put beads in a basket and set it outside over night. Coyote changed this, and ordained sex and painful

> childbirth. Wonomi made a spring of rejuvination, but Coyote ordained death so everyone could "enjoy" himself at funerals. Wonomi made fishing easy, but Coyote made it hard. Wonomi sent a snake to kill Coyote's son, and refused to restore him to life. Wonomi went away to the north leaving his wives behind--one of them for Coyote. Coyote was put in charge of the world.[1]

This version stresses all the good things that Wonomi desired and the evil that Coyote ordained. Coyote is acknowledged to be "lord of this world" at the last. Unlike the Valley version, it is plainly stated that he existed from the beginning.

The Mountain Maidu creation tradition is represented by several versions in Dixon's and Loeb's collections.[2] The following is based on all of them:

> Earthmaker and Coyote were alone, floating upon the waters. Earthmaker said, "I wonder where I shall find a world?" Coyote said, "You are a strong man to be thinking of this world!" The two sang antiphonally, "Where, little world, can you be?" over and over. Then they saw a Robin's nest floating toward them. Earthmaker attached ropes to it, and stretched it in the four directions. He praised the Robin for making the nest.
>
> Coyote sang a song about the mountainous world he was going to make. Earthmaker sang of the good world he had made. Coyote told Earthmaker to paint the world and make it pretty. Coyote ordained red "blood" to be in all things, including clay and rocks, to make them beautiful. Earthmaker made Coyote lie flat on his belly and not look while he stretched the earth out large, with his foot. Coyote was sent off in one direction, and Earthmaker went toward the south. Earthmaker made seeds of villages of people, and planted them in gopher holes in the places where they should later live. "You shall grow, . . . through many, many winters, till, when all your dawns and winters are accomplished, you will cease to grow, you will be men and women, you will come out of the ground, you will be born."
>
> Earthmaker made the first people (animal-people) and sent Coyote away because he wanted to make bad things. He sent the people out to find every trace of Coyote from which he might come to life again: all his droppings, every place he had urinated, etc. But Coyote hid himself on an island. He sought the aid of his excrement advisors. (The first of

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[1] Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu Cult," pp. 203-204.

[2] Roland B. Dixon, Maidu Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. IV; Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1912), pp. 27-69; idem, "Maidu Myths," pp. 46048; Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu Cult," p. 205.

these was a gopher head, who always gave him bad advice; the second was a wad of grass which helped him.) With the aid of his second counselor, Coyote managed to survive, and a number of his "children" were not found. He was sealed inside a hollow tree, but he escaped by turning into a fog and slipping out a small hole made by a woodpecker. Earthmaker tried to kill him with a flood, but he disguised himself and rode in the boat with the other people Earthmaker rescued.

Earthmaker admitted his defeat. He made a house and a wife, and Coyote wanted to have these things too. Earthmaker made two girls for him, but warned him not to cohabit with them on the first night. But when the wives tickled him in the night, Coyote could not resist them, and they disappeared.

Coyote found a man eating sweet fish: it was Salt Man. Coyote chased and killed him, and broke his body into pieces. Thus Coyote gave salt to the world.

Coyote ordained many bad things: he was responsible for death and the customs of mourning, sex, childbirth, etc., all contrary to the Creator's plan. He ordained also that after a period of mourning, a widow or widower should remarry and be happy again. Coyote said the Chief could not understand this, but that he would take the part of the common man, and decree laughing and happiness. He ordained also when an old man loves a new woman, he shall feel as if young again. "I am chief," Coyote said, "I speak very well."

Earthmaker sent snakes to kill Coyote's son, and went away. Coyote ran after him, begging him to restore his son, but it was too late. Earthmaker traveled for some time, doing the work of a Transformer; slaying monsters or turning them into useful or harmless things. The Bear set the world on fire, and Earthmaker (like Hare in the Shoshoni story) asked this thing and that for shelter, and finally hid safely in a milkweed stem. He made sweet sugar-pine cones, and put them on low branches; Coyote came along and put them high, out of reach. Coyote also spoiled Earthmaker's lake of rejuvination. So Earthmaker left the world, and Coyote congratulated himself, and said that in the future people would speak of what he had done, would admire his cleverness, and would laugh.[1]

This Northeastern Maidu myth, the longest and most detailed version, conforms to Dixon's "sequence" as set forth above. It is the most logical of the versions, since it includes the myth age, the age of Coyote, as well as accounting for the creation of both the world and real human beings by Earthmaker. The unique element in this myth, which makes possible its "system and sequence," is the creation of people in the form of seeds, which Earthmaker plants to await the proper time for coming to birth. This is a most unusual motif for a non-agricultural people. There is no mention, however, of the Earth as Mother of the people. What we have, probably, is a peculiar development of the shamanistic-initiation concept of death and rebirth, burial and resurrection.

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[1] Ibid., p. 205. Loeb reported another version of the Creation in which Blackbird made the earth out of materials brought up by Dove and Pigeon. Mountain Lion was chief.

A comparison of the three Maidu creation myths shows, I believe, a progressive modification or softening of the dualism as we move from Valley to Hill to Mountain tribes. It is undeniably present in all three, but in the last Coyote makes or gives some good things to men, as well as bad: he gives men salt, he ordains joy to follow sorrow, and he says that in the future men will laugh at his cleverness. He denies men the possibility of immortality by bathing in a lake, but he says that old men will feel young again when they take young wives. In the last version, Coyote is even allowed to be present with the Creator from the beginning and to be an assistant in some degree.

The dualism which we find in Maidu mythology arises, I believe, in the presence of a developing concept of a high and noble god whose will is always good. Such a god is the epitome of shamanistic experience with spirits, and represents a fusion of two ideas; that through the spiritual enhancement of life, human existence can transcend the limitations of "history," and that all spiritual power is one (and thus the spirits must have a Supreme Overseer). The former idea is centered in the experience of death and resurrection, by which a new kind of human being is made: a true, complete, and spiritually endowed human being. From this idea comes the concept of the making of the world by a Transcendent Power, probably by a process of destruction of the old world (flood fire), and a re-creation of a new world. This idea of the creation of the world comes in time to be a myth, not simply of the remaking of the world, but of the first making of the world, since to the shamanistic mind anything of significance must have originated in the transcendent world.

All this stands in sharp contrast to the older, folk-mythical view, in which the present world is the result of the transforming and remodeling of a given "chaotic"earth by the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero, who represents man himself. This view takes the world-as-it-is as the only realm of the "sacred," implying that it is holy because it was established as it is in the beginning by the Trickster-Fixer. For the Maidu, Coyote is this ancient ordainer of the natural world. He is full of tricks and fun, and he is often foolish and fantastic. His ungoverned sexual appetite and his willingness to use any means to obtain his wants and needs, make him a hero to the common man, but not to the more sophisticated shamans and cult leaders. They do not regard his myths as suitable material for the instruction of youths, except as "negative examples," although in a less-sophisticated past he must have been the model for all men because of his cleverness. But above all, it is his self-reliance and pride which make the Trickster an offense to spiritual-minded men. Thus he is made to look foolish and his boasting becomes ridiculous.

As ordainer of the world as it is, Coyote is the "cause" of death and other "hard things." There is a widespread tradition in Central California that had it not been for the wish and deed of Coyote, mankind might have been immortal. (Death is usually attributed to the Trickster, as we have seen, in most Indian mythologies everywhere.) In Central California the Wintu say that Coyote persuaded a group of people, who were building a stairway to heaven where they could renew their youth, to destroy their work, because "it will be nice for people to go to funerals and cry."[1] Among the Sinkyone,[2] Yuki,[3] Pomo,[4] Patwin,[5] Nisenan,[6] Yokuts,[7] and the Maidu it is said that Coyote ordained death. The usual reason which Coyote gives for his decision in the north-central region is that people will enjoy having a good cry at funerals. However, some Pomo say that Coyote did not wish men to remain dead, but to return to life after a few days. When he revived someone, Meadowlark complained that the man had a bad smell, and Coyote reluctantly sent him away forever.[8] These myths accord with a widespread tradition among the south-central tribes that it was Meadowlark's complaint that caused death to be ordained.[9] Meadowlark, as a spokesman for the people (apparently), precipitates the decision of the Trickster-Fixer to ordain death as a permanent thing.

The old folk-feeling is that it is not good for the dead to return; funeral rites of primitive peoples are intended to send the dead far away, and keep them from returning, since they are now "dangerous." Coyote (or Meadowlark) represents the position of the most primitive men. For them, death is inevitable, and beyond this life is another existence. What Coyote ordains is not death, but the prohibition of the return of the dead. For the more primitive man, this is not an evil prohibition, but a good one. Only the more sophisticated man longs for the possibility of living forever, or returning to life after death. For the latter, the ordinance of the Trickster becomes an evil rule, not a good one.

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[1] DuBois and Demetracoupolou, "Wintu Myths," pp. 299-300; Curtin, pp. 163-174.

[2] Kroeber, "Sinkyone Tales," p. 346.

[3] Kroeber, "Yuki Myths," pp. 910-911.

[4] Barrett, "Pomo Myths," p. 91.

[5] Kroeber, "Patwin and Their Neighbors," p. 305.

[6] Kroeber, "Valley Nisenan," p. 275.

[7] Kroeber, "South Central California," p. 212.

[8] Barrett, "Pomo Myths," pp. 249, 319-321, 370-371.

[9] DeAngulo and Freeman, pp. 240-242; Merriman, pp. 55-56, 126-132; Kroeber, "South Central California," pp. 203, 205.

This is not to say that primitive man does not find death sad. He grieves; and the Trickster has ordained it to be so. But "it is good to mourn," he says, even as do modern psychologists! After the time of mourning, after the proper rites which cleanse the bereaved and successfully launch the spirit of the dead on its journey to that faraway place of no return, joy and gladness come again, and all is well. In ordaining that the dead shall not return, Coyote is really a Culture Hero, not a marplot, in the older point of view. But the shamanistic view represents a longing to rise above time and mortality, and for this ideology death is evil and mortal life is not the best existence imaginable. Had it not been for the Trickster, the spiritual-minded man says, man would have had the power to conquer death and remain ever youthful; this was the plan of the God above.

Sex relations and childbirth, which Coyote ordained, also are good from the older point of view, but bad from the view of the shamanistic thinker. Procreation of children is necessary, of course, because the dead cannot return. The Creator, it is said, wanted children to be born parthogenetically. Coyote knew this would not do. He ordained the pleasure of sex relations and made painful childbirth necessary, so people would "appreciate" their children properly.

Even Coyote's deeds that make the world "hard," that make work necessary if food is to be obtained, are for the good of mankind in the long run. Some of these things seem unnecessarily difficult, yet the Indians knew that man is made strong by work and hardship, and that he grows soft and useless if life is too easy. Coyote, once again, is a Culture Hero and not a source of evil, in these things which the spiritual-minded myth-makers see as bad acts of the Trickster.

The dualism of the Trickster and High God seems, then, to be a development due to the theorizing of the religious formulator, the "thinker," the philosopher, the shaman-priest. The idea that this world is evil, a spiritualistic idea, does not belong to the oldest level of mythology, the level on which the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero is the leading figure. In this ideology, the world is good, because it is as it is through the work of the Great Man of long ago.

Trickster Tales

A number of trickster stories are related about Coyote over the region. They are overshadowed in most collections of myths by the more interesting and significant creation stories. Most of them can be duplicated across the continent. For example: pretense of death in order to marry his daughter, flying with the birds, getting his penis injured or cut off, being swallowed by a fish, seducing his mother-in-law, and tales about his greed for food. The most distinctive series of trickster stories in this region are those in which Coyote harms himself trying to do what someone else has done, for example: to imitate the hunting or gathering methods of other persons. Usually the others deliberately mislead Coyote, giving him false advice about how they perform their feats, so that Coyote comes to grief. A few examples will suffice:

> A man was mourning, with his hair cut off. Coyote asked him how his hair came to be so short. He said he daubed it with pitch, and set it afire. Coyote did this, and burned himself severely.[1]

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[1] Nomland, "Sinkyone," pp. 170-171.

Crow told Coyote his hair was sleek and black because he burned it, then stuck thistles on it. When Coyote had painfully injured himself, Crow told him the truth: that he had just been born that way. Crow subsequently tricked Coyote into breaking his arms and legs by sticking them into a tree to break the branches; into falling over a waterfall getting wood for a bow; into being devoured by a bear by advising him to attack it with a stone pestle; into breaking his shin bone to get marrow for tatooing; into marrying an old woman by telling him that after he does, she will turn into a young and beautiful one, like his own.[1]

Coyote saw a Hummingbird diving and daring around, and he begged to be taught how to do it, so he could impress the girls. He told coyote to dive off a tree head first.[2]

He burned himself in a fire to become black, like the Blackbirds, as they told him to do. Trying to become like Turtle, he jumped onto some arrow points, etc.[3]

Fox persuaded Coyote to skin himself--telling him it was a painless trick.[4]

Some birds with red heads told him to hold his head in the fire to make it like theirs.[5]

Since this area is lacking in "bungling host" stories and the eye-juggling myth, I believe that these stories have the same theme as those and serve to fill their place. In all of them the Trickster is trying to do something he is not fitted by nature to do. He tries to imitate some animal whose powers are not his own. The assumption here is that to aspire to be something that man was never made to be, can cause only grief and hardship. But is this not exactly what the shaman and the spirit-dancers say that they do?--they become supernatural beings and acquire powers of other beings (spirits). Trickster maintains that man has his own powers, and neither needs nor can really gain the powers of others.

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[1] Kroeber, "Yuki Myths," pp. 936-938.

[2] Dixon, Maidu Texts, pp. 81-83; cf. 83-87.

[3] Dixon, "Maidu Myths," pp. 90-94.

[4] Roland B. Dixon, "Some Coyote Stories from the Maidu Indians of California," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIII, No. 51 (1900), 269.

[5] Kroeber, "Myths of South Central California," pp. 238-240.

Coyote, then, is seen in still another area to be the representative of the common man, the "god" of the man who has no god, the "hero" of the man who is his own hero. He is the giver of the world-as-it-is, the ordainer of what is best for man, the great fool, the sexual prankster, and the indomnible contender against the forces of the universe. He often is defeated temporarily, but never permanently. He refuses to be destroyed. And the secret of his power is that he can always come up smiling.

Let this last point be illustrated by a unique story from the Northeast Maidu:[1]

> Coyote and Cottontail follow some girls, and come to the place where they are dancing. Coyote gives the Rabbit his penis to hold, because it is so large that girls are always afraid of him when they see it. He leaves his companion in the bushes, and says he will whistle for him when he is ready to use his member, and Rabbit is to bring it to him.
>
> He dances with a girl, and takes her into the woods. When he gets her in the position he wants her, he whistles for his henchman. Rabbit does not come. Coyote can do nothing. He is utterly frustrated. Meanwhile, Cottontail, using Coyote's member, is having a grand night of it.
>
> Next morning Coyote catches Cottontail and retrieves his member. When he replaces it, his anger vanishes--because he now feels the satisfaction and pleasure which his organ has enjoyed the night before.

The Trickster may be tricked, but he never permits his failures to humble him or discourage him. There is always a way to laugh, and tomorrow he will play a trick on someone else.

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[1] Dixon, Maidu Texts, pp. 87-93.

CHAPTER XVII

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND ARIZONA

Language, Culture, and Cults

Two linguistic families are represented in the Southern California-Arizona region, the Uto-Aztecan and the Hokan: the former by the Shoshonean, Tubatulabal, and Luisenan subdivisions in California, and the Piman in Arizona; the latter by the Yuman stock (see Figure 8 and Language Table). The Hokan Chumash are also a Southern California tribe, but inasmuch as nothing is known of their mythology they will have to be omitted from our study.[1]

The culture and mythology of this region is markedly different from that of the rest of California. It should be borne in mind that except for the coast and river valleys, the region is mostly arid and inhospitable to life. The only tribes in the region engaging in agriculture are the Yuman groups of Arizona (some of which live just over the present Californian border) and the Pima and Papago, whose territory extends into Mexico. Of these, only the Yuma proper at the mouth of the Colorado, the Mohave, and the Pima and Papago appear to have been agricultural to any great degree. The Yuma tribe was quite dependent upon agriculture, raising corn, wheat, beans, cantaloupes, and seed-bearing grasses in the lowlands which were flooded for a time annually, thus making agriculture possible. However, as an investigator of these people says, "The Yuma have neither legendary accounts nor ritual regulations of the introduction of maize or wheat, and, unlike the Pueblo peoples, . . . were not preoccupied with their agriculture but accepted it as an essential but unremarkable element in their life. . . . There appear to have been no ceremonial or magical practices associated with the assurance of their crops."[1]

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[1] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, p. 550.

The Mohave depended upon their crude agriculture for perhaps half their subsistence in abroginal times. They, too, planted in the mud after the flooding of the Colorado River each year.[2] The Pima-Papago likewise planted their crops in the bottom lands following floods, but they practiced irrigation also.[3] (The rainfall in the entire region is very small.)

Despite the absence or relative unimportance of agriculture in this region, the mythology has an "agricultural tone" to it, which suggests that these peoples are either immigrants from an agricultural region, or that they have been so strongly influenced by agricultural societies that the character of their mythology has been shaped into the form it now possesses.

Public ceremonials are not much developed anywhere in the area. Mourning rites at the time of death, and commemorative services for the dead at a later date are the most important rituals. These are related to the myth of the dying god, which we shall consider below.[4] Additionally, there are initiation rites at which candidates are given dosages of the juice of the jimson weed (Datura), a narcotic which produces unconsciousness and strange "dreams" or hallucinations. All boys in the tribes where this cult is practiced are thus initiated.

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[1] Daryll C. Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma Indians," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, XVIII, No. 4 (1931), 110-114, cf. p. 88.

[2] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 735-737.

[3] Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians," Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1908, pp. 66, 87-91.

[4] Constance Goodard DuBois, "The Religion of the Luiseno Indians of Southern California," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, VIII, No. 3 (1908), 100-104.

A special form of the cult, said to have been instituted by the Culture Hero, Chungichnich, confined to the Luiseno, Gabrielino, and Northern Diegueno, also employs a type of sand-painting. This cult is of relatively recent origin, having spread to the interior Luiseno and Diegueno from about 1790 to 1850.[1] The boys dream of some guardian spirit at this time, and sing "Chungichnich songs." The rites are carried out secretly, under the direction of the chief and the older men of the tribe.[2]

The girls have an initiation rite also, which begins with an ordeal to test the virginity of the girl. She is made to swallow a ball of tobacco: if she is virtuous she will not vomit it. Drowsy from the drug (nicotine), she is buried in a trench lined and covered with green branches of sacred plants, for three days, while women attend her and men dance and sing around her at night.[3]

Following both these rites, and certain other ones which are observed by tribes having this cult, a ground-painting is made which has cosmic significance. "The sandpainting represents the world. The sky bending above is supposed to rest upon the circle of the Milky Way. The whole of the visible universe is thus represented."[4] The spirit of the individual, the Earth Mother, the sea, the hill on which the Chungichnich plant grows, etc., are all represented there.[5]

While the ground paintings do not in style resemble those of the Pueblos,[6] it is only among the latter that any parallel of this practice is found among Indians of the United States. Nothing like it occurs among the intervening Yuman tribes.

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[1] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 621-622; DuBois, "Religion Liuseno Indians,"pp. 75-76.

[2] Ibid., pp. 77-83.

[3] Ibid., pp. 93-96.

[4] Ibid., p. 88.

[5] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[6] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 663 (illustrations).

The use of Jimson weed and the prominence of "dreaming" and singing are features common to the whole region under discussion here. The Mohave and Yuma Indians of the Colorado River have developed a peculiar idea that all their myths are obtained, by each individual shaman who tells (sings) them, directly from spiritual visits to the house of the deities on a certain mountain in the area. At the house of the myth-people (spirits) on top the mountain the dreamer finds everything as it was in the mythic past. To go to the house of the gods is to return to the time of origins: hence the shamans say they received their powers in the beginning of the world. Shamans believe that they begin their visits to the house even before their birth. In these visits, the shamans actually witness the events of the myths, including the origin of the world. Theoretically at least, they receive their myth cycles, in this way, in repeated dream-visits. The "correctness" of their myth-dreams is checked, however by the older shamans, so that a certain degree of consistency is maintained among all individual versions of the myths. Jimson weed is used to aid in the dreaming. During the dream experiences the shamans receive their curing and other powers also, at the house of the gods.[1] Not only shamans, but men of any significant rank or status in the tribe achieve their position through dreams.[2]

To the east of the Colorado River, the Yuman-speaking Yavapai, Walapai, and Havasupai for the most part do not engage in agriculture and lack the concept of dreamed myths. Their shamanism is of a more conventional kind, with visions being received in trances rather than in dreams.[3] The general culture of these people is perhaps best designated as Great Basin in type,[1] while their mythology blends gradually into that of the Apache to the east. They appear to have been residents of the area only for a few centuries, having displaced an agricultural, pueblo-type people, of whose culture, apparently, they did not absorb very much.[2]

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[1] John P. Harrington, "A Yuma Account of Origins," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXI, No. 37 (1908), 326-327; Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 754-758, 783-785.

[2] Forde, p. 272.

[3] E. W. Gifford, "The Southeastern Yavapai," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, XXIX, No. 3 (1932), 233-234.

Social organization in general is defined by exogamous sibs or clans with animal names or epithets. The Luiseno and Diegueno are exceptional in lacking totemic names for their local clans. Partilineal descent is more usual than matrilineal, the latter being found only each of the Colorado River.[3]

Shoshonean Creation Myths

The cosmogonic myths in this region often are quite dramatic and always are very long. They begin with the origin of the world and proceed through the creation of all things, the migration of the people, the death of the first man or co-creator, and the establishment of the ceremonies. Most of the myths speak of two men, often brothers, who work together--frequently antagonistically--in the creation of things. Sooner or later in all the myths Coyote appears. He is among the first beings, but he is depicted as a crafty and despised person, ordinarily. Our purpose in examining these creation myths will be to see what relationship the Trickster Coyote has to the principal figures in the myths.

From the Cahuilla Indians, one of the more southerly of the Shoshonean groups, in California, we have an excellent cosmogonic myth, which will serve as our first example:[4]

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[1] E. W. Gifford, "Northeastern and Western Yavapai," University of California Publicatins in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXIV, No. 4 (1936), 269.

[2] Ibid., p. 247.

[3] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 834-837.

[4] Lucille Hooper, "The Cahuilla Indians," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, XVI, No. 6 (1920), 317-328. The first paragraph is a verbatim quotation, the rest greatly abridged.

In the beginning there was no earth or sky or anything or anybody; only a dense darkness in space. This darkness seemed alive. Something like lightning seemed to pass through it and meet each other once in a while. Two substances which looked like the white of an egg came from these lightnings. They lay side by side in the stomach of the darkness, which resembled a spider web. These substances disappeared. They were produced again, and again they disappeared. This was called the miscarriage of the darkness. The third time they appeared, they remained, hanging there in the web of the darkness. The substances began to grow and were soon two very large eggs. When they began to hatch, they broke at the top first. Two heads came out, then shoulders, hips, knees, ankles, toes; then the shell was all gone. Two boys had emerged: Mukat and Tamaioit. They were grown men from the first and could talk right away. As they lay there, both of them heard a noise like a bee buzzing. It was the song of their mother Darkness.

They argued as to which was the elder, and tried to fool one another to prove which was the more intelligent. Tamaioit appeared to win this "contest," but subsequently Mukat showed himself to be the wiser, dominant member of the pair. They made poles and steadied them with snakes and spider webs. They climed the poles and sang, and substances poured out of their mouths and ran down the poles. They made whirlwinds and flying insects to solidify the substances, and thus the earth was made. Then they made the ocean, sea creatures, metal sky, and the stars.

From below they saw a mist arising. Tamaioit told Mukat this was their afterbirth, the cause of all sickness in the world.

They began to create people. Mukat made dark people with proper features, while Tamaioit, working much more rapidly, made light ones with the same features on both sides of their bodies, and with webbed fingers and toes. Tamaiot wanted people to live always, or to come to life again soon after death, but Mukat said that would be bad because the world would become overcrowded. The afterbirth was intended to bring disease and death, he said.

They made shaman powers to counteract the diseases and aid in bringing rain to the earth. Mukat made the sun, but hid it in the east, and he and Tamaioit made the moon, a "beautiful woman."

The two brothers quarrelled continually as they created and ordained things. Finally, Tamaioit sang a song and sank into the ground, taking all his creatures with him, except that he forgot Coyote, the palm tree, Duck, and Moon. There was a great earthquake, and the mountains were made. The ocean overflowed, and streams were produced. Mukat made over the creatures Tamaioit left behind, except that he left the Duck's feet webbed.

Mukat made a place in the west for the dead, and put Montakwet, an immortal man, in charge of the clashing gates of entry.

Mukat and his people (animal people) lived happily in one big house. Moon-woman instructed the people in many games, the knowledge of which would admit them to the land of the dead.

Mukat made a Rattlesnake to bite the Clown who annoyed him. Then Rattlesnake left the house--the first of the creatures to do so.

One day Mukat became passionate towards his daughter Moon, and she departed, sadly. She told the people there were other games she had wished to teach them, and that she would not die because Tamaioit had helped to make her. Coyote saw her reflection in the river, and dived in to catch her. Then he realized she had gone to the sky, and he told the others.

Mukat made the sun rise for the first time, and in its heat the creatures changed their forms, becoming animals, birds, trees, etc. Some stayed with Mukat and became human beings.

Mukat taught the people to make bows and arrows, and had them shoot at each other. Some died, and their ghosts went to the land in the East that Mukat had made, after being refused admittance to Tamaioit's land below.

The people were angry now at Mukat for the three wrongs he had done: making the Rattlesnake, driving away the Moon, and teaching them to fight. They plotted with Frog to kill him. Frog waited at the place were Mukat defecated, and swallowed his voidings. Immediately Mukat became ill, for his soul had been stolen. He sent for shamans to try to cure him, but no one could (or would) help him.

As he lay ill, Coyote stayed nearby, eating all his spittle and excrement. Fearing Coyote would eat his corpse also, Mukat gave orders that when he should die, Coyote should be sent away on a false errand to get fire for the funeral pyre; meanwhile they were to cremate his body with fire from another source. He died, and Coyote was sent away. But from the mountain, Coyote saw smoke rising from below, and he realized he had been tricked. He hurriedly returned, leaped over the head of a short man, and seized Mukat's heart--all that remained of the corpse--and dashed off. The people were angry, but there was nothing they could do.

Later Coyote returned to participate in the funerary festival, which was held in accordance with directions given by Mukat before he died. Coyote was made chief of the celebration, and he gathered the proper materials for making the effigies of the dead, etc. They burned the old house, at Coyote's suggestion, and built a new one, in which Coyote became the roof. They sang many songs, and divided them between the two voieties: the Coyote half sang Tamaioit songs and the Wildcat half sang Mukat songs.

Then the people were transformed and scattered. [Duplication of earlier episode.] Buzzard returned to the funeral pyre and found strange things growing from the ashes: they were different kinds of domestic food plants. Mukat instructed a shaman in a dream as to what they were. [The Cahuilla did not practice agriculture, but their Yuman neighbors did.]

The annual tribal mourning ceremony, which is explained by the myth above, is the most important religious gathering of these people. At this time the creation story is sung or chanted over a three-night period. A singing is held after each individual death also. If the deceased is a man, songs about creation are sung; if a woman, songs about the Moon.[1]

The motif of quarreling co-creators occurs extensively in the region, as does also the tale of the "poisoning" and death of the first man, followed by the theft of his heart from the funeral pyre by Coyote. The identification of Coyote with Tamaioit and Panther with Mukat appears to be a local adaptation of the myth to the Cahuilla moiety system. (Panther takes the place held by Wolf in Great Basin, in the mythology of some Southern California Shoshonean groups.)[2] The Cupeno, a small Shoshonean tribe, tell a story almost identical to the one above,[3] while the Serrano versions vary only a little. One of the Serrano accounts states that Pakrokitat (corresponds to Tamaioit) came into existence first, and from his shoulder Kukitat was born. Pakrokitat made strange but immortal beings (double-faced creatures), and finally went under the earth to live with them. Kukitat led his people from the north to their present location. There they killed him, as in the above story, and Coyote stole away his heart.[4]

While the quarreling brothers occur elsewhere, only in the above-mentioned tribes is it stated that the brother who sank under the ground made immortal, "double-beings." This myth suggests a theme rarely encountered in North America, that of the androgynous, "perfect" beings in whom the dualism of sex is overcome and unified. Such creatures do not belong to the earth, and must be banished; moreover, they are immortal and live in a happy land below, the myth says. The creations of Mukat, on the other hand, are mortal and sexual beings, as he is himself.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 328-330, 334; A. L. Kroeber, "Ethnology of the Cahuilla Indians," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnography, VIII, No. 2 (1908), 65-66.

[2] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 598.

[3] Ibid., p. 692.

[4] Ruth Benedict, "Serrano Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXIX, No. 151 (1926), 1; Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 619.

The fact that Coyote is called a creation of Tamaioit has nothing to do with the androgeny motif. The myth has confused two ideas; the concept of immortal, perfect beings, and the idea of monstrosities and queer things. Coyote is called a creature of Tamaioit because he is not a "properly-made" being, and perhaps because he also is immortal. The impression I have from this myth is that "systematic mythology" in this region did not know quite how to account for Coyote, the ancient Trickster. In most tribes, he is simply listed as one of the first beings, with no special account of his origin being given.

Actually, Mukat seems to have more in common with the Trickster-Culture Hero Coyote than does Tamaioit. He becomes sexually enamoured of his daughter, he causes the first death, and he brings the evil of war into the world. It is not at all clear from the myth, but apparently Tamaioit is supposed to be regarded as the "better" of the two brothers, who would have made a world of immortals if he had been allowed to have free reign. Yet, at other points, Mukat seems to be pictured as one to be honored, in that he is chief, and he made many good things of the earth. He is also a Transformer. Probably, he should be regarded as an anthropomorphic development of an older Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero type, who may or may not have been Coyote.

Coyote is pictured variously in this myth. First he is the strange creation of Tamaioit, left behind when his maker departed. Next he appears as the eater of Mukat's waste products, and eager to consume the chief's corpse. He is sent on a false errand, to get fire--we recall how often the Culture Hero steals fire--but returns in time to steal the heart from the funeral pyre. Yet, despite his despicable deed, he returns later to take the leading role in the funeral rites! Later, he is said to have become the roof on the sacred house. These last two episodes may have come into the myth due to the positions in the ritual of the Coyote moiety of the tribe: they are lacking in other versions. But Coyote's association with the funeral rites is deeply engraved upon the mythology of the entire region. While the details of this association are obscure, it seems likely that in the remote past Coyote may have been regarded as the one who instituted the death customs. The myth of his theft of fire also was associated somehow with the kindling of the fire for the cremation.

The whole myth shows evidence of development over a long period of time. The appearance of vegetables in the ashes of the funeral pyre of Mukat shows that the story is a "Hainuwele" myth: food plants from the body of a "Dema Deity."

The Indians most closely related to those discussed above are the Luiseno and their kindred Juaneno, whose territory lies to the immediate south and east of the Serrano. These tribes are the center of the modern Chingichnich cult, as has been mentioned, but the myth of this hero-god has not, apparently, influenced the early part of the creation story. Chingichnich appears after the death of the "poisoned" man, and becomes thereafter the new leader of the people. His story need not concern us in this study.

However, an important new element does enter into the creation myth: Instead of a pair of quarreling brothers, heaven and earth are personified as brother and sister, and from their sexual union the creation is produced as a birth. The origin myths begins dramatically:[1]

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[1] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 677-678 (first two paragraphs directly quoted here); DuBois, "Religion of Luiseno," pp. 128-132, 138-148; Constance G. DuBois, "Mythology of the Mission Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIX (1906), 52-54; cf. also Juaneno version in Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 637.

> The first were Vacant and Empty, male and female, brother and sister. Successively, these called themselves and became Not-Alive and Not-in-Existence; White-Pale (Milky Way) and Boring-Lowering; Night Sky and Earth. She lay with her feet toward the north; he sat by her right side; and she spoke" "I am stretched, I am extended, I shake, I resound. I am diminished, I am earthquake. I revolve, I roll, I disappear." Then he answered, "I am night, I am inverted (arch of the heavens). I cover, I rise, I ascend. I devour. I drain (as death). I seize, I send away (the souls of men). I cut, I sever (life)."
>
> These attributes were not yet; but they would be. The four double existences were not successive generations; they were transitions, manifestations of continuing beings.
>
> Then, although brother and sister, the Sky (Tukmit) became familiar with the Earth (Tomaiyowit) and held her in sexual embrace. He assisted her in giving birth (one version says he slit her open), and all the creatures came forth as living beings; rocks, plants, trees, animals, sacred ceremonial objects. Mother Earth had created some land, and she put them there and sent them out. She stretched out on her back, and the earth became stable and quiet.
>
> The people were like babies at first, and could move only by rolling. Then they crawled and finally grew big enough to walk. They migrated toward the south. When they reached their present location they were mature, and Morther Earth made the sun rise and for the first time there was light. The people raised their arms in the air and cried out, to help him rise.

This Luiseno myth has been compared with the Pueblo emergence myths, inasmuch as the creation "emerges" from the womb of the earth. The migration also invites comparison with the southwest. However, the Pueblo versions provide much greater detail concerning the actual emergence, and frequently they describe the life of the people under the ground before their coming forth. Emergence myths of this type do not occur until we reach the Yavapai and Pima.

The similarity in the names of the quarreling brothers in the first myth cited above, and the names of the brother and sister here, should be noticed. The brother whose name (Tamaioit) apparently means "earth" and who sinks into the earth corresponds Tomaiyowit, the female Mother of all. It seems logical that the latter is the elder and original figure, although why Earth should have come to be regarded as one of a pair of brothers is not entirely clear. Apparently, the Shoshonean tradition of two brothers (in the

Great Basin, Coyote and Wolf) and the Yuman tradition (to be considered below) which likewise speaks of two brothers has all but obliterated the concept of Male-Sky and Female-Earth in the case of some of the Southern California Shoshoneans.

The Luiseno myth continues, with the "dying god" appearing as one of the first beings. The Luiseno call him Wiyot, and present him as one of the first people, the first man to die. The Juaneno version says that Wiyot was the last creature born from Earth, and that he gave birth to the first-people the animal-men. The Frog-Woman "poisons" Wiyot because he was disgusted one day at the sight of her caved-in back when she was bathing. She read his thoughts and enchanted him by swallowing his voidings. After a long illness, during which he named the months, Wiyot died; but he returned a few nights later as the moon, as he had promised. In the Luiseno versions, as in others, Coyote is sent off to get fire while Wiyot's body is cremated with fire kindled by the Fire-fly. He returns in time to steal the heart. Nothing is said about plants growing from the ashes.[1]

The death of Wiyot is looked upon as the origin of death in the world. The "Hainuwele motif" is obscured, as might be expected, since the Luiseno are non-agriculturalists. However, it is significant that after his death and cremation the people fell upon those "people" who were to be used for food in the future (Deer, Rabbit, Acorn, etc.), killed them, and ate them for the first time. These "murders" were done as a part of the funerary rites.[2]

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[1] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 677-678; DuBois, "Mythology of Mission Indians," pp. 55-58, 59-60; idem, "Religion of Luiseno," pp. 132-138, 138-140.

[2] DuBois, "Mission Indians," pp. 55-58; idem, "Religion of Luiseno," pp. 132-138; cf. Philip Stedman Sparkman, "The Culture of the Luiseno," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, VIII, No. 4 (1908), 193-200. The acorn is the staple food of these people; they gather also roots, grass seeds, etc., and hunt small game.

The Juaneno version attributes the death of Wiyot, in a secondary way, to Coyote. Earth Mother gave Coyote a remedy to take to the bewitched Wiyot, but Coyote spilled it along the way.[1] The Juaneno, uniquely, have a reinactment of Coyote's theft of the heart as part of their funeral rites. A person called "Coyote" or "Eater" cuts off a piece of flesh from the corpse and eats it. The man who plays this role is paid heavily and is greatly feared by the people. Nothing like this is reported among other tribes having this myth, nor is such cannibalism known on the Pacific Coast anywhere else except among the Kwakiutl.[2] Perhaps the Juaneno alone have preserved a remnant of an ancient ritual at which a human life was sacrificed and the corpse eaten by the assembled people, in celebration of the death in primeval times which gave to the earth the food plants (agriculture).

Yuman Creation Myths

The Diegueno, whose territory lies just south of that of the Luiseno, are a Yuman-speaking group. Their creation myths contain most of the motifs so far considered in this chapter: two quarreling brothers, the hieros gamos, the poisoning and death of the first man, and the theft of his heart by Coyote. In addition, some of the Diegueno versions speak of the origin of the two male creators as being in the salt water. Several versions or partial versions have been obtained from different localities.

> In the beginning the earth was like a lake. The Sky and Earth embraced, and two men were born: Tuchaipai and Yokomatis. They separated their parents, pushing up the Sky so that they would have space to walk. Tuchaipai made people out of mud from the Earth. He intended that they should be immortal. Yokomatis made the moon. The people met in council, and Tuchaipi gave them the choice of deciding about permanent death, immortality, or return after death. They argued a long time, but the opinion of Fly finally

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[1] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, p. 637.

[2] Ibid., p. 643.

> prevailed. Frog became offended when people laughed at the way Tuchaipi had made him. After six months Tuchaipai died, having been "poisoned" by Frog. Since all things are his children, they die too. Coyote stole the heart from the pyre. Yokomatis went to the west where he lives now, answering prayers for rain.[1]

In other accounts, a cosmic marriage does not occur, and instead the two brothers emerge from the depths of the ocean. As they rise up through the salt water, the younger brother opens his eyes and is blinded: hence he is called the "Blind Man." This younger blind brother is credited with the creation of many animals including the Coyote, the long-legged birds, and the moon. The Elder brother lies to him about something, and Blind Man knows it. The Blind Man is swallowed by the earth, while the other goes up to the sky in the end. But before he departs, he makes people out of clay and puts Wildcat over them (as chief), according to one version.[2] In another version, the Blind Brother makes nothing and simply sinks back into the ocean; while the other brother, who is named here Tcaipokomat (a combination of the names of the two in some other accounts--see above), creates the earth (from ants), the sun, the moon, the animals, and the first human couple. From this pair the race is descended.[3]

The emergence of a pair of creator-brothers from the salt water, with the blinding of one of them, occurs also in the creation myth of the Yuma tribe. The younger brother was blinded because the elder, who emerged first, told him to open his eyes under the water. The elder brother is called Kwikumat, the younger Kwera-akkutor ("Blind-Old-Man"). Kwikumat stepped to the four points and returned, then stirred the water with his finger and made an island. The two busied themselves making things, but Kwikumat did not like his younger brother's web-footed creations and kicked them into the water. Blind Man dived after them, and from the spot where he dived sickness and death came forth. From this point the narrative becomes somewhat confused:

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[1] Constance G. DuBois, "The Mythology of the Dieguenos," Journal of American Folk Lore, XIV, No. 54 (1901), 181-189; cf. Leslie Spier, "Southern Diegueno Customs," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XX (1923), 330-331.

[2] Ibid., p. 331.

[3] Thomas T. Waterman, "The Religious Practices of the Diegueno Indians," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, VIII, No. 6 (1910), 339-341.

> The elder brother continues his creations, but now he is assisted by First Man, whom he has made. [This figure is a double of the younger-brother Creator.] After Kwikumat has destroyed his first creation with a flood, he and First Man make new things. Coyote is specifically mentioned as a creation of First Man.
>
> Kwikumat makes a woman and has intercourse with her. She gives birth to Kumastamho, the most important god of the Yuma. This youth makes the sun, but fastens it in the east. He also stamps on the earth, and plants grow up. Seeds of corn, mellons, etc. fall from the sky at his behest. He tells the people to plant them. His father sets loose the sun, and Kumastamho is angry at him. He "dreams" Kwikumat and First Man sick.
>
> Kwikumat becomes crazy. He tilts the sky and makes the Rattlesnake. The snake bites First Man, and the man dies. But Kwikumat, restored to sanity, shows the shamans how to bring him back to life in the house. . . .
>
> Kwikumat has a "daughter," Frog, who had been born in the water like himself. One day he accidentally touches her privates, and she steals his excrements and bewitches him. He sickens and dies, leaving Kumastamho to be in charge after him. Coyote steals Kwikumat's heart from his pyre. He carries it away, and it becomes a mountain in the east. Coyote is made into a sneaky animal after that.
>
> Kumastamho ordains that people henceforth shall die, as did his father, in order to make room for others. . . . Eventually, First Man is cremated atop a mountain near Gila City. Some Yuma men go there in dream-excursions; but the great shamans go to Avikwa'ame ("High Mountain") and the house of Kumastamho.[1]

It is clear that this account is a composite tradition, employing characters and episodes from several origin myths. The basic myth is that of the antagonistic brother-creators, one of whom goes under the earth (water), and the other of whom creates the present order and dies. Into this fairly simple plot has been introduced First Man, who is in some respects a double for the secondary Creator, and in other respects a double for the hero-god who inspires dreamers today. The myth gives two different accounts of the origin of death also, it will be observed.

Kumastamho, the great shaman-deity of Mt. Avikwa'ame, has his counterpart in Mohave mythology and religion under the name of Mastamho. The closely-related Yuman-speaking Mohave probably are the originators of the cult of this figure and of the idea of going to his house on the mountain to "dream." The version of the origin myth which we have from them somewhat resembles that of the Yuma, except that it is less complex. The story begins with the union of Sky and Earth, from which is born Matavilya (a unique name for the elder brother); Frog, his "daughter;" Mastamho, the younger brother or son of Matavilya; and all other men and beings. The narrative proceeds quickly to the death of Matavilya, the sending away of Coyote, and Coyote's theft of the heart from the corpse. Mastamho, the younger brother or son, becomes the hero of the story from this point onward. The old man who sinks into the ground is barely mentioned in this account: he is called Korkorapa, "White-Man," and is stated to have been the only man not saddened by the death of Matavilya. He sank into the ground at the time of the cremation. The younger hero, Mastamho, is pictured as a typical Transformer and Culture Hero, and ends as the god on Mt. Avikwame.[1]

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[1] Harrington, "A Yuma Account of Origins," pp. 328-348.

The Walapai, immediately east of the Mohave, probably have substantially the same myth. Twin sons are born from the embrace of Sky and Earth, and they separate their parents. Tochopa, the elder, instructs men in the arts, and is beloved by the people. The other, Hokomata, out of jealousy teaches warfare and brings division to mankind. The first man, probably the same figure mentioned in the Yuma myth, is called here "Taught-by-Coyote." The two brothers emerged together from the Grand Canyon. When First Man prayed to the Powers Above for companions, they began to be created (spontaneously?); but Coyote spoke and broke the spell before all had been created, and he slunk away in shame.[2]

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[1] Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California, pp. 770-771.

[2] Hartley B. Alexander, North American Mythology, Vol. X: Mythology of All Races (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1916), pp. 179-180.

This fragmentary account is intriguing. Are the Creator-Brothers later developments, in part, of an earlier pair, First Man (who calls upon the Gods) and Coyote? Such a pair would correspond to the Great Basin Shoshonean Wolf and Coyote. Although it is not clearly stated, the myth apparently means to say that when the First Man prayed for companions, they began to come forth from the bowels of the earth, where they had been conceived by the hieros gamos. Coyote (whose origin is not explained) interferes with the birth or "emergence," and therefore the world is not as good as it might have been.

Passing to the Northeast Yavapai, we find that their origin myth begins with the people's emerging from the underworld where that had been living. There is no reference to their conception through a union of Earth and Sky, but such must, I believe, be assumed. They climbed out on a tree. Frog-Man was their leader, and soon after the emergence he was made ill by his daughter, who did not like him. He was sick for a long time, and gave directions for his cremation. "Cover the spot where my heart burns," he said, "and maize will grow from the ashes." He instructed them about the use of the new plant, and declared that the dead should not return after four days, as some persons desired. He said his hand would appear in the sky as a certain star, to guide them in counting the months, and that in the course of the year other stars would rise which would be his body.[1] Coyote was sent away, but he returned in time to steal the heart. However, the people covered the spot where the heart had lain, and after a while a green sprout came up. They tended it, and it became the first corn.

Coyote did other bad things. Snow originally was corn meal, but he changed it. Formerly, wood burned easily when wet, but Coyote made it otherwise. Because Coyote had stolen the heart, a flood came up out of the emergence hole. One young woman, Komwidapokuwia, was sealed in a hollow log together with seeds, and she alone survived to begin the second world era. (She becomes the virgin mother, impregnated by rays of the sun and by dripping water, and her grandson later is a great hero. Two other world periods follow, the last one being the present one. Coyote stories and other folk tales belong to these eras.[1] The virgin mother and the hero grandson belong to the mythology of the Apache, as we shall see in the next chapter.)

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[1] Compare with the Luiseno versions of the Wiyot myth, above.

The Western Yavapai account is similar to that above, except that the events of the first period, as given above, occur in the underworld. After this, the people emerge onto the earth, leaving below the Blind Old Man and his two granddaughters. "Younger Brother" led them out. Soon after the emergence the people perished in a flood, except for the woman and the seeds inside the hollow log. . . .[2]

The Southeast Yavapai account of origins resembles the Northeast account also. In the episode of the theft of the heart, a new element occurs in the explanation of the result of Coyote's wicked deed. It is stated that because Coyote stole the heart, maize does not ripen all the year around. Coyote, the marplot, interfered with the plan of the dying god to give an ever-bearing maize to his people out of the ashes of his body. This etiological element should be seen in the light of beliefs generally held about Coyote by the Yavapai. It is said that the people wanted flowers to bloom the year around, mescal to grow ready-to-eat, daylight to be perpetual, and the dead to return after four days; but Coyote opposed all these wishes and ordained otherwise. Also, he transformed the first people into animals against their wishes.[3]

Such statements remind us of similar "arguments" between Coyote and the

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[1] E. W. Gifford, "Northeastern and Western Yavapai Myths," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXIV, No. 4 (1936), 349ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 402-412.

[3] Gifford, "Southeastern Yavapai," p. 246; ibid., p. 412.

Creator or some "noble animal" as told in northern and central California, Oregon, Washington, and elsewhere. Coyote is held to be responsible for the world's being not as easy as it might have been: that is, not as easy as imaginable. Instead, Coyote has caused the world to be as it is. Whether or not Coyote is really a marplot depends upon whether or not we view the "world-as-it-is" as good or evil. It is my opinion that in the oldest strata of mythology Coyote is the Trickster-Hero who ordains the world to be as it is. For men of a certain world view, this is not necessarily either good or evil: it is simply a statement about reality, that it has a particular character and order because someone long ago established it that way. But because the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero always make the best of the world-as-it-is, no matter how it treats him, and laughs at it, then the world can be "good," if only man will exert his energies and exercise his capacity for humor. A later, more pessimistic view sees the world as full of trouble, and man as weak and in need of help from the spirits or gods. To such a world view Coyote's work in the beginning can be only an offense, an evil, something to be regretted and deplored.

Pima and Papago Origin Myths

The last pair of tribes to be considered in this chapter are the Pima and Papago, Shoshoneans situated in southern Arizona and Mexico. These semi-agricultural tribes have been in a position to be influenced by the Dieguenо, Yuma, Yavapai, and Apache; in addition, there must have been a time in the not too distant past when they were a part of a continuous body of Uto-Aztec speaking peoples stretching from the northern Great Basin and Plains to Mexico and far into Central America. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that their origin myths are quite complex.

Out of the primeval darkness and void a mass was formed after long ages, which became Earth-Doctor. He drifted around like a wisp of cotton, till he took a little dust from his bosom, made a cake of it, and caused a plant to grow on it. He danced on it and sang; then he made some ants and termites which increased the size of the earth. He kept dancing and singing till the sky covered the earth, like the dome of a house such as the Pima dwell in. He made a spider to spin a web and hold the earth fast to the edges of the sky.

Earth Doctor made a complete world of beings, but they did not die, and soon the world became over-crowded. People began to eat one another, and Earth Doctor determined to destroy them all.

He pulled down the Sky upon the Earth, and the people were crushed. Sky and Earth were united in sexual embrace. Sun and Moon likewise united. The Moon gave birth to Coyote, and the Earth to a helper for Earth Doctor, Siu-uhu, "Elder Brothers." Elder Brother had greater powers than Earth Doctor, and when the latter created a new race of beings, Elder Brother shortened their lives. After a time he tried to destroy all of Earth Doctor's people with a flood, but Earth Doctor hid some of his creatures in a hole in the ground. Earth Doctor, Elder Brother, Coyote, and some others survived the flood by a variety of strategies.

When the flood was past, the three sat down to make a new world. Each worked independently. Coyote made webbed-footed animals and birds, and snakes. Earth Doctor had made deformed, human-like creatures, so they would not be rivals of his people who were still hidden under the ground. Elder Brother threw these monstrosities to the end of the earth, and he cast Coyote's things into the sea. Earth Doctor sank into the ground, though Elder Brother tried to hold him back. Elder Brother got dirt and blood on his hands, and from this filth diseases came into the world.

Elder Brother's people came to life: they are the various tribes of people on the earth today. Then Elder Brother became evil and made Rattlesnake, who bit Rabbit. The people blamed Elder Brother for Rabbit's death. They cremated Rabbit, and tried to prevent Coyote from getting at the corpse by sending off to the sun to get fire. Meanwhile, they kindled a fire with a drill; but Coyote returned in time to steal the heart. After this, the people learned to gather food, hunt, and till the soil.

Coyote was called back again, and was permitted to live with the people. He violated the wife of Wildcat, and the owners of the animals impounded all the game because of the offense against one of their number. Many people tried to release them, in vain, until at last Coyote went and succeeded. . . .

An old woman was killed, and from her grave the tobacco plant grew for the first time. Elder Brother taught people how to use it. But he did many bad things to the people also, until at last they put him to death, with the help of the Sun. But his bones revived, and the sank down to the world of the people below. He led those people out, as an army, against the Indians living above. Coyote found them emerging like ants from an ant hill. Elder Brother told him to stay back, but he peered in

> and laughed at the sight. As a result, the hole closed, and many persons were left below. Elder Brother led these people against the Indians, especially against those living in the pueblos (whose ruins are in Pima land today). [From here onward the account becomes more or less history.][1]

This myth, here much abbreviated, shows how several layers of traditions can become superimposed. There are multiple acts of creation: by Earth Doctor, by the union of Sky and Earth, by Elder Brother, and by emergence from the earth. There are two ritual deaths: that of Rabbit, whose slaying is followed by hunting, gathering, and agriculture; and of the old woman from whose body tobacco grows. Earth Doctor sinks into the ground and rejoins his people whom he has hidden below, yet he is never heard from again; while Elder Brother leads Earth Doctor's people in the emergence! (Both Earth Doctor and Elder Brother are believed today to be gods in the east, dividing the control of the universe between them. Earth Doctor is believed to govern the winds and rain.)[2] Coyote is a marplot, mostly; but he is also the Culture Hero who releases the game for men.[3]

The Pima tell another story, supposedly relating to the career of Coyote subsequent to the emergence:[4]

> Coyote wandered far to the west and made two Coyotes, Elder Brother Sandy Coyote and Younger Brother Yellow Coyote. He sent them out to sea on logs, to look for land beyond. Elder Brother tricked Younger Brother into being blinded by salt spray. Then they returned. The two went north to Yavapai (?) country and built a house. They argued about who would enter it first--so long that it fell down. They repeated this foolishness three times before Elder Coyote entered first. They picked beans and gambled with them so long that they spoiled. Then they engaged, with other, in ball games and races. They brought home wives in the dark, and although neither Coyote had seen the other's wife, each said the other's spouse

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[1] Russell, pp. 206-230; cf. Mary L. Neff, "Pima and Papago Legends," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXV (1925), 51-52.

[2] Russell, p. 251.

[3] Gifford, "Northeast and Western Yavapai Myths," p. 413.

[4] Russell, pp. 230-237.

> was no good. They gambled until Younger Coyote lost his wager: which was his life. Elder Brother ate him. A posthumous son was born to the wife of Younger Coyote, Corn Woman, and he grew up to be a hero who took revenge on his father's killer, his uncle's Elder Brother Coyote.

One hardly knows what to make of such a myth. Is it a "nursery tale" parody of the sacred myth, or is it an older version out of which the story of the Brother Creators has developed? I am inclined to favor the latter hypothesis, recognizing that we may have here both ancient myth and parody. Russell, who reports these myths, says:

> Even today Coyote is known as the wise one. It is dangerous to kill or harm him, for he will avenge himself by stealing or doing worse mischief. . . . And yet he is not always unfriendly, for if he is heard to cry out as if jumping, it is a warning that Apaches are near, and danger menaces.[1]

Papago traditions of origin begin with darkness and water. From the friction of these two, where they touched, was produced Elder Brother (Tsi-iho). It was he who created everything. Coyote is the younger brother. Probably, Coyote is regarded as a marplot in Papago mythology. The first world went bad, and a crying baby caused a flood with its tears. Elder Brother made a wooden container in which to float, and Coyote imitated him. When the flood was over, Elder Brother came out first, but Coyote claimed that he had been first and therefore should rule. Each made creatures of mud, but Elder Brother threw Coyote's malformations out of the world.[2]

Here we see the old conflict between the "high God type" and the Coyote, a themes which probably underlies all the myths of dual, antagonistic creators found in this region. Coyote, the older figure in mythology, is being supplanted by the shamans' god, "Elder Brother," who seems to be regarded today as a spirit of the sky or of some other transcendent region.

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[1] Ibid., p. 237.

[2] Henriette R. Kroeber, "Traditions of the Papago Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXV, No. 96 (1912), 95-99; cf. idem, "Papago Coyote Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXII, No. 85 (1909), 339; and Neff, pp. 52-53.

A similar conflict must be at the base of the strange episode of Coyote's theft of the heart, the only motif which occurs in the mythology of every tribe in the region. It should be noted that Coyote is sent out to get fire--in one version, from the sun. The myth of the theft of fire or the sun by Coyote or some other Trickster-Hero is one of the most basic of all myths. (Compare also the theft of Wolf's scalp, as found all over the Great Basin: see chapter viii.) But this episode in the context of the myth of the dying god--which is plainly a partly corrupted Hainuwele type myth--is for the purpose of getting Coyote away from the sacred cremation rite. The people really do not need the fire Coyote can obtain. They know how to kindle it with a drill. They do not want Coyote to interfere with the sacrifice which will produce domestic food plants for the world. Coyote, on the other hand, wishes to prevent the sacrifice from being effective, and he succeeds partially, it would seem, since he gets the heart. Was this episode intended to account for the absence of agriculture in this area? Did Coyote, the Culture Hero of the hunters' world, nullify the sacrifice of the god of food plants for the people of this arid geographical region? Did the Yuman (and Shoshonean) hunting peoples "steal the heart" out of the culture of the agricultural Pueblos whom they dispossessed?

None of these suggestions, nor others proposed earlier in the course of this chapter, appear entirely satisfactory. However, I believe that the episode of the theft of the heart by Coyote indicates a conflict between what Jensen would call two types of Dema deities: the Trickster-Hero of the hunters and the self-sacrificing Dema of the archaic planters.

Trickster Stories

Throughout this region short Coyote stories are told, many of them having the status of children's fables and nursery tales. Most of the reports of the ethnologists ignore this type of folk tale, or give only a few examples.

The creation and origin myths overshadow everything else in the oral literature of these people, and in our collections of myths from these tribes.

The familiar tale of Coyote's marrying his daughter is mentioned in several reports (Serrano, Yuma, Yavapai).[1] The "bungling host" motif is well-represented (Diegueno, Yavapai).[2] Coyote antagonizes or kills a Frog-woman and causes a flood, according to some Shoshonean traditions.[3]

Frequently, Coyote is depicted as an erotic lecher. He is living with a hunter and his two wives. When they are traveling one day, Coyote pretends to be ill in order to be carried on the back of one of the women: thus he is put in a position in which he can rape her.[4] He takes his mother-in-law on a war party "for luck," and seduces her. He kills her subsequently, bloodies himself, and returns home saying they were attacked by enemies.[5] He finds a female Bear asleep and has connection with her.[6] He chases seven girls who are climbing a rope to become stars. They can now be seen in the sky: seven stars with another following.[7]

Coyote's cowardliness is also well-documented. He sets out on a war party with the men, and soon he returns alone, all bloody. The women fondle him and dress his wounds. When the men return, they say he just scratched himself on some thorny bushes.[8] Out hunting one day, Coyote is trapped in a cave, and Wildcat is about the eat him. "Wait till I go behind the bushes," he begs, "and pray to Tsi'iho to take care of my wife and children." Thus he makes his escape.[1] Coyote volunteers to go out and attack a monster (a culture-hero deed), but after setting out he is afraid. Nevertheless, he succeeds in the venture.[2]

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[1] Benedict, "Serrano," p. 11; Harrington, "Yuma Origins," p. 339; Gifford, "Northeast and Western Yavapai Myths," pp. 399-400.

[2] Spier, "Southern Diegueno," pp. 333-334; Gifford, "Northeast and Western Yavapai Myths," pp. 383, 392-394.

[3] Benedict, "Serrano," p. 15; Neff, pp. 53-54.

[4] Gifford, "Northeastern and Western Yavapai Myths," pp. 397-398.

[5] Charles F. Voegelin, "Tubatulabal Texts," University of California Publications in Anthropology and Ethnology, XXXIV, No. 3 (1935), 210-211.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 189-199.

[7] DuBois, "Religion of Luiseno," p. 164; cf. Gifford, "Northeast and Western Yavapai Myths," pp. 413-414.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

As usual, Coyote relies on "guardian spirits" produced out of his own body: his excrements[3] or his penis.[4]

And of course, Coyote frequently is duped. His wife Rabbit ran off with a Red-winged Blackbird. Attempting to make himself look like his rival he burnt his shoulders, but his wife was unimpressed. On the way home he tried to get sexual gratification in a willow tree, and his penis was pinched off.[5] Walking down a dry stream bed one day, Coyote did not notice that melting snows had caused a flood to rise behind him. Suddenly he was swept away, and he took refuge in a tree. Later a Crane came by and told him it was safe to come down, but Coyote did not realize Crane was walking on stilt-like legs, and he stepped in the water and drowned.[6]

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[1] Kroeber, "Papago Coyote Tales," p. 340.

[2] Benedict, "Serrano," p. 13, cf. pp. 11-12.

[3] Voegelin, pp. 200-203.

[4] Benedict, "Serrano," pp. 11-13.

[5] Spier,"Southern Diegueno," p. 332.

[6] Neff, p. 54; H. Kroeber, "Papago Coyote Tales," 341-342.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES

Introductory Remarks

The tribes usually designated "Southwestern" are those who live in Texas, New Mexico, and eastern Arizona, and who practiced agriculture to a greater or lesser degree. The oldest residents of the region are the Pueblo tribes, who live mostly in New Mexico. The "Pueblos" (town-dwellers) are not a homogeneous group with regard to language: on the contrary, they represent several linguistic stocks or speak dialects so aberrant that they cannot be classed with any major Indian language family (see the Language Table).

The Tanoans, who reside in sixteen towns along the upper Rio Grande, are a major subdivision of the Uto-Aztec group, most closely related to the Kiowa (see chapter vii) and less closely to the Shoshoneans. The Keres and Zuni are classed as two independent linguistic groups. The Hopi, the most western Pueblo people, are a Shoshonean group, who, unlike their Great Basin brothers, have practiced agriculture for a long time. In the seventeenth century the Hopi brought their far-scattered villages together on or near three mesas in Arizona, probably as a defense against the war-like Navahos.[1]

It is generally agreed today that the Pueblo peoples, or some of them at least--perhaps the Tanoans--are the direct descendants of the prehistoric cliff-dwellers of the southwestern United States and northwestern Mexico. All the Pueblos are the cultural descendants of these ancient agriculturalists. The climate of this region is severe: high winds blow almost constantly, and the annual rainfall, which averages ten to thirteen inches, falls all at one time. It is surprising to find an agricultural people surviving under such conditions as these, but archeology has disclosed that the area has been inhabited for at least a thousand years by maize-growers.[1] The Hopi mesa town of Oraibi shows an apparently continuous occupation (not by the Hopi) since 1150 A.D.[2] The Indians in this region "developed one of the most advanced non-metal using cultures known to man, and the most complex of any Indians living north of Mexico."[3]

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[1] Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of the Tusayan Clans," Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1900, pp. 640-642.

The staple crop before the coming of the Spanish in the seventeenth century was corn (maize), of which a number of varieties were grown. Hunting of small game supplemented the produce of the farms. Today corn remains the principal crop, but herding of sheep and cattle have replaced hunting, and a greater diversity of crops are grown. Despite the long-time influence of Roman Catholicism, the ancient religion and mythology of the people has been preserved remarkably to the present time, although less purely among the Tanoans than among some of the other groups, apparently.

In addition to the sedentary Pueblo groups mentioned, there are other tribes in the region speaking Athabascan languages: the Navaho and the Apache. These are relatively recent arrivals in the area. The Navahos have taken up the religion of the Pueblos wholeheartedly, and are now probably its most vigorous adherents. The various Apache groups show different degrees of adaptation to the myths and ceremonies of the Pueblos. The Jicarilla and their brothers the Lipan are most like the Navaho (and Pueblo); while the Western Apaches, Chiricahua, and Mescalero least like them. The last two Apache groups have no emergence myth (see below), for example, and the emergence is of minor importance in Western Apache mythology.[1] As might be expected, these Athabascan peoples have not taken up agriculture to the extent that it is practiced by the Pueblos. All of them plant some corn, but before white conquest these Indians lived mainly by hunting. But as is true of other Athabascans wherever they have migrated, they have been quick to adopt the customs and mythology of their new neighbors, so that only a few distinctive "Athabascan myths" remain.

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[1] Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, The Hopi Way (Lawrence, Kansas and Chicago: Haskell Institute, 1944), p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Public ceremonials are highly developed among the Pueblos, and the influence of their religious life has extended in some degree to all other tribes in the vicinity. The Hopi ceremonial calendar, for example, lists ceremonies for every month of the year,[2] and other tribes have almost equally complex liturgical cycles. While "public," these ceremonials are related to esoteric and often quite abstract myths and employ highly complex symbolism of color, design, and gesture. The sand paintings, used both in the major ceremonies and in shamanistic curing rites for individuals, and the Rain Dance, Snake Dance, Kachinas (impersonated spirits), etc., are celebrated examples of Pueblo religious expression.

The origin myths telling of the emergence of all life from the underworld are the most important myths of this region. They are dramatized by the Pueblos and Navaho in annual ceremonies. The sacred house, the Kiva, a semi-subterranean structure, is the center of the ceremony. At one end is a hole dug out of the earthen floor and covered with a board, which itself has a small hole drilled in it and plugged. This represents the Sipapu, the place of the emergence, and it is the most sacred spot in the kiva. An altar with images is set up on a bench behind the sipapu hole, and out of a hole in the bench, at the time of the ceremonials, the spirits or gods emerge to mingle with the people.[1] The Kiva has, in fact, two symbolic places of emergence (of the people), since the exit (and entrance) to the building is via a ladder and hatchway in the roof. During the course of the ceremonies the people emerge thence in a procession, in imitation of their ancestors.

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[1] Morris E. Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XXXVI; New York: J. J.Augustin, 1940), p. 3; Grenville Goodwin, Myths and Tales of the White Mountain Apache (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XXXIII; New York: J.J.Augustin, 1939), p. vi.

[2] Harry C. James, The Hopi Indians, Their History and Their Culture (Cladwell, Idaho: Caxton Printer, Ltd., 1956), pp. 184-186.

While the emergence myth is the dominant type of origin myth in the region, the most popular transformer or culture hero myths are told about a pair of boys, sons (or grandsons) of a lone primeval woman (or survivor of a previous generation destroyed by a flood) who was impregnated by the rays of the sun and by water dripping from a falls. She deliberately exposed herself to these fecundating forces, and the sons she bore are called usually by names signifying their paternity: "Son of Sun" and "Child of Water" or "Child of Thunder." The Sun sometimes appears to be the father of both boys. The woman is now regarded as a goddess. In most tribes the elder boy, often called "Slayer of Monsters," is the more important hero, but the Chiricahua and Mescalero reverse the positions of the two, and make Child of Water the more powerful. Occasionally, these heroes are described as having been mischievous in their childhood, suggesting the older Trickster-Hero figure, but as adults they are always pure benefactors of mankind. They belong to the time following the emergence, and only rarely occur in the myths before that event. We shall not be concerned with these figures in this paper, except incidentally as they come into contact with the object of our chief interest Coyote, the Trickster.[1]

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[1] Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-1897, pp. 121-123.

Throughout the region Coyote is the Trickster, regarded primarily as a foolish, erotic, deceitful and ludicrous figure. Occasionally, however, he is credited with cultural hero feats, such as the theft of fire, the release of game, and the slaying of monsters. As in other areas where a mythology of gods and spirits has come to predominate, Coyote often is cast in the role of marplot, the causer of bad things in the world. But always, lingering in the shadows, is the memory of a time when the Trickster was the principal myth figure. It is for hints of the ancient, full-blown Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero Coyote that we shall be alert, as well as to his present relationship to other mythological figures, in this survey of Southwestern Indian mythology.

Myths of Creation and Emergence

The myths of origin by emergence from the underworld as found in the various tribes in this region by no means agree even in their principal details, but rather vary from tribe to tribe. For convenience, we may distinguish five types:

1. The Eastern Pueblo type, represented best by a Sia version, and more or less confirmed in versions and fragments from other Tanoans and from Languna and Acoma (Keresan).[2]

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[1] Cf. P. E. Goddard, "Jicarilla Apache Texts," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, VIII (1911), 8; Opler, p. 3; Goodwin, pp. viii-ix.

[2] One Hopi version of this type is reported, perhaps due to the influence of a Tanoan group which lives among the Hopi, the Tewa, or to another such group that may have been absorbed as a clan of the Hopi. See H. R. Voth, The Traditions of the Hopi (Field Columbian Museum Publication No. 96, Anthropological Series No. 8; Chicago: 1905), pp. 1-9. (Zuni influence is also discernable.)

2. The Zuni type, of which several versions have been collected at different times.

3. The Hopi type, which likewise is known in several variants, inasmuch as each matrilineal clan has its own versions.[1]

4. The Navaho type, of which we possess a number of very elaborate, highly ritualistic accounts.

5. The Jicarilla-Lipan Apache type, reported in several versions.

The Eastern Pueblo type begins, in the Sia version,[2] with the Creator Spider alone in the lower world. She (or he: Spider is called both, but probably was female originally) made a sand painting and sang, and thus brought into being two women, Utset ("east") and Nowutset ("west"), destined to become respectively the Mothers of the Indians and all other people (or of the Pueblos and the Navahos, or of the two moieties--according to different accounts). Spider kept singing and made many other things, but the two women also became creators. Increasingly, there came to be antagonism between them. They engaged in contests to prove which was the wiser, with the mother of the Indians proving superior. The final test was to stand in the open to see on whom the rising sun's rays would first fall. Nowutset, the elder, expected to win this contest, as she was the taller, but Spider sent a bird to make a shadow over the sun, so its rays struck Utset first. The people belonging to the two women fought each other. Utset fell upon Nowutset, killed her, and cut out her heart. From her heart came rats (or a squirrel and a dove), and her people who survived ran away to become with these animals the inhabitants of the desert land.

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[1] Cf. Victor Mindeleff, p. 16.

[2] Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Sia," Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894, pp. 26-41; Fr. Noel Dumarest, "Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, VI, No. 3 (1919), 212-215; Ruth Benedict, Tales of the Cochiti Indians (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins," No. 98; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1931), pp. 1-2, 204.

Much later a flood occurred, apparently not related to the murder. Spider sent the sun and moon to the world above, and set up a reed for the people to use in escaping thither. Utset led them, Cicada and Badger made a hole, and the game animals were sent ahead. They emerged in a lake, and had to make the soft earth firm before they could dwell on it. Utset gave the people bits of her heart to plant, and it grew as corn. "This corn is my heart, and it shall be to my people as milk from my breasts," she said. When the people began to migrate from the region of the _shipap_, Utset left them, having taught them many things and put the priests in charge, and promising to send them aid from her home below the earth.[1]

The distinctive elements in the Eastern Pueblo type myth of emergence are the Spider Creator, the pair of antagonistic Mother-Creators, and the absence of any reference to Coyote. (Coyote _is_ mentioned in one Cochiti version[2] as a messenger between the people and the Mother under the earth after the emergence. He is also the one who scatters the stars in the sky in another account,[3] although other versions attribute this misdeed to the Scarab Beetle or to a curious girl.) The killing of one sister by the other and the theft of her heart have at least a superficial resemblance to the Southern California-

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[1] Stevenson, pp. 26-41; Dumarest, pp. 212-215; Benedict, _Cochiti Indians_, pp. 1-2, 203-204; Elsie C. Parsons, _Tewa Tales_ (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XIX; New York: G. E. Stechert, 1926),pp. 7-15; _idem_, "Notes on the San Felipe Emergence Myth," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XLI (1928), pp. 288ff.; _idem_, _Pueblo Indian Religion_ (2 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), I, 253-255 (Jemez), 249-253 (San Juan, II, 938 (Taos); Aurelio M. Espinosa, "Pueblo Indian Religion," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, XLIX, Nos. 191-192 (1936), 132-133; E. C. Parsons, "Isleta, New Mexico," _Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology_, 1932, pp. 360-362; Franz Boas, _Keresan Texts_ (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. VIII, Part 1; New York: G. E. Stedert & Co., 1928), pp. 1-5, 9-10, 222-226 (Laguna); Leslie White, "The Acomo Indians," _Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology_, 1932, pp. 142-143, 147; Voth, pp. 1-5, 5-9.

[2] Dumarest, p. 212.

[3] Benedict, _Cochiti Indians_, pp. 4-5.

Arizona myth of the antagonistic Brother Creators, one of whom, in some versions, is killed and has his heart stolen. If there is any relationship between these two myths, it must be very remote. The Hainuwele motif, however, is unmistakably present. The heart of the elder sister turns into wild animals and the heart of the younger later yields seeds of corn (and she herself returns to the underground).

It should be noted that in the Tanoan versions recorded, the underworld is described as on one level only, rather than four, as is usually stated in the Keresan tribes and westward. This may signify nothing more than that we have rather poor accounts of the ancient myths: in fragmentary versions from other tribes we also occasionally find the absence of any reference to different levels in the underworld. However, the idea of two rival creators does not occur in the mythology of any other tribe in the region other than these eastern Pueblos, the Tanoans and the Keres.

The Zuni, whose emergence myths constitute a second type, always stress that there are four levels or worlds, three below the present one. In all Zuni versions, Sun Father sends his twin sons the "Bow Twins" (represented in the rituals by the Bow Priests) to lead the people out of the womb of Mother Earth. (These Twins are not to be confused with the hero sons of the Sun by a human mother, who also appear in Zuni mythology, where they are called the War Gods.)[1] The emergence through three "skies" and the transformation of the underworld beings little by little into true human beings, is accomplished by the pair sent down by the Sun Father. Obviously, this is quite a different idea from that of the Eastern Pueblo myth which locates all the creative impulse and action in the lower world, in the persons of female beings.

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[1] Cf. Elsie C. Parsons, "The Origin Myth of Zuni," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXVI, No. 140 (1923), 136-162.

In one Zuni version, the earliest obtained,[1] a true cosmogonic introduction to the emergence story is provided:

> A'wonawil'ona existed alone in the beginning. He turned himself into the Sun, our Father. With flesh (or skin) taken from his body, he impregnated the waters, and from them came Mother Earth and Father Sky. These embraced on the primeval ocean, and thus all the creatures were conceived in the four-fold womb of the Earth. Earth pushed the Father (Sky) upward and began to speak of all the good things she would give her children on earth. The Father also prepared the stars, clouds, and so forth for the benefit of the people to come.

Benedict[2] informs us that A'wonawil'ona is not the name of a god, but a collective term used in addressing any powerful deity in prayer, which means literally, "those who hold the roads," i.e., the powers that control the life-spans of men. She doubts that this myth is truly Zuni, and says it is rather Yuman.

I see no reason to doubt the authenticity of this myth, even though nothing entirely like it has been reported from this area by other investigators. The concept of a pregnant Earth-womb seems to require, logically, a myth of impregnation by a Father, most logically the Sky. This motif is, indeed, found frequently in Yuman mythology (see chapter xvii). It seems entirely reasonable and probable to me that our Southwestern emergence myths are truncated versions from which the proper beginning has been lost: a beginning in which Sky and Earth meet in fructifying embrace.

The prominence of the Sun in the Zuni emergence myth cannot be denied, and this feature, too, is unique to the Zuni.[3] Cushing's version continues:

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[1] Frank Hamilton Cushing, "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths," Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896, pp. 379-446.

[2] Ruth Benedict, Zuni Mythology (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XXI; New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 276.

[3] The only exception found is a Taos version, which states that the "Sun, our Father," created the Indians and Placed them under a Lake on Mt. Blanca, where Mother Earth took care of them. Therefore the Taos sacrifice regularly to the Sun and consider themselves his people. (Espinosa, pp. 132-133.)

The creatures came to life in the fourth cave-womb, where all was dark and filthy. The unfinished beings were crawling over one another like reptiles, defecating and slobbering on one another, moaning and groaning in their cramped quarters.

Poshaiyankya, the deity of the waters, appeared and appealed to the Sun Father to deliver his creatures. The Sun impregnated the foam cap on the sea, and she gave birth to twin sons. Sun gave them the rainbow and lightning for bow and arrows, and they pushed the Sky Father still higher above the Earth. Then they descended to the depths of the earth to bring forth the creatures.

The Twins led the people upward, stopping for a while on each level which was larger and less dark than the previous one until the numbers of people increased and the space became crowded. Finally, they emerged into this world, but the creatures were not yet fully formed human beings: their skins were dark and cold and scaly, their eyes like those of owls, their ears like those of cave bats, and they had webbed feet and tails. They were like toads or lizards. After the sun shone on them and they grew accustomed to the light, they changed into proper human form. When the earth became firm enough, they began their migration toward the "center," their present homeland, led by the Sun Twins.

Other versions of the emergence which have been obtained from Zuni[1] all agree with this one in the essential details, beginning with the Sun's taking pity on the people far below and sending the Twins to deliver them. The reptilian or amphibian nature of the creatures below and their miserable existence before their emergence and transformation by the Sun (or by the Twins) are emphasized in all accounts. Coyote, who is well known in Zuni folk traditions, is never mentioned in the origin myth.

The third type of emergence myth is that of the Hopi or Tusayan Indians. This type resembles that of the Zuni in that there are four levels, including the present earth, and in that that the depraved, bestial form and manner of life of the people below is stressed. However, the Sun, who is the god of first importance in Hopi religion,[2] does not appear until the people are living in the third world. There he impregnates the virgin Kohkyan Wuhti (Spider-woman) who gives birth to the Sun Twins, Pookonghoya (Child-of-Sun) and Baloongawhoya (Echo). The third world, in Hopi versions, is a world much like this one, with sun, moon, rivers, farming etc. It becomes the scene of an important episode in the myth, which occurs also in Navaho versions, the separation of the men and women into two villages. Following this incident, the Twins take the leadership,[1] in most versions, and the final emergence occurs. When the people reach this dark world, they find the divine being Masauwu who becomes one of their chief deities. Coyote enters into the story also, after the emergence, he being one of the powerful men who came up with the people at that time.

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[1] Ruth L. Bunzel, "Zuni Origin Myths," Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1932, pp. 584-602 (an esoteric, priestly version); Benedict, Zuni, I, 1-6,276; Parsons, "Origin Myth Zuni," pp. 136-62.

[2] Alexander M. Stephen, "Hopi Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLII, No. 163 (1929), 55.

> After the people had been led up from their chaotic and embryonic existence on the first and second levels (by means of a magic cane), they lived for a considerable period on the third level. But the people behaved badly: old men were raping virgins and youths were seducing older women; also the women became proud and said they did not need their husbands. The chief decreed that the men and women should separate, the men going across the river and making a new village there. Both men and women cheered the decision. At first both groups fared well, but as the months passed and lengthened into years, the women began to suffer. Their fields produced less and less each year, while the men's gardens yielded well. The men also hunted, but the women could not do this, and they lacked for meat. Their clothing wore out, and they had nothing with which to replace it. Both groups suffered from the lack of sexual relations, but the women more so than the men. The women masturbated with artificial instruments, and became pregnant. (From these pregnancies, monsters were born after the emergence.) It was during this time that Spider-woman was impregnated by the Sun and gave birth to Twins. The men also abused themselves, but with no such lasting consequences. After five years the women admitted they had been wrong, and begged the men to rejoin them. Soon after they were reunited, the waters of the world where they lived began to rise, and they were forced to leave. The Spider Woman and the twins made a reed grow from the top of the mountain, and some people were sent up to explore the world above.
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> It was a dark world, but the scouts saw a light in the distance, and they hastened toward it. They surprised the man they found there seated by his campfire, and he turned and looked at them suddenly. He was

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[1] In one Oraibi version the Twins lead the people from the first level onward. See Cushing, pp. 163f.

> Masauwu, one of the most important of Hopi deities, the Skeleton or Death. Because he had been taken unawares and looked at them without first having donned his terrible mask, he was forced to accede to the request of the scouts to let the people emerge. Masauwu had a field of corn, and this, too, he gave to the people.
>
> The people came out and were divided into tribes, receiving their languages from Mockingbird. Coyote was among those who came up. The Twins were putting up the stars in fixed patterns, when Coyote came along, seized the remaining stars, and cast them at random into the sky. These did not give much light, so they made the moon (out of a white blanket). Then they made the sun, to be like the Sun in the world below, using a white deer skin, turquoise, and other things. The sun rose, but soon halted. Coyote said someone must die to keep the sun moving on its course. A girl died (or was killed) and the sun moved on. So every day someone (or three people) must die in order that the sun may run its course.
>
> The people were sad because of the death. They wished the dead to return after four days, but Coyote said no, because then people would not be afraid to die. The father of the girl lifted the rock off the emergence hole and looked into the world below. He saw his daughter was there and happy, and he ceased to be sad.
>
> The Sun Twins transformed the land and killed the monsters, and gave culture to the people. The Hopi clans migrated in different directions, and finally came back together again.[1]

Not all accounts mention the separation of the sexes on the third level, and it may well be that an older Hopi version did not include this episode, which would therefore be Navaho in origin (since the Navaho versions all contain it). The deity Masauwu is interesting. Stephen[2] declared him to be the tutelary god of the Hopi, second only to the Sun. He is described as a thief, liar, a very jealous being, and fond of playing tricks. He makes trees gnarled and twists men's faces so he can laugh at them. He tricks the gods and mimics their songs and dances, making them angry so they will chase him. Then he takes new disguises and deceives them again. He was given a companion by the Sky God (Shotukunwa) at the request of Sun, and the two go around together knocking down the people who refuse to plant corn for them. The Hopi have a ceremony when corn is planted for Masauwu, and he is pantomined in the ritual.[1] At First Mesa, one informant said, "He is our greatest god and father, for he was the only being waiting for us on earth, and he led us from the place of emergence."[2] In the Oraibi version of the emergence, Mawauwu causes the first death.

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[1] The above is a composite account, based on the following sources: Stephen, pp. 3-18; Victor Mindeleff, pp. 16-17; Wilson D. Wallis, "Folk Tales from Shumopovi, Second Mesa," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLIX, Nos. 191-192 (1932),1-17; Cushing, pp. 163-170; Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, I, 236-242; *idem*, *Tewa Tales*, pp. 169-175; Voth, pp. 10-15, 26-27, 38-39. (Voth's unusual versions on pp. 1-9 appear to be composed of Zuni and Tanoan elements, with Spider, two female Creators, and Sun all having important roles.)

[2] Stephen, pp. 55-57.

Masauwu would appear to be a special development of the Trickster-Transformer-Ordainer due, in part, no doubt, to the ceremonial life of the Hopi. He combines the usual features of the Trickster with the fearsome aspects of death. Yet this terrible aspect is but a mask, and when caught without it, he must bestow boons. His association with corn likewise is suggestive, inasmuch as in agricultural societies the origin of domestic plants often is linked to the first death.

The Sun and the Earth are the chief gods of the Hopi pantheon, according to Fewkes.[3] They are conceived of as anthropomorphic, and are thought both to live in the underworld where they control all the forces important to agriculture. The souls of all people are generated in the house of Sun and Earth, below the ground. As we have seen in the myth above, the real Sun is on the level of the underworld just below our earth, and the orb that lights this earth is only a man-made copy of the original (so also the moon). Underlying Hopi beliefs therefore, is a concept of life as due to the sexual union of Sun and Earth, the Sun being the active agent of the Sky (also personified in Hopi mythology). We have no myth which speaks of this union, but the concept is present, and as was stated earlier it seems to be demanded by the idea of Earth as the Mother who sends forth life from her womb.

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[1] All this is from ibid.

[2] Cushing, p. 167 (Oraibi).

[3] J. Walter Fewkes, "An Interpretation of Katchina Worship," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XIV, No. 53 (1901), 85-86.

The fourth major type of emergence myth belongs to the Navaho. This type gives prominence to Coyote (or a group of Coyotes), from the beginning of the narrative, in the lowest world. The Navaho versions usually count four levels or worlds under ground, with the present earth being the fifth. Due probably to the high level of vitality and development of their ceremonial life, the myths (which are intimately related to the rituals) have a large cast of named characters, and these vary greatly in the different versions.

In one account, Begochiddy (Bekotsidi) is the leader of the people from the first, and is described as the creator of most things;[1] however, he is probably to be equated with the God of Christianity. In the end he goes to the sky, and he is never represented in masked dances or sand paintings. Some Indians even say he is the God of Americans (whites).[2] In another version, Tieholtsodi, whom Matthews identifies as the Sun God, takes precedence, but he is not the great Sun Father (as among the Zuni) in either myth or ritual among the Navaho.[3] In other versions Tieholtsodi is the Water Monster.

Each reported version of the myth of the emergence as told by the Navaho is different from every other version in numerous aspects. The accounts vary in listing the names and number of "persons" in the lowest world. For example, three (First Man, First Woman, and Coyote);[4] six (Fire God, First

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[1] Hasteen Klah and Mary C. Wheelwright, Navajo Creation Myth (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1942), pp. 39-69.

[2] Washington Matthews, "Navaho Legends," Journal of American Folk-Lore, V (1897), 34, 86-87, 226.

[3] Ibid., pp. 33, 63-78.

[4] Ibid., p. 216.

Man, First Woman, Coyote Man, Begochiddy, Salt Woman, and Water Woman);[1] nine (two First Men, two First Women, First-Made-Man and First-Made-Woman, First Boy, First Girl, and First-Scolder [Coyote], plus six kinds of ants and three kinds of beetles);[2] twelve kinds of insects and the four gods of the quarters (Sun, Heron, Frog, and White Mountain Thunder);[3] twelve (two of whom, First Man and First Woman, made the others; Coyote is not among these but appears later from the east).[4] Another version, reported (apparently) by two investigators,[5] begins with four clouds who unite to produce a man and a woman, each with a perfect ear of corn beside him, white and yellow respectively. Soon after they meet, they are joined by Water-Coyote, who says he was hatched from an egg and knows all above and below, and who becomes their leader; and by First-Angry, another Coyote, who insists he was the first being in existence, and who plagues the lives of the people thereafter.

It seems rather obvious that the Athabascan Navaho, having migrated through the region of Coyote mythology before reaching their present habitat, had adopted the Coyote as their principal myth figure. When they later took up the Pueblo (probably Hopi) mythology and ceremonials, they usually made Coyote one of the first beings in existence in the lowest world. In the last-mentioned version his character has been split into good and evil halves, so that there is a wise Coyote representing the culture hero aspects, and the Angry Coyote, representing the trickster aspects of the original figure.

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[1] Klah and Wheelwright, p. 39.

[2] Dr. Berard Haile and Mary C. Wheelwright, Emergence Myths According to the Hanelthnayhe or Upward-Reaching Rite (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1949), p. 3.

[3] Matthews, pp. 63-64.

[4] Alexander M. Stephen, "Navajo Origin Legend," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLIII, No. 167 (1930), 88-100.

[5] P. E. Goddard, "Navajo Texts," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXXIV (1934), 127-128; Aileen O'Bryan, "The Dine: Origin Myths of the Navaho Indians (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1956), pp. 1-13.

In the Stephen version cited above (obtained from a priest in 1885), only a Trickster-Coyote is mentioned. He appears in this world, after the emergence from the (one) world below, having been born in the east. The Old Man (Hostin), leader of the people, says to Coyote: "You are a clever man. I will teach you all we know about our religion. . . ." After he has been instructed, Coyote goes off to the top of the mountains and begins to howl. The Old Man sends his guardian spirit, Wind, to see what Coyote is up to. Coyote tells him the Old Man has instructed him, and so he is not frightened by the supernatural visitor. The Wind tells Coyote not to be proud, and that the Old Man does not need Coyote's help. Coyote replies that Old Man most certainly cannot get along without him! Then he goes back and tells the Old Man lies about Wind.[1]

The meaning of this unique episode is not clear in all its details, but in general I think we can see here a conflict between the old Coyote "religion" which scoffs at spirits, and the Pueblo priestly religion, which respects the gods. Coyote, in coming to the Old Man, is like the Navaho coming to the Hopi priests to be taught their cult. But Coyote, unlike the Navaho leaders, is not "converted!" He remains the Trickster: boastful, impious, and deceitful.

The Navaho-type emergence myth always includes the episode of the separation of the men and women in the world just preceding this one. Probably, this episode belongs to the Navaho, and was introduced into the Hopi versions due to Navaho influence. The motivation for the separation usually is that the chief's wife has been committing adultery, or is neglecting her home duties to play and dance; and when her husband reproaches her she answers him haughtily. Angry, the chief orders the sexes to separate, setting up villages on opposite banks of the river. Elaborate accounts are given of the misery of the women and men in their segregation. In some versions,[1] Yellow Coyote, Blue Fox, Badger, and Weasel stay with the women and engage in sex relations with them, until they (the men) are exhausted. Breezes from the village of the women are said to have carried the stench of Coyote urine to the men on the other side.

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[1] Stephen, "Navajo Origin Legend," p. 96.

After the men and women are reunited, the Navaho versions include still another new episode: the theft of the child (or two children) of the Water Monster by Coyote (prompted by the chief's wife, in some accounts). The Water Being caused a flood, and the people were forced to leave that world and ascend by a reed or a tree to the present one. Still the flood waters followed them, however, bubbling up through the emergence hole. Coyote's theft was discovered, and he returned the child to the monster, and the waters receded. In one version, Coyote returns one child but keeps a second one, the female. She is the Blue, Yellow, and White Cloud, the bringer of gentle, "female rain," while the other child was the Black Cloud, bringer of thunder, lightning, and hard, "male rain." If this version is the best one, then Coyote's kidnapping fits into the pattern of other thefts by the Culture Hero. Coyote stole the Water Baby (or Babies) so that there might be water and rain in the world to which they were coming. The story also seems vaguely like Nanabozho's theft of his brother's skin--and of shamanistic powers (?)--from the water monsters in the Central Algonkian Medewin myth, which was followed, we recall, by a flood and a new world. (Cf. chapter vi.)

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[1] Haile and Wheelwright, pp. 3-52; ibid., pp. 97-100.

The earth was damp (or else the people emerged on a small piece of land in a lake or ocean), and it had to be dried, the myth continues. In some versions there is an ascent from this world to still another, the fifth. In the last (our) world, Coyote scatters the stars in the sky, interferes with the arrangement of the seasons (a sand painting), ordains death by throwing a rock into the river, and establishes sex relations as the means of conception and reproduction.[1] So the "marplot motif" occurs here, as in many other places: Coyote, the ordainer of the world-as-it-is, is blamed for not having made things otherwise.

The fifth type of emergence myth is that of the Jicarilla Apache, shared also (probably) by their separated brethren, the Lipan. It is characterized by an elaborate account of the creation of the cosmos and of the animals, birds, and man by a creator-god (Black Hactcin) in the (one level) world below. The emergence is rather poorly motivated in the versions we have, but it seems to have been a quest for light that led the people to go upward. A mountain which grows almost to the sky, and on which the people climb to gain the next world, is another special feature of this type of the emergence myth.

> In the beginning there was nothing here but Darkness, Water, Cyclone, and the Hactcin(the divine first-beings, the personification of living things, objects, and natural forces: we might even say the "essences" of all things). "Everything was spiritual and holy, like dreams or shadows." The Hactcin made the world, first the underworld and earth, then the sky. They made the Earth as a woman, and the Sky as a man. They were made facing each other, as a mother and father. (Some say, on the contrary, that Black Sky and Earth were the parents, rather than the creatures, of the Hactcin.)[2]
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> The Hactcin lived under the earth. Black Hactcin, the greatest of these, made a clay image of a quadraped. From its body he made to come

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[1] Cf. Haile and Wheelwright, pp. 3-53; Goddard, "Navajo Texts," pp. 134-139; Matthews, p. 77; and Stephen, "Navajo Origin Legend," p. 104.

[2] This appears in the more logical form to me: cf. the Zuni type.

forth all the animals. Black Hactcin laughed to see the variety of their shapes and habits. He spoke with them and told them what they were to eat, where to live, etc. Then he made and animated a clay bird. He whirled it around and around. In its dizziness it seemed to see all kinds of birds. When it stopped spinning they were all there! Black Hactcin assigned their places and foods. He put the Turkey in charge of corn. (A common Apache myth states that the first seed corn fell from the body of a dancing Turkey.)

The animals asked Black Hactcin to make a human being for them, to be their companion when he should go away. He traced the outline of his own body on the ground with pollen; then he placed sacred stones and other things inside the outline. These became flesh, blood, and bone. He called the Whirlwind to animate the body, and the whorls on the finger tips indicate the path the wind took when it entered. Black Hactcin called the man to sit up, then taught him to speak, to laugh, to shout, and to walk. He made him sleep, and he dreamed of a girl. When he awoke, she was seated beside him. These were First Man and First Woman.[1]

Black Hactcin made a little light in the dark world by placing four colored feathers on a mountain. Each emitted a different colored ray. Holy Boy, another Hactcin, wished for more light. Red Boy assisted him. They obtained a tiny sun and moon seed from Black and White Hactcin, placed these on white deer skins, and made pollen drawings on them. They became the great luminaries, and went to the sky. Certain shamans boasted that they had made them, and also could stop them if they wanted. Because of their lies, the lights went through a hole in the sky and ascended to the world above. The shamans tried to bring them back, and they performed some remarkable feats, but they had no influence on the sun and moon.[2]

The animals also demonstrated their powers, and they conjured up seeds of food plants (the grasshopper, wheat; the deer, yucca, the turkey, corn, etc.). These seeds were planted in little hills, and the hills began to grow and formed a great mountain. The Hactcin gods (or priests)lined up some shamans, painted them, and used them in the ritual to make the mountain grow.[3] The magic, holy mountain rose ever higher as all danced and sang. The seeds grew luxuriantly, producing fruits and herbs of all kinds.

But two girls went up on the mountain secretly. The mountain stopped growing, and the priests wondered why. The Holy Ones went up, and found the girls had been running and playing and had trampled the sacred plants;

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[1] Morris E. Opler, Myths and Tales of the Jicarilla Apache Indians (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XXXVI; New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), pp. 1-6.

[2] This illustrates the priestly attitude toward the shamans, who represent the "old order in Jicarilla transcendent religion. Cf. Opler, Jicarilla, p. 14, note.

[3] Thus the independent shamans are transformed into a dance group, subservient to the priests and to ceremonial religion. Cf. ibid., p. 17, note, and introduction to this paper, pp.

also they had defiled the sacred ground with excrement and urine. They had gone up to pick berries. The Holy Ones turned the girls into rabbits, and purified the mountain. But the mountain would no longer grow as before.

There was still a gap between the mountain top and the sky hole above. Spider was sent up, and he made four web-ladders. Badger went up first, and he reported the world was covered with water. Whirlwind ascended and dried the land. Beaver dammed up the last of the water, lest it all be lost. Crows went up and ate the corpses left on the ground (dead fish). The people then ascended (the Lipan say the first "people" were trees, grasses, animals, birds, etc.) and began their migration, traveling in a spiral path, until they reached their present location.[1]

Sometimes, episodes from the Navaho versions are included in the Jicarilla myth: the separation of the sexes, the kidnapping of the water monster's child by Coyote, and the flood.[2] The Jicarilla attribute death in origin not to Coyote, but to Raven. Raven threw a stone grinding implement into the river and it sank: thus the dead go down and do not rise again, which was Raven's wish.[3] The appearance of Raven here suggests that we have the memory of an ancient Athabascan myth figure, the one who attained greatest prominence on the Northwest Coast (see chapters ii, iii, and iv).

The Western Apache also have an emergence tradition, but it is not considered important in their mythology, and it has been recorded only in rather poor versions. One version, produced probably under strong Navaho influence, says there were twelve gods, each with an assistant and an attendant in the beginning. However, the actual work of creation was performed by the Four Winds, of different colors.[4] The creation of the earth is described in some detail in all versions. In the majority of instances, four people or gods are the makers, but in one account these creators are said to have been the handiwork of the Sun, who existed alone in the beginning.[1] The four are called Black Obsidian Old Man, Black Spider, Black Whirlwind, and Mirage;[2] or Black Wind Old Man, Black Water Old Man, Black Thunder, and _______ (name not stated).[3] In this last version, the gods make the sun, but in another myth from the same people Sun is in charge of the creation.[4] These Western Apache versions appear to have been influenced by the Zuni.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 1-27; Opler, _Lipan_, pp. 13-15; Goddard, _Jicarilla_, pp. 193-194; Russell, pp. 253-255.

[2] Opler, _Jicarilla_, pp. 264-268.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 44-47, 194; _idem_, _Lipan_, pp. 38-39; Russell, p. 258.

[4] John G. Bourke, "Notes on Apache Mythology," _Journal of American Folk-Lore_, III (1890), 211-212.

In one account, the people emerge from the underworld as ants.[5] In another, the four first beings ascend to the sky on a reed, and leave the people below on earth. Then they send a flood and destroy the people, except for one woman who survives inside a hollow log, later to become impregnated by rays of the sun and dripping water, and to give birth to the hero-pair.[6] This woman is an important goddess in Western Apache religion, regarded as the benefactress of the crops, while the most important figure in mythology is her son, the monster-slayer.[7]

Coyote sometimes is considered an important Culture Hero of the early times. A White Mountain Apache myth says that when other animals were helping the Mother and her two little boys just after the flood, Coyote came and planted the corn the Turkey had dropped, and showed them how to use the other kinds of wild food plants, how to preserve them in baskets, where to find salt, etc. He made the bow and arrow, and hunted deer and rabbits for them. He gave the ceremony for lighting the mescal fire pit.[8] (Other myths depicting Coyote as

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[1] P. E. Goddard, "Myths and Tales from the San Carlos Apache," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXIV, Part 1 (1918), 26.

[2] Ibid., p. 7; cf. p. 26 for slightly different names.

[3] Goodwin, pp. 1-2.

[4] Ibid., p. 119.

[5] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[6] Goddard, "San Carlos," pp. 26-41.

[7] Goodwin, pp. vii-ix.

[8] Ibid., pp. 50-61.

Culture Hero will be related in a separate section below.)

The Mescalero Apache, who have no emergence myth, make Coyote the creator in a unique way: he transforms and causes things to come into being because Child-of-Water (the Culture Hero) has taken possession of his mind! After Coyote has traveled around as a foolish Trickster for a long time, Child-of-Water takes command of his body and mind, and thereafter everyone to whom Coyote speaks in the myth world of animal-people turns into a true animal. Next, whatever Coyote thinks about, comes into being, until finally Coyote himself becomes an animal. Then Child-of-Water appears from out of a cloud and ordains Coyote's habits as an animal, and finishes the creation by direct action.[1] Those who composed this myth were trying to make use of the old traditions in which Coyote was the Trickster-Fixer, without giving credit to the character whom they could not respect.

The Chiricahua Apache have a flood tradition, but no memory of a creation myth has survived.[2]

Coyote as Culture Hero

We have had occasion to refer to Coyote as Transformer or "Fixer" of nature and as culture bringer, in connection with the myths of creation and emergence. There are several other important myths spread rather generally over the area which attribute to Coyote the origin of certain natural or cultural features.

It is widely acknowledged that Coyote was the one who brought fire to a man in the beginning, stealing it by trickery from the Fireflies or the Birds, or in one instance (Sia) from the Creator Spider in the underworld. The most usual version follows:

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[1] Harry Hoijer and Morris E. Opler, Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts (University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology, Linguistic Series; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 170-181, 215-216.

[2] Morris E. Opler, Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XXXVII; New York: J. J. Augustin, 1942), pp. 1-2.

> The only fire in the world was kept inside the Village of the Fireflies, surrounded by a high stone wall. By talking with the children of the village who were playing outside the wall, Coyote learned the secret of how to enter the village (by a tree that bends down and lifts the person who commands it). He entered, danced with a torch tied to his tail, ignited the torch, and escaped. He set all the trees on fire as he ran from his pursuers.[1]

Similarly, Coyote attempted to obtain salt, in company with Badger, but they were frustrated in their efforts by spirit-powers who took away their stolen salt repeatedly while they slept on the return journey home. (For this reason there is no salt in this region, but it must be obtained from a distance.)[2]

In a Hopi ritual myth, the chief of the people goes to Water-Coyote to ask his aid during a drought. Water-Coyote says he does not know how to cause dreams, and therefore he does not know how to help. The chief tells him to run swiftly to a distant lake and bring him a little water, with which he will then conduct ceremony. Coyote obeys, and the man makes rain to fall.[3] This little tale shows how Coyote, famed for his swiftness and ability to steal, is worked into a ceremonial myth, although obviously he knows nothing about "dreaming" and other such spiritual matters.

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[1] Opler, Lipan, pp. 109-114; idem, Jicarilla, pp. 269-272; idem, Chiricahua, pp. 51-53; Goddard, Jicarilla, pp. 208-209; Russell, "Jicarilla Apaches," pp. 261-262; Parsons, Tewa, pp. 144-145 (San Juan); cf. Elsie C. Parsons, "Navaho Folk Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXXVI, No. 142 (1923), 370-371; Stevenson, "Sia," pp. 72-73; and Goodwin, pp. 147-148.

[2] Benedict, Zuni Mythology, II, 217; Elsie C. Parsons, "Zuni Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLIII (1930), 37-42; idem, Tewa, pp. 151-152 (San Juan); cf. Goodwin, p. 55.

[3] Wallis, "Folk Tales from Shumopovi," pp. 20-22.

The widespread story of the release of the imprisoned game by the Trickster is told often of Coyote in this region. He makes himself into a little pup, goes to Raven's place, and contrives to open the door to the cave in which the animals are being kept.[1] This story probably is an ancient Athabascan myth.

A story peculiar to this region is the myth of the gambling for daylight. It appears to be an Apache story:

> The dangerous (large and harmful) animals were ranged on one side, and the small animals and birds on the other. Coyote, apparently, was on the side of the latter, but in some versions he is a neutral, continually changing sides as the fortunes of the game shift. The game was the Moccasin Guessing Game, in which a row of moccasins is set up and players from each side alternate in hiding a marker inside one of them and the other side tries to guess in which it is hidden. The world was dark then (hence the game is always played at night today), and the stakes were perpetual darkness if the bad animals should win, or daylight if the good animals won. The winners also were to kill the losers.
>
> Gopher, on the side of the good animals, tunneled under the ground up to the moccasins, and helped the small animals to win. Just as the game ended, the sun rose. The smaller animals fell upon the big ones and deprived them of their teeth and other dangerous "weapons." Some bad animals escaped, notably the Bear. Big Owl was killed, but a little owl came from his body, and at his wish we still have some hours of darkness.[2]

The Western Apache make Coyote the chief of the good animals; the others cast him in the role of Trickster, moving back and forth from one side to the other.

This is an ancient myth "explaining" the origin of a ritual game and of daylight. It is one of a number of similar myths about events that terminate the myth age and usher in the present one. Coyote, as usual, is linked to the transformation and the bringing of light, the event which made the world as it is today. The eastern Pueblo origin myth contains an episode which bears comparison: the contest between the two Mothers which occurs at dawn and ends in the transformation of the myth-people into people and animals (see above).

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[1] Opler, Lipan, pp. 122-125; Russell, "Jicarilla Apaches," pp. 259-261; Goddard, Jicarilla, p. 212; Opler, Chiricahua, pp. 15-18; Goodwin, pp. 86-88 (attributed to Slayer-of-Monsters); H H. St. Clair and Robert H. Lowie, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XII, No. 85 (1909), 280-281 (Comanche).

[2] Opler, Lipan, pp. 87-96; idem, Chiricahua, pp. 23-28; Hoijer and Opler, p. 216 (Mescalero); Goodwin, pp. 148-150; cf. Goddard, "San Carlos," pp. 43-44.

Several tribes say that Coyote stole tobacco from the Sun or Crow who was hoarding it. Then Coyote kept it for himself. The people made a plan to trick him out of it. They dressed up a boy to look like a girl, and gave him to Coyote for a wife. Coyote had to give away his tobacco for wedding presents to the "girl's" family--and thus he lost control of it.[1]

The ancient monster-killing work of the Trickster-Fixer has not been forgotten in this region, although the Sun-Twins are more prominent in this function than is Coyote. The two "dangerous beings" whom Coyote overcomes, principally, are the Bear and the Big Owl. The same story is told with respect to both animals:[2]

> Coyote went to the house of Big Owl, the cannibal (or Bear). He ran rapidly--faster than the Giant could run--and the Giant envied him. He told the evil being that he could make _his_ legs swift too, if he could stand the pain. Coyote said he must whittle down the other's legs (to the bone). The stupid Owl (or Bear) believed him, and Coyote was able thus to incapacitate the dangerous being, and then he easily killed him (or changed him into a less-dangerous animal).
>
> He stole the monster's bow and arrows, and the people grew afraid of Coyote, and plotted how they could take away his weapons (these were the only bow and arrows in the world). They sent two little fawns to him. He playfully hung his implements on their necks, and they ran away with them. Thus the people acquired the bow and arrow.

In a Tewa tale, Coyote is visiting in the home of Bear and they decide to play "dress up and scare," to test each other's fortitude. Bear fixed himself up as a mad bear, but Coyote steeled himself and did not move. Coyote went out and found some old dance costumes, and came back masked as the god Masuwu, Death. He completely terrified the Bear, and chased him far away.[1] This story would be exceedingly funny to the Indians, not only for the obvious reasons, but also for the incongruity of Coyote's pretending to be a deity. The background of this story appears to be the culture hero feat of ridding the world of monsters.

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[1] Opler, _Jicarilla_, pp. 293-295; _idem_, _Lipan_, p. 176; _idem_, _Chiricahua_, pp. 62-63; Goodwin, pp. 151-152.

[2] Opler, _Lipan_, pp. 173-175; _idem_, _Jicarilla_, pp. 288-291, 225-227; Matthews, pp. 91-93, 227; Russell, "Jircarilla Apaches," pp. 262-263; cf. Elsie C. Parsons, _Taos Tales_, (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XXXIV; New York: J. J. Augustin, 1940), pp. 111-112; Opler, _Lipan_, pp. 125-126; _idem_, _Jicarilla_, pp. 336-338, _idem_, _Chiricahua_, p. 65.

But Coyote, the old foolish Trickster, must yield place to the anthropomorphic, youthful, semi-divine Sun-Hero.

> Coyote appears one day when Killer-of-Enemies was instructing the people, and Coyote ridiculed him. He told the people they should continue to observe the old ways and have a good time. For this impiety, the Hero took away Coyote's powers and made him a miserable, despised animal (or he changed him into an evil, disease-causing being, but Coyote sang a song which would serve as an antidote to his malevolent influence).[2]

Coyote as Trickster

There are some twenty-five or thirty trickster stories known rather generally over this Southwestern area, most of which are also known elsewhere and have been discussed in previous chapters. A few tales seem peculiar to this region, and there are an additional number of Coyote versus Rabbit stories which are of Spanish origin. It will be sufficient to list here some of the more common tales, for purposes of comparison with other areas:

Coyote flies with the birds, or is carried aloft by one bird, and is dropped.[3] This myth is not well developed in this region.

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[1] Parsons, Tewa Tales, pp. 280-283 (New Mexico).

[2] Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 78, 335.

[3] Boas, Keresan, pp. 161-164, 270; Parsons, Tewa Tales, pp. 161-162, 283-285; W. W. Hill and Dorothy W. Hill, "Navaho Tales and Their Position in the Southern Athabascan Group," Journal of American Folk-Lore, LVIII, No. 230 (1945), p. 320; Opler, Jicarilla, p. 292; idem, Lipan, pp. 108-109; idem, Chiricahua, p. 71; Cushing, Zuni, pp. 237-242.

Coyote pretends to die in order to marry his daughter.[1]

Coyote violates his mother-in-law.[2]

Coyote tries to imitate another person and comes to grief, because he lacks the "powers" of the other. For example, he tries to catch game by leaping upon it, as Wildcat does.[3]

Coyote is misled into some foolish venture because of false advice given him deliberately to mislead him. Several types of stories are told under this category. He burns his children in an attempt to make them spotted like the fawns of the Deer;[4] he kills his children by trying to string them in a line so they will walk in single file like the children of Turkey;[5] he kills his grandmother and plays with the body or dances with the head, or he kills his wife and packs her corpse around; etc.[6]

Trickster pretends to be a wealthy man, or uses some kind of magic "charm" or trick, and gets a very desirable girl for his wife.[7]

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[1] Boas, Keresan, pp. 169-171; Opler, Chiracahua, pp. 31-34; idem, Jicarilla, pp. 280-282; idem, Lipan, pp. 135-139; Goddard, "White Mountain," p. 138; idem, "San Carlos," pp. 152-154; Hill and Hill, pp. 335-337; Hoijer and Opler, pp. 182-183; Parsons, Taos Tales, p. 119.

[2] Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 313-314; idem, Chiracahua, pp. 40-41.

[3] Goodwin, pp. 163-164; Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 306, 324; idem, Chiracahua, pp. 42-43.

[4] Hill and Hill, p. 321; Goodwin, pp. 155-156; Parsons, Tewa Tales, pp. 155-157; Wallis, pp. 44-46; Goddard, Jicarilla, p. 227.

[5] Goodwin, p. 154; Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 292-293; idem, Lipan, p. 186; idem, Chiracahua, p. 43; Hoijer and Opler, p. 182; cf. Benedict, Cochiti, pp. 145, 148-149; Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 296-297, 307; Parsons, Taos Tales, pp. 106-107; idem, Tewa, pp. 293-294.

[6] Cushing, "Zuni," pp. 203-214; Boas, Keresan, pp. 159-160; Benedict, Zuni, I, 219-220; Hill and Hill, pp. 335f; Opler, Lipan, p. 162; Parsons, Tewa Tales, pp. 279-280; idem, Taos, p. 135; John P. Harrington, "Picuris Children's Stories," Forty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928, pp. 363-365; Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 321-322; cf. idem, Lipan, pp. 170-171; idem, Chiracahua, p. 61.

[7] Parsons, Tewa Tales, pp. 146-147, 242-246; idem, Taos, pp. 5-9; Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 318-319; Benedict, Cochiti, pp. 79-85.

Coyote disobeys supernatural advice, or breaks taboos, and loses the supernatural powers he had been given (for which he is really unsuited by nature).[1]

Coyote abuses a Rock and it rolls after him. In this region, he defecates on the Rock, and is forced to clean it and carry it back to its original place after it has chased him.[2]

Against advice, he eats a "dangerous" plant, and suffers severe bowel disturbances.[3]

Coyote meets Turtle or Porcupine who has killed a large game animal, and tries to cheat him out of it.[4]

He visits another animal, is fed magically, and fails when he tries to serve the animal in the same way when the visit is returned (the "bungling host").[5]

Trickster rapes a girl at a distance by means of an enormous, hose-like penis.[6]

Coyote juggles his eyes in imitation of some birds (or Rabbit) and loses them. Often the story continues with accounts of the abuses he receives while in the blinded state.[1]

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[1] Opler, *Jicarilla*, pp. 278-279; Boas, *Keresan*, pp. 28-31; Stevenson, "Sia," pp. 154-156.

[2] Opler, *Lipan*, pp. 117, 121-122; *idem*, *Chiracahua*, pp. 35-36; *idem*, *Jicarilla*, p. 324.

[3] Opler, *Lipan*, pp. 119-120; *idem*, *Jicarilla*, pp. 303-304; *idem*, *Chiracahua*, p. 71.

[4] Hill and Hill, pp. 328-330; Cushing, "Zuni," pp. 243-244; Opler, *Jicarilla*, pp. 282-285.

[5] Boas, *Keresan*, pp. 171-174; Hill and Hill, p. 328; Hoijer and Opler, pp. 157-166; Opler, *Jicarilla*, pp. 274-277; *idem*, *Chiracahua*, pp. 44, 46-47; *idem*, *Lipan*, pp. 139-141; Benedict, *Zuni*, II, 211-212, 302-303; *idem*, *Cochiti*, pp. 160-162; Harrington, "Picuris," pp. 375-377.

[6] Opler, *Chiracahua*, pp. 53-54; *idem*, *Lipan*, pp. 186-187, 188, 189. Cf. Goodwin, pp. 178-179.

Coyote abandons a young man, usually on a high cliff or tree, and then takes possession of his wife. Later he pays for his crime when the cuckold returns.[2]

The Trickster treacherously kills an animal friend, often with the sequel that he tries to feed the flesh of the victim to its own children.[3]

Coyote carries Beaver far inland while he is sleeping, and abandons him; Beaver gets even by abandoning Coyote on an island.[4]

And of course there is the myth of the "hoodwinked dancers." In this region the dancers are usually the prairie dogs, and oftentimes Skunk assists Coyote in his plot. Coyote walks along and calls for a little rain--then more and more, until he is carried away by a flash flood. When washed up on dry ground later, half dead, he feigns death. The gophers dance around him and he leaps up and seizes them (or he gets Skunk to call the gophers to dance around their "slain enemy"). The sequel of the loss of the meal likewise is usually told.[5]

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[1] Benedict, Zuni, II, 314; Hill and Hill, pp. 322-323; St. Clair and Lowie, pp. 278-279; Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 277-278; idem, Lipan, pp. 171-173; Goodwin, pp. 161-162; Goddard, "San Carlos," p. 73; Cushing, Zuni, II, 262-268; Stevenson, "Sia," p. 153; Wallis, pp. 57-58.

[2] Goddard, "White Mountain," pp. 132-135; idem, "San Carlos," pp. 67-68; idem, "Jicarilla," p. 224; Opler, Lipan, p. 176, cf. pp. 126-130; idem, Chiracahua, pp. 28-31.

[3] Opler, Chiracahua, pp. 58-60; idem, Jicarilla, pp. 327-329.

[4] Hill and Hill, pp. 330-331; Goodwin, pp. 168-169; Opler, Lipan, pp. 159-161; idem, Jicarilla, 312-313.

[5] St. Clair and Lowie, pp. 272-274 (Comanche); Edward Sapir and Harry Hoijer, Navaho Texts (William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series; Iowa City: Linguistic Society of America, 1942), pp. 21-25; Boas, Keresan, pp. 156-157; Hill and Hill, pp. 325-328; Opler, Jicarilla, pp. 272-274; Goodwin, pp. 168-172; Stevenson, pp. 149-152; Goddard, "San Carlos," pp. 73-74; Benedict, Cochiti, p. 144; Wallis, pp. 46-50.

Only one account of the "head stuck in a skull" tale has been reported, but it is an excellent version:[1]

> When Coyote gets his head caught in a skull in watching wasps dance, he appears in a village and announces, "I am holy; I have supernatural power, you must give me something." The people, awed, pass by and mark him with pollen (as people do who wish to supplicate a holy man). The last boy in the line hits the skull with a stick and breaks if off Coyote's head. "That's what you should have done long ago!" Coyote says, "But instead you wanted too much supernatural power."

--which is a perfect expression of the Trickster's opinion of sacred men and other-worldly "power."

There is no denying that in the Southwest the stories of Coyote (the only Trickster-figure of consequence) are told for amusement and for instructing the children by way of "negative example."[2] There is another function served by these stories, as noted by Opler: they afford the people a "safety valve," enabling them to talk about forbidden sins and to ridicule sacred things in a permissive context.[3] A more significant observation, from out point of view, is the following:[4] "[The Coyote cycle] rationalized for the Lipan the existence of unworthy traits and actions. Since Coyote has made a path which some are bound to take, it causes neither shock nor dismay to learn that there are those who repeat Coyote's misdemeanors. To know Coyote early is to anticipate and forgive much in human conduct." (Emphasis added). Precisely!--because Coyote is not really evil; he is the embodiment of human nature, with certain uniquely human traits raised to the highest degree for emphasis. An earlier, less sophisticated and less "spiritual" culture does not consider him wicked at all. How can one make moral judgments about the nature of reality? "That's the way I am!" the Trickster often says--and so are we all.

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[1] Opler, Lipan, pp. 169-170.

[2] Cf. Hill and Hill, p. 317; ibid., p. 107.

[3] Hoijer and Opler, p. 215.

[4] Opler, Lipan, p. 107.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SOUTHEAST

Prehistory

Civilization and religious ceremonialism attained a very high stage of development among Indians of what is now the southeastern United States: a development which equaled if it did not in fact surpass that of the Southwest.[1] Agriculture (corn) was the chief means of subsistence, and it has a history in this area going back more than two thousand years.[2] Hunting was never completely abandoned, however, since these Indians had no domestic animals except dogs in pre-Columbian times.

Before the beginning of the Christian era--perhaps as early as 500 B.C.[3] --a culture had spread up the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys which left behind it impressive burial mounds, very much like those known from Central America and Mexico. Today these bear mute testimony to a culture which placed great importance on a "death cult." Prominent persons were interred in special chambers within the mounds, and their remains are accompanied by sacrificial victims, skulls, and treasured possessions.[4] These "Mound-builders," as they once were called, are today known as the Hopewellians. The corn which they cultivated was a kind which originated in the highlands of Guatemala, where similar types of burial mounds are found also. The Choctaws of Mississippi seem to have preserved best this burial mound culture down to historic times.[1]

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[1] Martin et al., pp. 360-361.

[2] Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg, Tribes that Slumber (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1958), pp. 40-41.

[3] Thorne Deuel, American Indian Ways of Life (Springfield: Illinois State Museum, 1958), p. 26.

[4] Lewis and Kneberg, pp. 56-57.

The Hopewell culture faded away after about 500 A.D. in the Ohio Valley and later in the lower South.[2] About this same time, beginning in the lower Mississippi-Gulf region, a new type of culture was entering the area. Often called the "Mississippian" culture, it might also be termed the age of the Temple Mounds. This culture continued into historic times, and seems to have been related to the Caddoan and Muskhogean-speaking Indians. It has been impossible to trace these groups to an earlier homeland, but the Muskhogeans have migration traditions indicating an emigration from somewhere across the Mississippi.[3] When the Southeast was first explored and studied by whites, Muskhogeans occupied Florida and most of the Deep South, with related tribes living in what is now Louisiana and southern Texas (see Figure 4). The Caddoans appear to be linguistic cousins of the Iroquois, but in culture the two groups are quite dissimilar.

The prominent feature of the Mississippian culture, which spread its influence over most of the Southeast, was the earthen mound built at one end of the village square, on top of which was constructed the temple or sacred shrine. These temple mounds show an obvious relation to the flat-topped pyramids of Central America; but whereas the latter were covered with flat rock or cement, those of the Southeast were of dirt only. The buildings (of wood and thatch) built on top of them were razed periodically and the rubble covered over with more dirt, and a new temple built on the top. Thus the height of the mound was increased over the course of the centuries. In a few exceptional instances they reached a height of 100 feet. These mounds were not used for burials. The temples built atop them were square, with a dome-shaped roof.[1]

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 67.

[2] Deuel, p. 30.

[3] Lewis and Kneberg, pp. 73-74.

The Southeast during the Temple Mound period (which means down to historic times) supported a large population. Agriculture was, of course, intensive, and maize was the most important of the many crops grown. As we shall see, corn was the only crop handled ceremonially, and the principal religious rites in most of the tribes were centered in this product of the soil. While a high degree of culture was attained in the Southeast, it should be remembered that the use of metals (except hammered copper) was unknown, that no animals except the dog were domesticated, and that hunting was never abandoned by these village-dwelling peoples.[2]

Religious Beliefs and Ceremonies

While the Southeast was discovered and explored quite early, and while we have many reports of travelers and later residents of the area concerning the Indians and their ways of life, the culture of the tribes had been severely disrupted before systematic or scientific ethnological work was undertaken. For this reason, relatively little "good" material on the beliefs of the Indians of the Southeast is available, and even less reliable data on their mythology is on record.

We do have enough data to be certain that over the whole area belief in a Supreme Being or High God was held, and that the Sun was regarded as a deity and either identified or closely associated with the High God.

The Natchez, an important tribe of the lower Mississippi, speaking a "Gulf" language (related to Muskhogean) had a theocratic government headed by a chief who was held to be the direct descendant and representative of the Sun on earth. We have here, in fact, the most clear-cut example of "divine kingship" among the Indians north of Mexico. The Natchez believed in a sky god called Coyocop-chill, "Supreme Spirit," who was either identical with the Sun or manifested himself in the Sun.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 72-78; cf. Martin et al., pp. 353-355.

[2] Lewis and Kneberg, pp. 86-89.

The chief of the tribe was called the "Great Sun," and his subordinate rulers were called "Little Suns." He ruled with absolute power, and was venerated by the people as a divine being. He was surrounded with all sorts of taboos, and his subjects feared to approach his person.

Almost as powerful and as venerated was the mother of the chief. This is explained by the fact that descent among the Natchez (as among virtually all Southeast Indians) was matrilineal, and therefore the throne was inherited through the female line. Natchez society was divided into two major social divisions: the Nobility and the Stinkards. The women of the Sun family, the highest class of the Nobility, had to marry men from the Stinkard division; the sons born to these unions were heirs to the throne. These sons were not permitted to marry Sun women, so they could not pass on their title to their sons.[2]

The Sun Chief lived in a house built on a mound, which stood opposite the mound on which the temple was built across the public square. The chief greeted the sun as it rose every morning, as an act of worship; and he and his wife went periodically (perhaps every morning) to worship in the temple.[3] In this temple a fire was kept burning perpetually as a representation of the sun. A number of priests served as guardians of the fire. Food offerings were made in the temple at each new moon by the people (eaten by the priests). Stone images, one of them known to be that of a rattlesnake, were kept inside the temple; and in a separate room, on a shelf, were the bones of the latest deceased Sun Chief and his retinue. (Other bones of chiefs were preserved in baskets and stored in the temple.) It seems likely that one of the stone images, or perhaps an uncarved stone, represented the Culture Hero who came to earth long ago and taught the people their present form of government and established the rites of Sun worship.

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[1] John R. Swanton, Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 43; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1911), p. 168; John R. Swanton, The Indians of the Southeastern United States (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 137; Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1946), p. 779.

[2] Swanton, Lower Mississippi, pp. 100-101, 107-175.

[3] Ibid., pp. 102, 159, 174.

According to the esoteric myth obtained by a Frenchman, Du Pratz, in the eighteenth century,[1] a man and his wife appeared among the Natchez long ago, sent down to earth by the Sun. The man began to teach the people how they ought to live, emphasizing especially moral laws. The people begged him to become their chief. He agreed on the condition that they must follow him to a new land and promise to obey him utterly. They must agree to make his descendants in the female line their chiefs. He directed them to build two temples when they reached their destination (the Natchez had two temples in historic times, in different towns), and to keep burning in them the fire which he would kindle from the sun. They obeyed him, and he lived with them a long time and taught them many things.

In another account,[2] it appears that this first Chief turned into a stone, or left behind him a stone as a symbol of his presence, which was kept in the temple. It is easy to see how a stone may be regarded as the permanent, immortal remains of the hero, corresponding to the bones of the latest chief, which also were kept in the temple.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 169-172. [2] Ibid.

Once the sacred temple-fire went out, due to the carelessness of one of the guardian priests, according to a legend. The fire watcher kindled it secretly with profane fire. Members of the Sun family began to fall ill and die, one after another, until finally the priest confessed what he had done. Immediately, men were dispatched to steal fire from the other temple, fighting and shedding blood in order to obtain it, so that the sacred fire might be renewed properly.[1] This ritual-myth (for such it must be) suggests the well-nigh universal myth of the theft of fire from hostile keepers, a deed always attributed to the Trickster-Hero. Here, however, the persons who accomplish the theft are not mentioned by name, and the sacred fire itself is the all-important thing.

The myth of the hiding of the sun and its subsequent release is suggested by a ritual enacted annually in the spring, the New Year's ceremony:

> The warriors divide into two groups. One group pretends to be abducting the Sun Chief. They seize him when he comes out of his house rubbing his eyes as if he has just awakened from sleep. He strikes at his enemies in a simulated resistance. Soon his warriors come and engage the others in mock combat. The "enemy" flees. The Chief retires to his house for a while, and the people wail and mourn. When the Chief emerges again, he has divested himself of all his regalia. He approaches the temple, puts dirt on his head, and casts it to the four directions. He stands praying for half an hour, while the people remain silent. As he returns to his house, they commence their wailing again. But their weeping turns to rejoicing when he reappears shortly in all his glory. Presents are laid at his feet, and he is formally enthroned. Feasting and dancing follow.[2]

This account might almost have been taken from a book on the cult of the divine king in the ancient Near East; and of course it resembles ceremonies of old Mexico. The funeral ceremony for the Chief is also like that of other high neolithic cultures:

> When a Great Sun or his mother, the Sun Chieftainess, dies, the spouse is killed first and then the others: little children by their parents who have dedicated them for this honor; adults who volunteered long ago for

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[1] *Ibid*. [2] *Ibid*., pp. 111-112, from an account by DuPratz.

this service and have been servants of the Chief are dispatched next; and the bones of all are placed together, eventually (when the flesh has decayed), in the central shrine inside the temple.[1]

The Natchez observed also, in common with all the Southeast tribes, probably, a harvest festival at which a fire was extinguished and rekindled, and the first fruits of the corn harvest were prepared and eaten ceremonially.[2] These rites will be more fully described below.

The Tunica, a tribe to the north of the Natchez, speaking a somewhat similar tongue, likewise had a temple built on a mound, which contained clay images. These images are said to have been a frog, and a woman representing the Sun.[3] We know for a certainty that the Tunica, in common with several other southeastern peoples, regarded the Sun as feminine.

The Chitamacha, who occupied the Mississippi delta, had a true caste system, evidently, and those who married outside the (endogamous) caste were demoted. There was a chief for each village and a supreme chief over the whole tribe. This chief was highly regarded, but not, apparently, as highly as the Great Sun of the Natchez.[4]

The Chitamcha, like their neighbors the Choctaw, had a funeral mound cult, probably a survival from the ancient Hopewellian era. The bones of the dead chief were exhumed after a year and they (or the cremated remains of them) were placed in a special mound. The common people followed a similar custom, placing the bones or ashes of their dead in other mounds.[5] Every large village had a dance house, but no sacred fire or images were kept there.[6] A ceremony for the Noonday Sun was held at each new moon, and also a kind of initiation ceremony for boys was conducted in the dance house. This last was separate from a confinement and fast undergone by each boy and girl individually to obtain a guardian spirit dream.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 139-141, 143 (from eighteenth-century reports).

[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 113-118.

[3] Ibid., p. 318 (from seventeenth-eighteenth-century reports).

[4] Ibid., pp. 348-349. [5] Ibid., p. 350. [6] Ibid., p. 352.

The Chitamacha believed in a Great Spirit (Kutnahin) who was also held to be the Creator. Just what his relationship was to the Noonday Sun mentioned above, is not clear, inasmuch as the Sun was held to be a woman, and the Moon her husband. There is mention made also of a Culture Hero sent to earth by the Supreme Being, who left behind him certain of the mounds. Another tradition, which Swanton considers very important, says that the High God Kutnahen came to earth once and traveled in the guise of a filthy person. Thus arrayed he frightened a man out of his wits on one occasion.[2] Swanton thinks this indicates a belief in a god who is also a Trickster, but I find the evidence too meagre for such a conclusion.[3] Probably an informant confused the God with the Culture Hero mentioned above, who may well have been a Trickster. (See also the myths, next section of this chapter.)

Almost nothing of the Atakapa religious beliefs have been reported. It is said that they had a tradition that they emerged originally from the sea (cf. Southwest), and were given their rules of conduct by a "man sent from God" (cf. Natchez).[4]

The Caddo, who are as much Plains as Southeast in culture, had an elaborate temple cult somewhat like that of the Natchez, evidently, and a long migration tradition. Their social organization was not, however, like that of Natchez.[5]

The Choctaw, a southern Louisiana and Mississippi tribe, had a sky-deity concept with an association with the sun. They practiced a burial-mound cult, and had an emergence from earth myth, which we shall examine below (next section).[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 352-353. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 356-358.

[3] Cf. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeast*, p. 781.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 781-782. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 782, 822.

The tiny Biloxi and Ofo tribes, located south and north, respectively, of the Choctaws, are isolated representatives of the Siouan family. They are most like the Tutelo and Catawba of the Carolinas, and the Dakota, Mandan, and Crow-Hidatsa of the Plains in their speech.[2] Their culture appears to have been much like that of the Natchez. They kept the skeletons of their chiefs in their temple. The one most recently deceased was displayed on a table or altar, where people came daily to make food offerings. This skeleton was supported so as to stand upright.[3] A small band of Biloxi were found still inhabiting their original tribal region in 1886, and myths were obtained from them in the next decade (see below).[4]

The Chickasaw of northern Mississippi state were much like their Creek neighbors, whom we shall mention next, in language and culture. There were two social divisions, each of which had a shaman or priest, elected for life, who mediated for the group before the gods. The social classes divided the totemic clans into two groups, and they functioned therefore like a moiety system.[5]

Concerning the religious beliefs of the Chickasaw, Swanton says:

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[1] Ibid., p. 777.

[2] James O. Dorsey and John R. Swanton, A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 47; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1912), p. 10.

[3] Ibid., p. 7. [4] Ibid., p. 9.

[5] John R. Swanton, "Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians," Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928, pp. 192-195.

> The Chickasaw have not even the tradition of a time when they were not without belief in one Supreme Being whom they call Ababinili, "Sitting Above" or "Dwelling Above," a being who "guided them and told them what to do." He is now spoken of at times as Abainki, "Father Above," evidently under Christian influence. . . . In spite of Christian accretions, it seems fairly clear that there was anciently belief in a supreme, but hardly sole, deity associated with the sky or sun.[1]

The Chickasaw told John Wesley (about 1735) that his people regarded "four Beloved Things above: the clouds, the sun, the clear sky, and He that lives in the clear sky."[2] He was referred to as the "great holy fire above," and on earth he is represented in the sacred fire kindled annually. He is the author of all life and the source of rain and other such phenomena.[3] These reports agree closely with what we have found in other tribes in this region and apparently they are genuinely pre-Christian beliefs.

The Creek Confederacy included most of the Muskhogean-speaking peoples of Alabama and Georgia, and for them, as for the Chickasaw, fire was the earthly manifestation of the Supreme Being, Master of Breath (*Hisakidamissi*) or Great One Above Us.[4] Today, he is the only Culture Hero remembered, also, and the origin of all earthly things is attributed to him. In an old report four gods are mentioned, collectively, as the givers of fire and the ceremonies. These came down from the sky and returned when their work was done. How far Christian influence has affected the High God concept today it is impossible to say. As elsewhere in this region, the Supreme Being is associated closely, but not precisely, with the Sun.[5]

As in other Southeast tribes, the Creek town square was the center of each village. Certain buildings were grouped around it and opening onto it. The west building was reserved for the chief and his clan, the south one for a group of lower officials; the warriors sat in the north shelters, and the east one was for boys and visitors (during the ceremonies). Here the civil business of the town was conducted daily, and here the religious ceremonies were performed.[1] The towns ("provincial capitals") were of two types: those dedicated to waging war, and those devoted to maintaining peace. The latter were cities of refuge for fugitives. In the former, decisions for war were always made, and in the latter treaties of peace were concluded. The two types of villages played opposite each other in ball games which accompanied religious ceremonials.[2] The principal religious ceremony, the Green Corn or "Busk" (from Boskita) festival apparently was like that of the Yuchi,[3] and a description of these rites will be postponed until we deal with these latter Indians. The myths of the Creek will be taken up in the next section.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 247.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 247-248.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 248-249; cf. Swanton, *Indians of Southeast*, p. 776.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 773.

[5] Frank Speck, "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, II (1907-1915), 134.

The Yuchi tribe call themselves Tsoyaha Yuchi, "the Children of the Sun from Far Away."[4] This is testimony to their belief that the Sun is their mother (female Sun again), and they paint the Sun symbol above the door of all their houses.[5] The myths of the Sun Mother and her son, the Culture Hero and ancestor, will be described in the next section. Like the Creeks, the Yuchi have peace and war divisions in their tribe, with membership inherited in the male line.[6]

Linguistically, Yuchi has long been considered as distinct, but now it is regarded as related to the Siouan-Catawba stock (see Language Table). The Yuchi have no migration tradition but believe that they were the original inhabitants of East Georgia and South Carolina (along the Savannah River), and were once a large tribe.[1]

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[1] Lewis and Kneberg, pp. 113-115.

[2] Ibid., p. 95. [3] Cf. Ibid., pp. 127-136.

[4] Ibid., p. 139; Frank G. Speck, "Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians," Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, I, No. 1 (1909), 6.

[5] Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," p. 71.

[6] Ibid., pp. 74-76.

The tribe is divided into many totemic clans. At the certain period of adolescence, youths are initiated into the rank of manhood in their own towns. The initiate is believed to receive at this time the protection of his clan totem, as a guardian spirit.[2] Here, then, we have a fusion of guardian spirit and clan totems, something rare or possibly unique in North America.

The great annual mid-summer festival of the Yuchi, Creek and other Indians of the region was the Green Corn or Busk ceremony. It was performed on the town square, which for the Yuchi at least represents an earthly copy of the celestial "Big House" or rainbow, the town square of the supernatural beings. The Sun (or the son of the Sun Woman) brought the pattern and ceremony to earth, they believe.[3] The rites below were thought to be a duplication of the rites of the heavenly beings.[4]

When the time is right (full moon in mid-summer, when the corn can first be harvested), the six or eight-day ceremony was held. On the first day there were dances, mainly of a clan-totem type and performed mostly by men. Other dances were addressed to wild animals important for food, and still others to spirits of animals with power to inflict disease and trouble.[5] This part of the ceremony is "hunting-oriented" and was no doubt a continuation of very ancient hunting rites.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 6-8. [2] Ibid., p. 71.

[3] The Creeks use the Yuchi names for their rites. (Ibid., p. 112)

[4] Ibid., pp. 79-81. [5] Ibid., pp. 112-113.

The most significant rites were conducted on the second day. Women were not permitted inside the square, nor were men allowed to leave it or to sleep or recline during the day. Four logs were laid in the center of the square, in the form of a cross, and a new fire was kindled by a priest. Following this rite, every male passed in front of a brew known as the "white drink" (a root tea), and was scratched or cut on the arm or chest by the proper priest so that the blood dripped on the ground. (A similar rite was conducted in heaven when Sun Boy was initiated, according to the myth. The dripping blood also corresponds to the drop of menstrual blood which Sun Mother dropped, from which Sun Boy was born: see myths below.) The scratcher was dipped in the sacred brew before being used.

The men and youths who were old enough to take part drank a healthy drought of the "medicine" which produced vomiting. This was a purifying rite as was also the blood-letting. No man would taste new corn without having purged himself first. After three or four such purgations, the men went to the river and washed off all paint and dirt; then returned to the square.

The new corn was brought, prepared, and eaten; more dancing followed, then a ceremonial ball game, and an animal (steer in recent times) was sacrificed. This last rite is a substitution for the sacrifice of a human (captive) which anciently was made. Four youths would be initiated during the Busk. It was believed that the Sun watched the rites from above, and would stop in her course if all was not done right. At the end of the second night a crazy dance, quite obscene, took place, ending in a general orgy. On the following days, the rites of feasting and dancing continued, but without the formalism of the first two days.[1]

As in the case of the Natchez, we see in these rites familiar patterns of agricultural New Year's rites: there are purgations, emphasis upon blood, a human sacrifice, and a sexual orgy. The cutting of the men and its association in the myth with menstrual blood suggests that in this rite the men are trying to "imitate" women and to obtain the powers of their mysterious blood, which for agriculturalists is the seat of life.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115, 126-130.

The Shawnee, the "Southerners," as they call themselves, were the most southerly of the inland Algonkian groups, and were neighbors to the Yuchi. Voegelin[1] has established beyond question that this tribe also regarded their highest being as a female. (They do also have a vague concept of a male Great Spirit whose world was wiped out by a flood, to be recreated by the female deity.)[2] Voegelin studied the tribe in their present home in Oklahoma (where most of the remnants of the Southeastern tribes now reside) in 1933-1934, and he heard the name Kohkomhtena, "Our Grandmother," frequently mentioned. Her personal name is Paapootkwe, which is said to mean "cloud." She has other, esoteric names also.[3] She is believed to be the creator of the earth, of the universe, and of the people. They say she is reflected in the full moon, as in a mirror, and she appears then bent over a cooking pot.[4] Her home is behind the sky, and there is a myth about four men who once visited her there and received blessings.[5] "Our Grandmother" is worshipped in the annual public dances, which serve to preserve mankind and the world from destruction. These include a spring dance for good crops, a mid-summer Green Corn festival, and a fall dance to insure good hunting. All the ceremonies include lengthy prayers to the Creator.[1] She it was who ordained the kick-ball game, and when it is played she watches it with pleasure from heaven.[2] Prayers for rain are directed to the "Grandfather Chief" (probably Thunder) who was made by the Grandmother.[3] Each clan has its sacred bundle, given by the Creator.[4]

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[1] C. F. Voegelin, The Shawnee Female Deity (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 10; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

[2] J. Spencer, "Shawnee Folklore," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXII, No. 85 (1909), 319.

[3] Voegelin, pp. 3-4.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3, 6.

[5] Ibid., p. 5.

In addition to the tribal religion of the Grandmother, each child is sent out alone to find a personal guardian spirit. Shamans are those who receive the strongest helpers, and they address Our Grandmother directly, for she herself is a sweat-lodge doctor.[5]

A very important Southeastern tribe is the Cherokee, from whom we have some fairly good ethnological material. These people are recognized as an Iroquoian tribe, long-separated from the Iroquois of New York state and Pennsylvania. (It should be borne in mind that the Iroquoian and Caddoan languages are distantly related: see Language Chart.) The Cherokee appear to have believed formerly, at least, in a female Sun and male Moon. These, they say, were made by several gods who came down from the sky and created the earth, the Sun and Moon, and returned, leaving the Sun and Moon to finish the creation. (The myths relating this story have not been preserved.) The three who came down are called the "Elder Fires Above," and they form a unity, the Supreme God Yowa. This name was so sacred in the past that only certain priests could utter it, and they only once a year, in a hymn. In prayers, the Cherokee address the Sun and Moon as "My Creator."[6]

The number seven was sacred to the Cherokee, which is unusual for American tribes who mainly revere four or five. There were said to be seven heavens, seven directions, seven clans, and seven great ceremonies, the seventh of which was performed only on the seventh year.[1] The ceremonies were as follows:

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[6] Lewis and Kneberg, p. 175; James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1900, p. 440.

(1) The first new moon of spring was the occasion for a ceremony at the time of planting. The chief, acting as priest, divined the prospects for the crop by means of a sacred quartz crystal kept in the temple. A burnt offering of tobacco and deer's tongue was offered by the priest in the temple, and seven days later a sacred fire was kindled in the temple. From the temple fire, all the household fires were rekindled.[2]

(2) The summer Green Corn festival was much like that of the Yuchi and Creek, with the sacred fire being again rekindled.[3]

(3) A harvest festival, held when the corn was ripe, was a time of rejoicing. The principal dance was for men only.[4]

(4) Autumn new moon New Year's rites were held to divine the future years' prospects. The people danced for two days, bathed, and gazed into the sacred quartz to assure that all would go well. The Cherokee believed the world had been created in autumn, and hence the fall New Year's rites.[5]

(5) The Friendship Ceremony was held ten days after the New Year's rites. Again the sacred fire was rekindled in the temple, a holy brew was drunk by all the men, and the hymn to Yowa was sung. There were ceremonial bathings, and all vowed friendship to one another, and all old quarrels were dissolved. Similarly, the bond between the people and Yowa was renewed.[6]

(6) The "Bounding Bush" ceremony is little known, except that it featured dancing and feasting and a sacrifice of pine needles and tobacco.[7]

(7) The Uku Ceremony was held once in seven years to reconsecrate the

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[1] Lewis and Kneberg, pp. 175-176.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 175-180.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 181-183.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

Chief (Uku) to his office of High Priest. When it was held, it took the place of the new Year's rites. The principal features of the ritual were the ceremonial bathing of the Chief by his attendants, his being carried and seated on a throne in the square between his house and the temple, and his dancing inside a circle marked in the center of the square.[1]

The number and complexity of the Cherokee rites seem to exceed those of the neighboring tribes, but this fact may be due to our lack of knowledge of the other tribes. The tone of the ceremonies for the Chief resembles the veneration given to the Sun Chief by the Natchez.

The Tutelo, a Siouan tribe of Virginia, has left us some faint memory of their beliefs in the writings of William Byrd. These Indians are said to have believed in one Supreme God who had several subordinates. He made the world and ordained the courses of the sun, moon, and stars. He had formed many worlds before this one, each of which had fallen into ruin or were destroyed, on account of their wickedness. He was a good God, always attending to the needs of his people.[2] As in the case of the Natchez, these Siouans kept the bones of certain "heroic dead" in a temple, and they carried them with them when they migrated.[3]

The Timucua of northern Peninsular Florida appear to have worshipped the Sun and Moon, according to early French reports. Chiefs were held in extremely high honor, amounting to a cult, as among the Natchez.[4] Yet elements of a hunting-culture religion remained: the bones of animals trapped were not thrown away,but were hung up or placed on the roof of the house. Formulas were recited over hunters; arrows by the priest, and also over fish weirs.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 185-188.

[2] In Swanton, Indians of the Southeastern United States, pp. 750-751.

[3] Ibid., p. 753.

[4] Ibid., p. 761.

[5] Ibid., pp. 766-767.

Myths and Tales

I have set forth in more than usual detail the information which is available concerning the beliefs and ceremonies of the Indians of the Southeast, in order to provide as ample a background as possible for the meagre body of myths that are known from this region.

Most of the stories are of the "folk-tale" class and have to do mainly with Rabbit (Hare), the Trickster and sometime Culture Hero. Turtle also appears in several widespread tales as a Trickster, and other animal characters recur frequently. These have nothing to do with the sacred myths which are about anthropomorphic gods and heroes. Rarely does an animal-figure appear in the same story with a god or hero, and where this occurs, there usually is a conflict between them. The animals, in particular the Rabbit, belong to an old strata of lore that once had religious value (though not for transcendent, spiritual religion). The religion of the High God and priests had so completely overshadowed the old religious apprehension that it has reduced it to the level of "fairy tales" and anecdotes. Only a few narratives remain which depict Rabbit as a hero, performing feats which have continued to benefit man to the present day.

Another group of stories has to do with the origin of corn. The principal characters in these myths are anthropomorphic, and in type they are like the Hainuwele myth, the self-sacrificial death which brings food and life to the world. We shall refer to these myths and to such sacred myths as have been preserved, as well as to those of the Trickster-Hero, in order to give a more balanced picture of the mythology of the Southeast.

Basically, there are two types of origin myths in the Southeast: the old earth-diver creation and the emergence from underground (or under water). The Natchez say that their high god formed man of clay in the beginning, and breathed life into him,[1] but this may be no more than a Christian tradition. They also have a flood myth and some kind of earth-diver story.[2] The Tunica likewise have a vague memory of a flood, and say that there may have been a dive for earth. The world was new after the food.[3] The Chitamacha say that the Great Spirit placed the earth beneath the waters and ordered the Crawfish to dive for it. Then the Creator formed the land and placed Indians on it. They were listless until he gave them sexual organs and taught them their use. Then he gave them bows and arrows, taught them to kindle fire with a drill, and instructed them in religious rites. The animals met in council and each one decided to become a helping spirit of a clan.[4] The Chitamacha also say there was a flood, survived by two persons, two rattlesnakes, and a few birds. The Dove found a grain of sand which grew into a new earth.[5] The Biloxi say that only a woman and two children survived the flood. They remember no earth-diver story.[6]

The Yuchi, like the Chitamacha, believe that the Crawfish dived for land in the beginning. The birds, with Eagle as chief, took the particles he retrieved, and from these the earth was made to grow. The Buzzard was sent out to fly over the land, "to make it level" (more likely to dry it), but he became tired and began to flutter, and thus mountains were made. Sun presided over the whole process.[7] The same myth is reported from two Creek localities, but in both cases Yuchi influence can be traced.[1] A rather garbled account, also from the Yuchi, makes the earth dive follow a flood, which was caused by Rabbit's insulting Turtle. Perhaps this is a more ancient version.[2]

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[1] Swanton, Lower Mississippi, p. 168.

[2] John R. Swanton, Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins, No. 88; Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1929), pp. 214-269.

[3] Swanton, Lower Mississippi, pp. 356-357.

[4] Ibid., pp. 356-357.

[5] Ibid., pp. 357-358.

[6] Dorsey and Swanton, pp. 42-44.

[7] Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," pp. 103-104; Gunter Wagner, Yuchi Tales (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. XIII; New York: G. E. Stechert, 1931), pp. 2ff.

In the Cherokee version of the earth dive, the Water Bug succeeds in bringing up earth, and the animals and birds descend from the crowded heavens to live upon it. Buzzard causes the mountains, as in the Yuchi account. The people send the Sun up to be the light, and the shamans have to push it up to the seventh heaven because it is too hot at lower positions.[3] The Shawnee may have had a similar story at one time: now they say only that their Grandmother survived the flood and remade the people of clay, in imitation of the Great Spirit's first creation.[4]

The Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and hybrid Seminole Indians all have a tradition of origin by emergence from underground, followed by a migration of the people from the west. The myths, unlike those of the Pueblo, say nothing or almost nothing about the "life" of the people before they emerged, nor is there any indication of a belief in a sexual union of sky and earth. However, the Alabama (Creek) version states that the people camped four times on their way out of the earth, that they tied torches to their horses' tails for light, and that only half the people decided to come out. They emerged at noon, in full sunlight.[5] The Hasi'hta version calls the place of emergence the "mouth" of the Earth. The people settled near by, but after a while the Earth became angry and began eating her children, so they moved away, some going east and others west.[1] The Kasi'hta, who are a Creek tribe, and the Chickasaw agree that the migrating people carried a pole with them, which guided them to the navel of the earth, the mound or hill where they settled.[2] The Chickasaw also say that the place of emergence was the navel of the Earth.

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[1] Speck, "Taskigi," pp. 145-146; Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 84.

[2] Wagner, pp. 228-230.

[3] Mooney, p. 239; cf. also Frank Speck, Catawba Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XXIV; New York: Columbia University Institution, 1959), p. 23: a flood is mentioned.

[4] Spencer, p. 319.

[5] Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 118.

The Choctaw say that while the earth was still soft, a being descended from the sky and made the sacred hill, Nanih Waiya, out of which he then brought the "Red People."[3] Grasshoppers came out too. But men killed the mother Grasshopper, and the others persuaded Aba, the Great Spirit, to close the opening. The men left inside became ants.[4]

The Seminole, a mixed Muskhogean group, say that their Panther Clan people were like ten month old babies when they were told by "God" to come out. They dug their way through the mountain and were the first to emerge from the navel of the Earth. When they emerged, they were like new-born babies.[5] The Atakapa remember only that they originally emerged from the sea, according to their ancient traditions.[6]

A few tribes have Culture Heroes, sent down from heaven, who bring with them the knowledge of skills and the proper way to live. The Chitamacha probably had such a figure in their old mythology, but his memory has been all but lost.[7]

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[1] Albert S. Gatschet, "Tchililli's Kasi'hta Legend in the Creek and Hitchiti Languages," The Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis, V (1892), 41-51.

[2] Swanton, "Chickasaw," pp. 174-178.

[3] Swanton, Indians of Southeast, p. 777. [4] Alexander, p. 63.

[5] Robert F. Greenlee, "Folktales of the Florida Seminole, Journal of American Folk-Lore, LVIII, No. 228 (1945), 141.

[6] Swanton, Indians of the Southeast, pp. 781-782.

[7] Cf. Swanton, Lower Mississippi, p. 357.

The story of the Natchez Culture Hero has already been reported, above.

Sun Boy, or Sun (male), is the Culture Hero of the Yuchi. The myths recorded about him and his mother are not wholly consistent, but apparently the Yuchi believed that his mother was the female Sun. One day she let fall a drop of menstrual blood. A baby boy was born from it. She did not let him touch the ground until he had been taken to the "scratching rite" of the gods (like that performed at the Busk ceremony on earth now: see above, previous section). The heavenly rite was held at the rainbow. When the boy's blood had fallen to the ground, he was allowed to walk. Later she sent him down to earth, or they both fell to earth (cf. Iroquois story, chapter xx). He was called "Sun" and became the ancestor of a new race, the Yuchi. (Just how he was the ancestor is not explained.) He taught his people to perform the rite of the gods. He returned to heaven, saying he would soar over the sky once a year to see if all were obeying him.[1] He is not himself the sun; in most versions the sun is his mother.[2]

Cherokee mythology sets two youths in the role of mediators between mankind and the Sun:

> The Sun was angry at the people because they always screwed up their faces when they looked at her, whereas they smiled when they looked at the Moon, her brother. (Or, the Creators had intended that people should be immortal, but the Sun thought the world was becoming overcrowded.) She began to kill people every day when she reached the zenith, sending down her hot rays. The people called on the Thunder Boys to help them. The youths went to the place where the sun rises, disguised as rattlesnakes, and tried to kill her, but she was too hot. They did manage to kill her daughter, however. The Sun grieved for her child and did not shine at all now. She wanted the dead to return--her dead one--and she sent seven men to the ghost world to retrieve the girl. The men were bringing her back inside a box, with orders not to open it. She kept crying to be let out for a moment, and finally they raised the lid a crack, and she was gone, forever. Now, no one can bring the dead back to life. The tears of the

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[1] Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," pp. 105-107; Wagner, pp. 146-150.

[2] Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," pp. 149-150 (from Gatschet).

> Sun threatened to inundate the world, so people tried a new tactic; they sent the best-looking youths and maidens to dance and sing before her. She was pleased, and forgot her sorrow. She smiled, and resumed her course again.[1]

(The Thunder Boys later ascend to the sky and become the Thunders.)

As a story of the origin of death, this myth bears comparison with "Orpheus myths" (such as those told in the Plateau region), and with the myth in which Trickster wishes for permanent death, and his child is the first to die (as told in California, especially). The myth obviously "explains" a ritual, probably the one held about the time of the winter solstice, which consisted of dancing and feasting (see previous section).

The Thunder Boys appear in another important Cherokee myth, which combines the "release of game" and "Hainuwele" motifs:

> Lucky-Hunter (_Kanati_) and Corn (_Selu_), his wife, had one son. The boy found a playmate by the water one day, who had been born from the blood washed off the animals his father butchered. They caught and tamed the youth, but he remained always mischievous. The two boys trailed the father one day and found he had the game hidden in a cave. They opened the door and tried to shoot some animals as the Hunter did, but the animals all ran out. Now they had no meat to eat.
>
> However, the mother went to the storehouse each day and returned with corn and beans. The boys followed her and learned that she rubbed her stomach and armpits and caused the grains to fall from her body. The boys determined to kill her, since she was a witch. She told them to drag her corpse around a large cleared space of ground seven times, and then watch till morning. They did not drag the body around the full number of times, and hence corn is not as abundant as it might have been: for wherever the drops of her blood fell, corn grew up.
>
> The father tried to kill the boys, but they eluded him. They gave corn to some people who came for it (presumably, the Indians). The father went away, and the boys followed him, vanquishing cannibals and other monsters which he left along the way to stop them, till at last they reached the East end of the world. They passed through the clashing entrance, and found both their parents on the other side of the sky. Finally, the boys went to the west to be the thunders. The parents are the masters of game animals today. Once the boys returned to earth to teach the Indians seven songs to sing to help them catch the game they had released.[2]

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[1] Mooney, pp. 252-254, 436.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 242-249, 262.

This is said to be one of the most important and most sacred myths of the Cherokee, upon which much belief and custom depend.[1] The release of game and the murder of the Corn Mother occur in the mythology of other tribes in the region,[2] the former being found very widely in hunting societies in North America, while the latter occurs among southwestern tribes where agriculture is practiced or where the influence of agriculture has penetrated (cf. chapters xvii and xviii). In many Southeastern versions of the "Hainuwele myth," the mother demands that the son (or daughter) kill her when the latter learns that corn comes from the mother's body. The corpse is then to be dragged around a field, as here, or burned. In several versions other than this one, the youth who is the son of Corn Mother is said to have been born from a blood clot. Later he comes into conflict with Rabbit, who is unable to imitate him in deeds of power. The youth stuns many fish by swimming in the water, so people can catch them easily; but Rabbit fails when he tries to imitate the feat. The boy splits an old woman in half and makes two nice young women thereby. Rabbit cleves his wife's head, and only kills her. Rabbit steals the boy's clothing when he sends him diving in the river for him, and tries to take his place in the village, but is soon discovered and punished (a variant of the widespread tale of the youth abandoned by the Trickster).[3]

These stories of the conflict between the anthropomorphic young hero and the animal-Trickster are like those we have found in other regions. The youth who, in this case, performs the murder that brings grain to men, is the new Culture Hero, destined to dislodge the Trickster-Hero from his central place in mythology.

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[1] Ibid., p. 431.

[2] See Swanton, Myths and Texts, pp. 84-85; Dorsey and Swanton, pp. 52-54 for release of game myths.

[3] Swanton, Myths and Tales, pp. 11-15 (Creek), pp. 230-237 (Natchez), cf. pp. 178-181 (Koasati), pp. 134-138 (Alabama).

The heroic deeds of Rabbit have not been forgotten entirely. Almost all the tribes credit him with the theft of fire. Typically, he puts pitch on himself and goes far away to the place where fire is hoarded, catches a spark, and runs away with his body ablaze. The story is widely told among the Southeast Indians.[1]

A unique Alabama story credits Rabbit with recovering the sun when it had been stolen by an old woman. He went to her house and danced like a crazy man, but when he had the chance, he seized the sun and ran with it. Pursued, he broke it deliberately. Then Wren and Buzzard carried it up to the sky.[2] This story is almost identical to some told in certain Athabascan tribes of California, and elsewhere. Perhaps it is a more ancient version of a solstice dance-myth than the one reported above from the Cherokee.

In the Koasati myth, Rabbit (like the Raven of the Pacific Northwest and Siberia) steals water from a man who is hoarding it, and scatters it all around.[3] A Catawba text says Rabbit stole water from a Snapping Trutle by scratching out a ditch.[4]

Rabbit often is cast in the role of the deceiver and slayer of monsters. As we have observed in other chapters, this type of heroic myth persists longer than certain others because in it the Trickster-Hero is both Trickster and Hero. Rabbit's most wonderful feat of this type is his victory over the cannibal (probably a disease-monster: the story is a "medicine song" for cholera among the Creek).

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[1] John R. Swanton, "Animal Stories from the Indians of the Muskhogean Stock," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXVI, No. 101 (1913), 215; idem, Myths and Tales, pp. 45-46 (Creek), pp. 102-104 (Hitchiti), pp. 203-240 (Koasati); idem, Lower Mississippi, p. 358 (Chitamacha); Greenlee, p. 143; Wagner, pp. 46-47; Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," p. 144; Mooney, pp. 240-242 (Water Spider steals the fire).

[2] Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 123.

[3] Ibid., p. 204.

[4] Frank G. Speck, "Some Catawba Texts and Folk-Lore," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXVI, No. 102 (1913), 10-11.

> He first gains the Cannibal's confidence that he, too, is a man-eater, by engaging in a defecating contest and switching the piles of excrement (an extremely widespread episode). They travel together and camp at night. Rabbit scatters coals on the monster while he sleeps, burning him, and pretends that he (Rabbit) is burned too. He makes a big tree fall on his evil companion, and a small one on himself. Finally, the Cannibal realizes what is happening, and he chases Rabbit back and forth across a stream. The stream grows wider and wider, and the banks farther and farther apart. The Cannibal falls into the river and drowns. Rabbit sheds "crocodile tears": "My friend is gone, he is going out to sea," he laments.[1]

In another tale, Rabbit disguises himself as a woman, goes to a Cannibal Woman's house, asks to borrow her hatchet, and promptly cuts off her head. He gets a pretty girl for a reward from the chief.[2] A more degenerate form of the same type of story is that in which Rabbit, a weak animal, outsmarts a stronger animal. A very popular story is the one in which Rabbit and Wolf are courting a pair of sisters. Rabbit is not making much headway, until one night he tricks Wolf into carrying him to the girls' house on his back--thus making it appear that Wolf is Rabbit's slave.[3] More like the Cannibal-killing story is the one in which Rabbit escapes from Wildcat by scattering coals over him from a fire meant to smoke Rabbit out of his hole.[4]

A story about Rabbit and Flint, from the Cherokee, may well be an early version of the important Iroquois myth of the two brothers, one of whom is always called Flint (see next chapter, and recall that the Cherokee are Iroquoian).

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[1] Swanton, Myths and Tales, pp. 159-160, 160-161 (Alabama); pp. 42-45 (Creek), pp. 205-206 (Koasati), 259-261 (Natchez); cf. Speck, "Taskigi Town," pp. 154-155.

[2] Dorsey and Swanton, pp. 44-46; Swanton, Myths and Tales, pp. 160-161 (Alabama), pp. 206-207 (Koasati), pp. 51-53 (Creek).

[3] Ibid., pp. 64-67 (Creek), pp. 107 (Hitchiti); Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," p. 152; Wagner, pp. 206-207; Swanton, "Animal Tales," p. 195 (Natchez, Creek, Hitchiti).

[4] Spencer, p. 323; cf. Mooney, p. 247.

> Flint, living in the mountains, had been killing many animal people, and everyone was afraid of him. Rabbit volunteered to go against him, and went to Flint's house boldly. He invited Flint to come to his house for dinner. While Flint was sleeping, Rabbit drove a wedge into his body, and he exploded into a thousand pieces. Rabbit's rump and lip were split by flying fragments.[1]

This story has the flavor of great antiquity: a culture-hero deed is accomplished by a trick, with the result of a permanent transformation of nature and of the Trickster-Hero.

Rabbit sometimes is blamed for the hard conditions of life, and for the mortality of mankind:

> A man fell sick and Rabbit was sent to God to learn if he would die. God said there was no death, and the man would recover. But Rabbit fell on the way home, split his nose, and forgot his message. When he went back to get the word from God a second time, God was annoyed and said, "Yes, he will die!"[2]

"A man" wanted rivers to run two ways at the same time, but Rabbit ordained otherwise, the Koasati said.[3]

The cleverness of Rabbit and his independence from the High God is brought out in a story found rather widely spread in the Southeast, called the "Tests of Rabbit":

> Rabbit went to God to get more wisdom and strength. God set him at various tasks, dangerous and seemingly impossible to perform, such as getting ants in a bag, obtaining an alligator's tooth, killing a rattlesnake, etc.; and Rabbit, by clever strategy, accomplished them all. God

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[1] Ibid., p. 264-275.

[2] John R. Swanton, "Some Chitamacha Myths and Beliefs," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXX, No. 118 (1907), 476.

[3] Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 204 (Kosati).

> therefore told Rabbit that he did not need any additional powers, and that he was already wiser than he could have made him.[1]

This last story, which is found also among the Uncle Remus stories of Br'er Rabbit, raises the question often asked about the Rabbit trickster tales of the Southeast concerning the influence of Negro folklore on that of the Indian. Undboutedly there has been mutual influence. Speck[2] says that Indians freely adopted Negro tales which tended to glorify their favorite totem animals. Mooney,[3] on the other hand, minimizes the importance of these influences, and reasons that the proud Indians would have taken over little from an "inferior" enslaved race, and that the traffic more likely would have been in the other direction. Swanton's opinion[4] is probably the most reasonable:

> Whatever the origin of the separate Rabbit tales, there seems to be every reason to believe that Rabbit was the "trickster," or one of the tricksters, of the Southern Indians in pre-Columbia times.

Among the Rabbit stories of the Southeast we find the familiar tale of the hoodwinked dancers,[5] in which Rabbit plays dead while Wildcat seizes the dancing animals; the flight with a bird or birds and the fall, often into a hollow tree (he is carried aloft when he tries to catch ducks by their legs in imitation of the Otter);[6] everywhere Rabbit is fed magically but injures himself severely when he tries to be host in the same way: in this region this bungling host story has a sequel in which Rabbit after being injured is "doctored" by Buzzard--and eaten.[7] There is a sequel also to the tale of

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[1] Ibid., pp. 58-61 (Creek), pp. 104-105 (Hitchiti), cf. pp. 255-256 (Natchez); idem, "Chitamacha Myths," pp. 475-476; cf. Greenlee, p. 144.

[2] Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," p. 140.

[3] Mooney, p. 223.

[4] Swanton, "Animal Stories," p. 193.

[5] Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," pp. 153-154; Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 295 (Natchez); pp. 47-48 (Creek); Mooney, pp. 269-270.

[6] Ibid., pp. 266-267; Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 208 (Koasati).

[7] Swanton, "Animal Tales," p. 198; idem, Myths and Tales, pp. 55-56 (Creek), pp. 254-255 (Natchez), pp. 111-112 (Hitchiti); Dorsey and Swanton, pp. 15-18; Speck, "Ethnology of Yuchi," p. 153, Wagner, pp. 48-51; Mooney, p. 273; Speck, Catawba, pp. 320-321; Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 210 (Koasati), pp. 162-163 (Alabama).

Trickster's getting burned to make himself spotted like a fawn: the Trickster (Wolf) is killed, and his brothers chase after the Deer who deceived him. Deer gets caught in a tree, above a river, and Turtle is summoned to shoot her. Turtle fools around, but finally succeeds. Then he refuses to take home each part of the butchered venison offered him as his reward, and finally he is left with nothing but the bloody leaves on the ground, which he carries home to his wife.[1] (Turtle appears in several myths as a typical Trickster, here as among the Iroquois, Algonkians, and some of the Plains Indians.)

Rabbit also is the victim of false advice,[2] and on several occasions he rapes or marries a pretty girl by trickery.[3]

While our collections of mythology from the Southeast are rather sketchy and of mixed quality, they are sufficient to prove that all the elements of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero figure are still visible, though obscured, in the oldest level of folk lore. We can see here how, even in a predominantly agricultural society where there are myths of the Corn Mother and a highly developed cultic system directed toward the High God Sun, the old Trickster-Fixer of the hunters has persisted, even though largely debased into a character of nursery tales.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 39-40 (Creek, pp. 249-252 (Natchez); Wagner, pp. 37-43, 196-200 (Yuchi); cf. Swanton Myths and Tales, pp. 41, 53-55, 101-102, 157-159, 278-279; Wagner, pp. 43-46; Mooney, pp. 270-271.

[2] Swanton, Myths and Tales, p. 138 (Alabama).

[3] Wagner, pp. 208-209; Swanton, "Animal Tales," pp. 215-216; ibid., p. 57 (Creek: he rapes his sister-in-law).

CHAPTER XX

THE IROQUOIS

Culture and Beliefs

The Iroquois Indians inhabited the land on both sides of the two easternmost Great Lakes, Huron and Erie, and held territory to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and southward to the Chesapeake Bay. They were a vigorous group of tribes and were enlarging their territory at the time of the arrival of Europeans. Their neighbors on all sides were Algonkians. We should expect, therefore, to find mutual borrowings between these two peoples in all phases of culture, including mythology, and this, in fact, is the case. Already, in chapter vi on the Algonkians, we have seen evidence of the influence of Iroquois mythology on certain myths of Gluskabe and Nanabozho, in which these heroes are set opposite an evil brother. Similarly, there are evidences of Iroquoian borrowings from Algonkian myths in some collections of mythology from these Indians.

The Iroquois must have dwelt in the St. Lawrence valley from rather remote times, since they have no migration traditions. However, we know there must have been a northerly movement of these people from the Southeast, from somewhere near the territory of the Cherokee, in all probability, since these latter are linguistically Iroquoian. Even more distantly related are the Caddoan tribes of the Great Plains, who also came from the Southeast to their present homeland. When the Iroquois came into the northerly region, they displaced the Algonkians from what must have been the heart of their land, a very rich area for both farming and hunting (cf. Figures 3 and 4).

The Iroquois were both farmers and hunters, standing midway between the Indians of the Southeast and the Algonkians in the relative importance of agriculture in their lives. The men cleared the fields of trees, and thereafter the farming was in the hands of the women. The men devoted themselves to hunting, trapping, and fishing. Maize (corn) was the staple crop, being grown in fifteen varieties, and there were beans of all descriptions and squashes in the large gardens and fields of the Iroquois women.[1]

Most of our material on the Iroquois-speaking tribes is from the Wyandot-Hurons of Canada, and two or three of the tribes of the Iroquois League of New York state. The names of the five tribes which joined into a league in the fifteenth century are Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. The language and culture of these tribes was quite similar. They lived in stockaded villages, in communal dwellings usually referred to a "longhouse," covered with birch bark. The houses belonged to the women, as did the fields, and each house was the property of a particular matrilineal clan. The clans bore totemic names: especially common were Wolf, Bear, and Turtle.[2] The clan animal was pictured over the door of each longhouse. The Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga were further divided into moieties of land animals and birds, respectively. Chiefs, who were men, were the offspring of certain noble lineages (female).[3]

The Wyandot had twelve clans, divided into moieties with no evident logic in the groupings. One clan, the Wolf, stood between as "cousin" to both sides.[1] The Wyandot, and probably other Iroquois as well, considered themselves to be descended from the clan ancestors who were animal-persons or "gods." Real animals were also regarded as descended from these same beings.[2]

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[1] LaFarge, pp. 43-44.

[2] Harriet M. Converse, Myths and Legends of the New York Iroquois, ed. Arthur C. Parker (Port Washington, L.I.: Ira J. Friedman, Inc. 1962), p. 130.

[3] LaFarge, pp. 44, 53.

Spirit power was obtained through dreams. Shamans, of course, were those whose dreams were about the most powerful spirits. The relating of dreams was a part of the most important ceremonial of these people, held in the dead of winter, during the second moon after the solstice. It was a new year's festival and contained elements reminiscent of Southeastern rituals (see previous chapter). Chief among these was the scattering of the old fire and the kindling of a new one. There were rites of purification, dances, prayers to the spirits, and a reinactment of the gambling match between the Good Brother and the Evil one by which the former won springtime and life (he is often called "Master-of-Life": see myths below). This celebration is concluded just before the first signs of winter's end occur,[3] and gives us a clue to the interpretation of the most distinctive feature of Iroquoian mythology, the sharp dualism of Good and Evil.

Early investigators of the Iroquois and Eastern Algonkians spoke much about the "Great Spirit" worshipped by the Indians, whom they depicted as quite analogous to the God of the Bible. Such a "monotheistic" belief was not, of course, present, but was a misinterpretation of white men. The Iroquois did indeed believe there was a Chief in the world above, but there is little resemblance between this figure and the monotheistic God of the whites. He was the ruler of the "people" or spirits of the heavenly world; he was also the father or husband of the woman who fell from the sky (in mythology:

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[1] William E. Connelley, Wyandot Folk-Lore (Topeka: Crane and Co., 1899), pp. 25-27.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 31.

[3] LaFarge, pp. 51-53.

see below). No myth attributes to him the creation of the heavens or the earth.

The Indians believed also in a War God, a God of Dreaming (source of dream power), and gods or spirits of such powerful natural forces as the Winds and the Thunder.[1] The most important mythological figures are the woman who fell from heaven (who seems to have no proper name among the Wyandot-Huron,[2] but was called Mature-Flowers or Mature Earth or Ancient-Bodied by the Seneca),[3] and the Twins, the Good Brother and the Evil Brother. The name of the wicked one is always Flint, but the name of the other is given variously as Fire (Wyandot),[4] Great-Good-One (Huron),[5] Sapling (Onondaga),[6] "He who grasps the sky with both hands" (Onondaga),[7] and Maple Sprout (Mohawk).[8] A personage who occurs in both myth and ritual is the Mask-Being, who is Whirlwind, the bringer of diseases; he was overpowered by the Good Twin and made to be the helping spirit to the shamans of the False-Face Society who wear grotesque masks.[9] Of rather minor importance in the myths is a character known as the Mischief-Maker or Trickster (S'hodionskon), who also appears in one tale as a kind of lazy-man's guardian spirit.[10]

Iroquoin mythology recognizes two distinct mythological ages, one of which was in heaven, the other on earth.[11] This fact suggests that we are dealing with a complex mythology built up out of more than one tradition, and there are other evidences pointing to the same conclusion. Apparently, although this is not clear in all versions, the perfect age of the world above came to an end when jealousy was born in the mind of the Great Chief, the Ancient One, against his virgin "wife." The heavenly tree was uprooted, and the woman was cast down to earth. The earth was then still a watery chaos, inhabited by aquatic birds and animals. The sight of the falling woman precipitated action on the part of these terrestrial creatures, who dived and brought up a particle of dirt from which the earth grew, to be a home for the woman and her offspring. This second, terrestrial myth age was the period of creation. It is dominated by the two brothers, standing for the opposites in the world, "good" and "evil." The ages ended when the world of the creative beings was finished and they returned to the sky or other transcendent places.

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[1] Connelley, pp. 32, 39-44; cf. Arthur C. Parker, Seneca Myths and Folk Tales (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1923), pp. 5-10.

[2] Connelley, pp. 46-47.

[3] Parker, pp. 5-6.

[4] Connelley, p. 49.

[5] Horatio Hale, "Huron Folk-Lore," Journal of American Folk-Lore, I (1888), 182.

[6] J.N.B. Hewitt, "Iroquoian Cosmology, Part II," Forty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928, pp. 141-220.

[7] Ibid., pp. 470-608.

[8] Ibid., Part 1, pp. 255-339.

[9] LaFarge, pp. 50-51.

[10] Parker, pp. 18, 208-217; see below.

[11] Cf. Hewitt, Part II, pp. 464-469.

From these brief, introductory remarks it is obvious that Iroquoian mythology is much more "advanced" than that of many Indian tribes. It has to do almost entirely with anthropomorphic beings, some or all of whom are related to powerful natural phenomena. Several animal figures appear at the time of the dive for earth, but these fade from the scene almost as soon as land has been made. The older animal-persons of myth times remain in popular folk-lore and probably in clan traditions, but they have little place in the great myth of origins. The Trickster-Culture Hero is more obscured or more nearly forgotten in the mythology of these people than in that of any other North American tribe. Dualism is more pronounced here also, which suggests that there may be some correlation between these two facts. But let us look at the mythology itself.

The Myth of Origins

The principal myth of the Iroquoian peoples is the story of the "woman who fell from heaven." The main outline of the tale is the same in all versions as we have them from the Wyandot-Huron, Seneca, Onondaga, and Mohawk, but there are numerous minor variations in details. All accounts agree that there was (and is still, apparently) a heavenly world. In this place there grew a wonderful tree which belonged to the Chief. The accounts agree that someone became ill in this Sky World and was placed under the tree while it was dug around. In the process of the digging a hole was made through the floor of heaven and a young woman fell through the opening. She fell for a long time toward the watery world below. Aquatic birds caught her on their wings, and diving animals plunged below the sea to bring up dirt out of which to make the earth. This dirt, in all accounts, was placed on the back of Turtle and grew into the earth (which today is still supported by the Turtle). On earth the woman bore a daughter, and the daughter subsequently gave birth to twin sons, having been impregnated mysteriously. One twin was evil and burst through his mother's side, killing her. The grandmother reared the boys. When grown, the two divided the work of creation between themselves. In some versions each had half the world in which to work. The good brother made good things, and the evil brother made bad things. They also modified each other's work, so that the good things the good brother made were less than perfect, and the evil things the other made became less dangerous and harmful. Eventually, after a long period of hostility and creative activity, all things were finished by the two, including the first human beings. The two brothers then fought (in some versions, after a gambling match), and it was a battle to the death. The good brother was beaten down for a while,but in the end he was victorious, and the body of the evil one was shattered into a million fragments--of flint. The good brother "went away," together with the Old Woman, to the place of the dead.

The most discrepancies among the different versions of the myth occur in the first part, the events in the Sky World which led up to the fall of the woman to earth. Some versions, apparently deficient, simply begin with the woman's falling from the sky and being sighted by the animals and birds below.[1] All the longer accounts tell a series of events in heaven which brought about the woman's fall.

The Huron-Wyandot versions which we have, do not agree among themselves either as to the relationship of the woman to the Chief of Heaven, or to the cause of her falling. According to Connelley's account,[2] and also to one version of Barbeau,[3] she was the daughter of the Chief. She was ill, and a doctor said she must be treated with roots from the marvelous wild apple tree. She was to sit by the tree while others dug around it, he said, and she would instinctively grasp that which would cure her when it should be uncovered. After they had dug awhile, the ground caved in and the girl fell (or jumped) through the opening. The tree fell also, and sank into the waters below. It was out of the dirt clinging to the roots of the tree, brought up by a diving Frog, that land was made below, according to these accounts (and in this respect, they are unique).

In Hale's version (probably Wyandot),[4] the woman was pushed out of heaven by her husband, as in the versions from New York State (see below); but another version obtained by Barbeau[5] says she was pushed out by her brothers because she had cut down the corn stalks which formerly had been ever-bearing in the heavenly fields.

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[1] Hale, pp. 180-182; Barbeau, p. 4; Clark, Indian Legends of Canada, pp. 1-3.

[2] Connelley, pp. 67-70.

[3] In Parker, pp. 417-420. (It seems likely that these two tales are really from the same source.)

[4] Hale, p. 180. [5] Barbeau, p. 4.

One Seneca version[1] makes the woman to be the ailing daughter of the Chief, as in the first two Huron-Wyandot accounts. In this version, the tree bears corn. Another Seneca account, also like the Huron-Wyandot ones above, says that the tree fell to earth. It was dug up because of the dream of "a woman," who was then pushed through the hole because of the bad result of following her dream advice.[2] Still another Seneca account (perhaps modified by the reporter?) states that the Chief sent the woman down to bring life to the earth.[3] This statement is unique: in all other versions she falls either by accident or because of being pushed in anger.

The most fullsome accounts of this myth, those obtained by Hewitt from Seneca, Onondaga, and Mohawk informants, relate a long series of events leading up to the fall. The woman who is eventually to fall is given a geneology: she was the daughter of remarkable parents, a girl and a youth who had been secluded from infancy (an Iroquois custom, when the parents wished to rear a child to have exceptional orenda, supernatural power).

> The two young people had a secret meeting, and the boy became ill and died--the first death, it is said--and was placed in a casket which was fastened high in a tree. The girl bore a female child who went periodically to visit the coffin of her father. There she was instructed in what she should do as she grew. When she was of marriageable age, he sent her to the Great Chief to become his wife, and forewarned her of the "tests" which she should have to endure. The Chief required her to prepare corn and cook it in the nude, allowing the boiling mush to splatter over her body, and then to let the dogs lick it off her with their rough tongues, which made her bleed. The Old Chief slept with the girl three nights, but they did not have intercourse. Then he sent her home with meat from every kind of animal, and told her he would send corn to her people later. At home, she had the roofs removed from the houses, and in the night corn fell into the houses like rain.[4]

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[1] J.N.B. Hewitt and Jeremiah Curtin, "Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths," Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1918.

[2] Jeremiah Curtin, Seneca Indian Myths (New York: Dutton and Co., 1923), pp. 192-193.

[3] Converse, p. 31.

[4] Hewitt, Part I, pp. 141ff. (Onondaga); and pp. 255ff. (Mohawk). Cf. also idem, Part II, pp. 470ff. (Onondaga).

This much of the story sounds like an ancient ritual-origin myth about a visit of a woman to the Sky Spirit, who gives her game and corn together with a ritual which will assure their abundance in the future. The ritual, which we discern between the lines, involves nudity, the shedding of blood, and sleeping with the priest, and would be quite consistent with the world-view of an agriculturalist people. No such ritual is reported from the Iroquois, to my knowledge, however,and must have been lost as they traveled northward. The story continues:

> The young woman returned to her husband, the Great Chief. At his house grew a wonderful tree which was everbearing and everblooming. (In the Mohawk version it is a dogwood.) The Blossoms gave light to the world above. (All kinds of fruits probably grew on the tree also.) The young and still virgin wife of the Chief was found to be with child. The Chief was jealous, since he did not realize that he had caused her to conceive by the breath of his mouth. He suspected Meteor (or Lightning-Man), since the girl had once spoken to this man, despite the chief's command that she should speak to no man.
>
> The Chief became ill, apparently from his jealousy. The flowers of the heavenly tree faded also. A doctor divined that the tree must be dug up (or dug around), and/or the Chief ordered that this be done. He and his accused wife sat under the tree, eating. Various animals visited the Chief during his illness, and these were later found in the world below (as helping spirits of shamans?).
>
> When the men had uprooted the tree, there was made a great hole, opening into the world below. (In these versions, the tree does not fall.) The Chief, seemingly in anger, pushed the woman through the hole, into space. (In one Onondaga account, he says that the time for the transformation has come.) The tree was set back in place, and the Chief was well again.[1]

This part of the myth obviously is the most crucial; but it is also the most difficult to interpret. What were the motivating and precipitating causes of the fall of the woman from heaven, the event which started a chain of reactions by which the present world came into being? The confusion and variety of motives given in different versions (the illness of the Chief's daughter, the illness of the Chief due to jealousy over the supposed infidelity of his wife--or had she really been unfaithful?--the destruction of the corn plants by the girl, the destruction of the heavenly tree) suggest that the Indians themselves had lost the meaning of the myth. The most we can say now is that some disrupting event in the paradisal world of the sky (the first sin?--the first death?) made necessary the creation of the world. There are vague and veiled suggestions that the sex act with a pregnancy may have been the sin that spoiled paradise. Perhaps the cause was indeed jealousy and mistrust. The fault must have been centered in the women, and for this reason she had to be thrown out of the sky. The creation of the earth, in this view, is the result of a moral and ontological fall, as well as a spatial one.

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[1] Hewitt, Part I, pp. 141ff. (Onondaga), pp. 255ff. (Mohawk), pp. 221ff. (Seneca); idem, Part II, pp. 470ff. (Onondaga); Parker, pp. 59ff, 411-416.

In one account, the Chief gave the woman corn and other food to take to earth.[1] In another, she grabbed seed of all kinds in her hands as she fell (they had been scattered on the ground when the tree which bore them was uprooted.)[2] But in most versions she received an ear of corn and a mortar and pestle from the Lightning Man (Meteor), her supposed lover, who came to her and accompanied her as she fell. (This element in the story reminds us of the Skidi Pawnee myth of creation, in which lightning must strike the earth to quicken it after each act of creation. See chapter vii.) The animals and birds on the water below caught sight of her falling, and while the birds flew to catch her the animals dived for dirt. The grain of dirt recovered by Frog (or Muskrat) was placed on Turtle's back, and became a great island, the earth.

Soon the woman gave birth to a daughter (called Zephyr in one Onadaga version).[3] The girl grew and matured. She was impregnated by a handsom suitor who turned out to be a Turtle, or by one who merely laid an arrow beside her, or by the Wind (this last probably an episode from the Central Algonkian myth), according to different versions.

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[1] Hewitt, Part I, pp. 141ff. (Onondaga).

[2] Parker, pp. 59-73 (Seneca).

[3] In some accounts the girl is first born in heaven, falls with the mother, re-enters her body in flight, and is reborn on earth!

At length the daughter heard twin sons inside her, arguing about their manner of birth. The evil one said he would burst forth under her armpit (or from her abdomen). The good son was born normally, and then the evil one burst out, killing his mother. Her body was burned, and from it there grew the cultivated plants: from her head the pumpkin, from her breasts corn, from her limbs or fingers beans, tobacco from her forehead, and potatoes from her feet.[1]

The brothers were reared by the grandmother (the woman who fell from the sky). One day the good boy went to a transcendent place (far to the east, or under the water) and met his father, who gave him a magic bow and arrow, an ear of corn to eat, and seeds of wild and domestic food plants.[2] The good brother cooked his corn secretly, but his grandmother found out what he was doing, and came and threw ashes on it, making it less than perfect. She also made the preparation of corn difficult.

The two brothers proceeded with their work of creation. In some versions the world is divided between them. Master-of-Life or Sapling, the good youth, made (or brought from his father) all the good animals in the world, and Flint, trying to imitate him, made (or brought) all the bad ones. Flint was jealous and hid all the good animals in a cave, but Sapling released them. However, after their imprisonment, the animals were wild.

In some accounts, the good brother made the sun, moon, and stars (or the moon only) out of his mother's body. Flint made the rough, mountainous land, rocks, thorns, etc. He changed the good creations of his brother--making streams flow one way only and causing them to drown people sometimes in rapids and whirlpools. He made wild foods harder to obtain, and domestic plants hard to raise. He created enormous, evil monsters, such as a Toad which drank up all the water in the world. The good brother vanquished all these beings, and modified them so that they were no longer dangerous, and he released the water from the Toad. Flint and his grandmother stole the sun and made the world dark, but Sapling and some animal helpers (Fisher, Raccoon, Fox, Hare, etc.) stole it back and escaped with it.

In one version Flint, whose name is virtually a homonymn for the word for ice, was making an ice bridge to the land of the monsters, so that they come into the world. Sapling sent Bluebird (the first bird of spring) to frighten him, and he ceased his work and the bridge disappeared.[1]

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[1] Parker, pp. 59-73 (Seneca); Hale, pp. 180-182; cf. Curtin, pp. 192-197. The Hainuwele motif is lacking in all of Hewitt's versions.

[2] Or in some other versions, he gets game animals from his father. Sometimes Flint goes also and returns with bad animals. The visit to the father is missing in all Huron-Wyandot versions consulted.

An episode in one unique Seneca version[2] is something like the corn-origin myth of the Southeast:

> The good youth finds his grandmother has corn which she prepares and eats secretly. He uses up all the corn in her absence, and when she weeps, he goes to a far place and steals ears of corn from a supernatural tribe, running away in the form of a wolf, then a deer.

Here we have the ancient Trickster-Culture Hero theft motif used to account for the origin of corn, which "properly" originated from the body of the Corn Mother. Iroquois mythology shows an intermingling and confusion of hunting and crop-raising types of myths.

> The two brothers (or the good brother and the evil grandmother)[3] engage in a contest to determine which shall be master of the world.[4] The good boy said the contest would decide which would prevail: life and growth, or winter, cold, and death. The struggle is to be continual, however (i.e., annual), but the outcome of the first contest would be decisive for the future. The gambling game was one on which plum pits are used, but Master-of-Life used live chicadee heads, and thus he won the contest.
>
> The good brother made a couple, and when they did not seem very lively, he taught them the facts of sex. Flint failed in trying to imitate his brother's work, and his "people" became either some grotesque animal, or white men.

The unique Wyandot version reported by Connelley says that the two brothers and their creatures fought a very long war, lasting several years. Fire, the good brother (another of his many names), hid the people he had made inside the earth in a cave, in a state of "hibernation." The earth meanwhile was decimated by fire (used by Fire, the good brother), and by Northwind, Flint's weapon. After the warfare had passed and the Sun had "ripened" the earth, Fire went below and led the people out, in the order of precedence which they later observed when camping together. When they emerged, it was springtime, and the earth sang for joy.[1]

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[1] Hewitt, Part I, pp. 255-339 (Mohawk). [2] Ibid., pp. 252-253.

[3] The grandmother tends to side with the evil brother in the New York state versions, and with the good brother in Canadian versions.

[4] This is the part of the myth reinacted in the New Year's festival, as mentioned above. From Hewitt, Part II, pp. 470-608 (Onondaga).

This myth is reminiscent of many emergence stories of the Southwest and Southeast, and elsewhere. The only Iroquoian parallel, however, is a Tuscarora myth, which states that Sky-Holder, after making the earth, called forth the people from the heart of the "Great Island" where they had been subsisting on moles, the ancestral pairs of the six Iroquoian nations. The Tuscarora, the last to emerge, left the others and migrated south (to Virginia).[2] The Iroquois, evidently, had an ancient tradition of an origin by emergence from the earth.

All versions of the great myth of the two brothers describe the battle to the death between them. Each one tells the other (probably truthfully) what the only thing is that will kill him. Flint can be killed by being struck with a deer antler, and the good brother can be killed by a blow with a bag of corn. (Or, in some accounts, the good brother deceives the evil one, telling him he can be killed by something which really will not harm him, such as cattails.)[3] The good brother is beaten down for a while, but he rises up and slays Flint, scattering flint rocks everywhere.

> The good brother meets another man, soon after, the Mask (Whirlwind, the disease-bringer), who claimed to be the first person on earth and therefore master of it. He and Sapling tested powers, and Mask proved to be the weaker. Vanquished, Mask then promised to aid men by giving them songs and rites to aid in curing the diseases he had brought into the world.

This Episode accounts for the False-Face Shamans' society.

The conclusion of the myth is indefinite and variable. The good brother usually is stated to have gone off "somewhere," that is, to the place where the dead go, presumably. Hewitt's priestly Onondaga version says that the Master-of-Life ascended to the sky with Flint, saying,

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[1] Connelley, pp. 81-83. [2] Clark, p. 300.

[3] This latter is probably the older version, but it was later purged by systematizers who saw the incongruity of the good brother's telling a lie.

> Now my brother and I raise ourselves upward. So then you must have only that for a sign, that whenever you will see the pathway above divided, you will know that indeed two kinds of mind have come into being in the world above, and on earth below, and also among human beings.[1]

This last statement underscores the thorough-going dualism of the Iroquoian world view. The two brothers represent not only the dualism of good and evil, but also *all* dualisms in the world: light and dark, summer and winter, rough and smooth, easy and hard, life and death, agriculture and hunting, etc. Not all of the oppositions are clearly brought out in every myth, but when all versions are compared, we see how the two brothers serve different storytellers as vehicles of all kinds of dualisms.

It is interesting to notice how many different origins for corn are given in these accounts, often more than one in a single version: by the Great Chief to the girl, after a visit to his house and a ritual ordeal; by the Great Chief to the woman when he sent her to earth; by the Lightning to the falling woman; from the woman's slain body; from the supernatural father of the good son, when he comes to visit him; and by theft of the good brother from the supernatural tribe. These variant traditions indicate many layers of mythology and culture have been superimposed in the case of these Indians.

The Trickster

Because the Iroquoians had become such thorough-going dualists, they had no need nor understanding for the ancient Trickster-Culture Hero who combines in one personage all opposites, since he represents the world-as-it-is. However, in popular traditions a Trickster lived on. He was Mischief-Maker, a clownish, prank-playing spirit, known in myth times and also liable to appear today to a lazy and worthless person.

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[1] Hewitt, Part II, p. 558.

Not many stories about this Trickster (S'hodieonskon) have been reported but the following are typical:

> Trickster was traveling. He came to a village and warned the people that a disease was coming. He said he was a great shaman-doctor, and that he knew the only way to prevent the disease from having any power: each man must have intercourse with the first woman he can take hold of. The men acted immediately on his advice, and Trickster himself chose a particularly pretty girl.
>
> One middle-aged man, however, had been unable to find a girl, so he accompanied Trickster when he left the town to go to another place. He asked Trickster if they couldn't play the same trick on the next village. But in that town Trickster said the cure was to "knock down the man standing next to you," and the poor man received pain instead of pleasure.[1]
>
> In another village, still playing doctor, Trickster tells people to defecate into their houses through a hole in the wall. They obey, and he has a big laugh.[2]
>
> In still another community, while people are choking on smoke from another of his "cures," Trickster kills the chief without being found out, feigns sorrow,and asks to be buried too. (A memory of the Southeast custom of being killed when the chief died?) The next day he "comes back from the dead" (a trick of course) and says he has been sent to marry the chief's two beautiful widows. This, of course, was his object all the time.[3]

As many Tricksters do in other parts of Indian North America, the Seneca Trickster deceives some old blind women and causes them to start fighting with each other.[4]

Trickster plays a series of pranks on an old witch in Huron-Wyandot tradition.[5]

> He tells her he made his hair long by tying it to a tree top and jumping to the ground. Thus her hair is pulled out. Trickster decorates his body with paint, and tells her he rolled in hot coals in order to become as he is. . . . He replaces his eyes with plum stones and persuades the witch to let him "fix" her the same way. He makes a fine coach and horses

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[1] Hewitt and Curtin, p. 283 (Seneca); Leland, pp. 197-199 (Seneca); cf. Barbeau, pp. 283-285 (Huron-Wyandot).

[2] Hewitt and Curtin, p. 283.

[3] Ibid., p. 285. Cf. the widespread tale, "Trickster pretends to die in order to marry his daughter."

[4] Leland, pp. 195-197.

[5] Barbeau, pp. 25-26.

> out of two rabbits and a hollow log, and trades them to the witch for some really fine regalia of her own. He is far away when she discovers she has been cheated again.

These episodes recall certain other trickster motifs found elsewhere, but most of all they reveal a faded memory of a Hero-Trickster who vanquished, by his wits, an evil supernatural being.

Perhaps under Algonkian influence, a Seneca "Trickster cycle" ends with the prankster's being taken up to heaven and changed into a god-fearing man. He returns after a long time to teach his people about the Great Spirit above, somewhat as did Nanabozho/Wisaka (who returned with the Medicine Lodge Dance; cf. chapter vi).[1]

> A lazy man who used to go out to the hills every day to loaf and daydream instead of hunt, one day is met by the Trickster-Spirit who says he has been near him as a friend very often. Now he wishes to bless him. He gives him power to make good food out of spoiled meat, but warns him he can do it only two times. The man does it once for a trial, and again on the way home, to be sure he really has the power; but when he tries to show his power to his family, he only makes a fool of himself since he has exhausted his blessing. He returns to the Trickster-spirit three times more, with similar consequences each time. The last time, catching ducks with strings tied to their feet, he gets carried aloft and dropped in a hollow tree.[2]

With the Trickster transformed into a spirit, the foolish imitations and inability to handle supernatural power, traits which always characterize the Trickster, are transferred to a man who believes in the Trickster-spirit.

There is some weak evidence that the Trickster of the Iroquois was once a swamp bird, Hell-Diver or Mud-hen. This bird is pictured as a Trickster and Transformer in two "fictional stories" obtained from the Seneca.[3] In the former, he is shown as a prank-player and disbeliever in old myths and customs, and he transforms a few things. He is turned into Shodieonskon in the latter account by his enemy Meteor. In both stories he and Meteor are cast as enemies, and try to kill each other. Meteor succeeds in killing the Trickster in both stories--an episode which should be compared with the great myth of the antagonistic brothers.

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[1] Leland, pp. 200-205.

[2] Parker, pp. 208-217; cf. Southeastern story of Rabbit's being carried to the sky and dropped while trying to snare ducks by their feet.

[3] Curtin, pp. 457-473; Hewitt and Curtin, pp. 236-251.

Turtle is a Trickster and comic hero in several animal tales reported from these Indians. There occurs the widespread myth of Turtle's warparty,[1] and the race between Turtle and a fast runner (such as Fox), with Turtle winning by the trick of posting his friends who look just like him at intervals along the race course.[2]

Williams[3] reports that the physical description of the Trickster was applied in legend to an historical person, a Mohawk named Wathatotarho, who opposed the real Hiawatha, proponent of the Iroquois League. The evil man was described as having an inhuman shape, snakes for hair, turtle claws for hands, and a penis so long he coiled it around his body several times. I have found no such description of the Trickster in any of my sources, but the last element in the description, at least, is a well-known attribute of the Trickster in the West.

No doubt, much more might have been learned about the Iroquoian Trickster if investigators had cared to search for such information. However, it cannot be denied that he played a very small role in Iroquoian mythology in recent times, and this in contrast to all the rest of America north of the Rio Grande.

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[1] Curtin, pp. 410-413, 293-297; Parker, 305-308.

[2] Hewitt and Curtin, pp. 229-231; Curtin, pp. 166, 296-297; Barbeau, pp. 9-10.

[3] Williams, pp. xiv-xv.

The steps by which he disappeared may be imagined to have been these: first, his culture hero and transformer deeds which were not "beneficial" to man were seen as evil, and then these deeds became attached to a wholly negative figure, Flint, who was set in opposition to the good brother, the personification of all good things, to whom were ascribed all the "good" deeds of the Culture Hero. The pranks of the older complex figure were divorced from both brothers, for the most part, and assigned to a low, mischief-making myth being and spirit.

CHAPTER XXI

CONCLUSION: STRUCTURE AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRICKSTER-FIXER

I believe that the evidence accumulated and set forth in the body of this paper is conclusive for my original premise, that the apparently contradictory traits of "trickster," "culture hero," "buffoon," and "transformer" are held as a unity in the principal mythological figure of the most archaic American Indian folklore. The idea that all these seemingly diverse characteristics belong to one "personality" is of the essence of the original _apprehension of reality_ which grasped man and produced the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero of mythology. And what _is_ this reality which at a certain moment seized the mind of man and manifested itself in his mythology as the Trickster-Fixer? Is it not the reality of the nature of man himself, which is at once noble and foolish, heroic and cowardly, daring and deceitful, often beaten but never defeated?

The Trickster-Hero, then, is _Man_, according to a certain real and archaic viewpoint. He represents the dawning awareness of the transcendent quality of the mind of man, which can separate itself from its immediate environment in contemplation, and can remember, and project forward, and imagine things being otherwise than they are, and organize the chaos of experience into patterns, and can be amused or saddened or perplexed by what it contemplates.

The Structure of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero

The earliest and most typical kind of Trickster-Hero myth is that of the theft of fire. This myth, one of the most ancient of all myths, becomes the pattern for a whole series of myths of theft: theft of the sun, theft of water, theft of fish, theft of game animals, theft of acorns, and even theft of cereal grains. The structure of the myth, when we analyze it, consists of the journey of the hero to the place where some vitally needed substance is being kept from mankind by a superior being; the outwitting of the superior being by some device of cunning or deceit on the part of the admittedly weaker hero; and his successful theft, from the keeper, of the valuable commodity, often at the cost of some injury to himself or the world (the animal's fur is burned, the world is set on fire and/or is flooded). This myth presupposes that there are supernatural, transcendent powers, personified, which are hostile to man and which are trying to keep the "good things of life" away from him; and that if man is to prevail, he must use all his cunning and wit--fair means and foul--to overcome these superior forces.

At first glance it might appear that the theft of fire myth is shamanistic in type: the hero-thief, like the shaman, goes to a transcendent realm in order to bring back something from the spirits who are hostile to man. But there is this crucial difference between the Trickster-Hero of the myth and the shaman: the former relies on his own strength alone, on his own innate powers of mind and body, while the shaman employs the aid of certain spiritual powers with whom he has become familiar, who assist him in doing what he could not do in his own strength. Both the myth-maker and the shaman believe in superior, transcendent, personal spirit-beings; and they agree that there are advantages to be obtained by man from these supernaturals; and they both believe that these advantages will not be given freely, but must be taken; but here the similarity in the two viewpoints ends. The myth-maker believes man can go in his own strength and steal the good things by strategy, while the shaman believes his powers must be augmented by those spirits who have allied themselves with him against the other spirits. The shaman has respect for the supernatural powers and is humble before them, while the Trickster-Hero sees them only as a challenge to his own will to power, and as enemies to be overcome.

In the myth of the theft of fire, then, we have the most basic elements of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero united in one figure, and we have presupposed also the essential difference between the two world views represented by this myth-figure and the shaman. The myth-character is a trickster, in that he deceives the owner of fire; he is a culture hero, in that he brings a benefit to augment the culture of mankind; and he is a transformer or establisher of the world in its present condition in that the bodies of his animal-descendants bear the marks of his exploit, the trees now permanently "contain fire," the rocks have been solidified by the heat, etc. That he accomplished all this by himself, unassisted by supernatural helpers, shows his scorn for the "way of the shamans" who have a lesser opinion of the innate abilities of man.

The mythic apprehension embodied in the Trickster-Fixer is that "man is the measure," that his will must prevail, and that he must dominate the world and arrange it for his own advantage. In his struggle to become master of all, he is alone against a universe of hostile powers. The supernaturals are all opposed to his plans; but even if they wish to aid him (as the shaman believes some of them do) he rejects their help, for he senses that it is only a trick calculated to deprive him of his freedom. He knows intuitively that if he accepts help from the spirits, he will then be in their debt and will have to repay them with worship, and his goal to become lord of all will be frustrated. In his struggle to dominate the world and arrange it for his own advantage he is, by choice, alone.

Closely related in structure and logic to the theft myth is the type in which the Trickster-Hero vanquishes a supernatural being who is afflicting mankind. Usually the creature is a "cannibal monster," which means that it probably represents disease or famine or baleful influences in general, which "eat up" mankind. These are spiritual powers which shamans combat with the aid of other spirits. The Trickster-Fixer deals with them alone, by employing some strategy, such as entering into a vomiting contest, or by pretending he obtained his powers through some painful ordeal which, when the evil being lets himself be so treated, proves fatal. The Trickster often suffers from fright after he has volunteered to go on missions of this sort, but he proceeds anyway, and succeeds in spite of fears--even as do real men, who also cower in the face of danger. Trickster is no god or ideal hero, in other words: he is a very human hero, with weaknesses and fears, yet despite these he prevails. At other times the Trickster boasts inordinately before setting out to match wits with the cannibal. This, we know, is but another way fear is manifested, in real human beings.

In ancient times the Trickster-Transformer rid the world of the worst of evil beings and made it habitable for man. His descendants today celebrate him for his victories, for they know that if he succeeded in his perilous conflicts, so can they in theirs, for he is their prototype.

The myths of the Indians often disclose a growing clevage and rivalry between the Trickster-mentality and that of the shamans. We have had occasion again and again to note how some deed of the Trickster is a parody and cariacature of some shamanistic experience or sacred priestly rite. The dependence upon guardian spirits is mocked in the Plateau region and California by Coyote's consultations with his "excrement advisors." At the same time the idea of a "pain" or sacred object which a shaman can call up from inside his body in the process of his curing rites also is ridiculed by Coyote who brings out his excrements whenever he is in danger or perplexed. But he will not even admit that they have helped him when they tell him what to do: he says, "Why, of course! I knew it all the time!" and puts them back in place.

The ubiquitous story of the flight with the birds or on the back of a single bird, ending always in a fall and often in a disintegration of the Trickster's body, is a patent parody of the transcendent flight of the shaman and his experience of being reduced to bones and made whole once again. The episode of Trickster's diving into the water in pursuit of a reflection, probably is a jibe at the shamanistic practice of diving into pools to seek guardian spirit power. Sometimes, Trickster simply pretends to be a doctor--in order to gratify his appetites for food and sex. The delightful Plains story of Trickster's being mistaken for a supernatural being when he gets his head caught in an old elk skull and falls into the river, is one further example of this large class of anti-shaman stories.

The Bungling Host story, and other tales of failure to imitate some deed of another person whose powers are different from those of the Trickster, present another aspect of the multifaceted apprehension of man's nature which is expressed in the Trickster-Fixer. These stories show the Trickster being surprised at some food-getting technique (or other ability) of another animal, admiring the skill, and then trying to duplicate it, unwilling that anyone shall be able to do something which he cannot do. In some instances, he simply fixes himself up like the other person, outwardly (ties an awl on his face to resemble the Kingfisher, for example), and tries to act just as he observed the other act. In other types of stories, he begs the other person to give him some of his power, or to teach him how to do the trick. In all events, the result is disastrous: he fails because he lacks the power, or he loses the power very soon because he abuses it.

All these stories, it seems to me, have basically the same point, although there are different shades of meanings. These stories say that there is, after all, some limit to the powers of man. He is exceedingly clever, he can outwit the highest supernatural beings, but there are some things he cannot do. He should not feel too badly about this state of affairs--it is better just to make a joke of it. If a man tries to do things for which he was never intended then the result can be only injury and humiliation. Of course, Trickster, like Man, never learns his lesson, but he keeps on trying to do everything that anyone else can do: juggle his eyes, get food by slicing his thigh, catch fish by diving from a high tree into the water, etc., again and again. Trickster is clever, but at times he can be an incredible fool.

But in these stories of attempts at imitation and failure we see also, I think, again, the evidence of rejection and ridicule of the way of the shaman. The shaman is precisely the man who claims to have obtained more than human powers. He flies like a bird, he has super-sight, he wounds himself but is not injured. Shamans' performances, known all over Indian America, were filled with exhibitions of these and other "powers" which have their counterparts in the tales of the Trickster. Shamans, it should be remembered, obtained their powers from guardian spirits, who were in the majority of cases theriomorphic. Trickster in the myths tries to imitate various animals whose powers are not his own. His blundering attempts to do what the animals do (who are in some way superior to him), are a mockery of the shamans and other men who think they can get superior powers from animal-spirits! See how ridiculous Trickster is when dressed up like a Kingfisher, or when he tries to fly like a bird! In the myths in which he actually obtains superhuman powers, the point is a little different: Trickster loses the power because he is unsuited by nature (it would seem) to have it. True, if he had obeyed the injunctions he could have kept the power, but the point is that he could not obey them: it just was not in him to be that way!

We should notice that Trickster does not deny that there are supernatural powers. He is not "atheistic"--he knows that the spirit beings exist and are real--but he does not ask their help (or if he does, he accepts it on his own conditions: that is, he will not obey the taboos). He is a believer but not a worshipper. He is anti-god, and he is bent on conquering the gods, even though he knows they possess powers he does not have. The shaman seeks to win the blessings of these powers; the Trickster, unwilling to humble himself to become subservient to the gods, tries only to imitate their powers. And because man does not have all power, Trickster fails.

However, in no case are these failures very serious matters. Man does not, after all, really need anything he does not already possess! He does not need to obtain his food in some supernatural fashion, or to fly to the sky, or to be able to juggle his eyeballs, or to expel musk like a skunk. Life is a struggle for man, to be sure, but he has been endowed by nature with sufficient resources, if he will but make use of them, to be victorious.

The relationship of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero to myths of creation and to the High God is a complex one. On the one hand, the High God is mostly a priestly-shamanistic construct, based on the hierophany of the sky and the experience of transcendence associated with it. The essential elements in the structure of the High God are transcendence, omniscience, and sovereignty,[1] to which frequently is added (I believe) the idea of original creativity. The God who is supreme is a "natural candidate" for the office of Creator. Moreover, since he is a product of shamanistic experience, and since he possesses other shamanistic traits (omniscience, especially), he easily acquires the ability to make the earth appear from nothing or next to nothing, as the shaman similarly can cause things to appear. Like the shaman when he is conjuring, the Creator frequently is pictured as singing while he is creating.

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[1] Compare and contrast Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, pp. 5, 22-26.

It would seem logical that the Trickster-Ordainer should be the enemy or rival of the High God, not only because the High God belongs to the shamanistic experience, but also because until the High God appears, the Trickster-Transformer is the only "creator" the world knows. Indeed, very often we find the two in opposition. Literally and spiritually, they belong to different worlds. The High God is the epitome of the transcendent, for which Trickster has no love whatsoever; and as Creator the High God usurps a role which Trickster, as Transformer, claims for himself.

This is not to say that Trickster was most anciently the Creator of the world. It seems highly unlikely that the idea of the creation of the earth is as old as the apprehension of reality embodied in our Trickster-Fixer. In the oldest level of the myths, Trickster is simply "there," in a world that has always existed, but the world is chaotic and needs to be set in order. (Just so, the human infant perceives the world at first as a chaos of experiences, and only gradually does he come to give order and meaning to it.) The Trickster himself is something of a "chaos," with his uncontrollable appetites, his enormous sexual aparatus, his unsociability, his amorality, his ability to change shape at will, etc. He is a microcosmic counterpart of the macrocosm in which he lives and moves, before he has set it in order. Paul Radin and Carl Kung, as we have seen,[1] find in the Trickster a reflection of the early, undifferentiated state of human consciousness. In this view, Trickster is Man at a certain stage of his psychic development: man in the chaotic mental state from which he has emerged and into which he seems always threatening to revert; man in the process of becoming a created, ordered being.

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[1] Cf. Introduction; see also Radin, The Trickster, pp. 168, 200, 202.

The idea of the world as something which has been made, and the concept of a time when the world was not, in any form, belong not to the earliest stages of mythology and are not, I think a part of the original Trickster mythology. If, then, Trickster was not the Creator originally, how does this function come to be attached to him later, sometimes, instead of always to the High God, who is supreme and transcendent?

I think the answer is not difficult to find. The Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero is from the first a kind of Creator. He creates order out of the chaotic myth world, and in the process becomes less chaotic himself; he changes things into the forms they have retained every since; he ordains patterns and laws for all times (the establishment of ceremonies probably is a late addition to his cycle). When he finishes his transforming work, he has indeed created the world--the world-as-it-is. He is no less a Creator because he did not cause the earth and life itself to come into existence. At an early stage of thought the question of how the earth came to be does not present itself. The question, "How came the world to be as it is?" is much more fundamental and presumably more ancient. But when the latter question is asked, it is "natural" that the work of cosmic creation, too, should be ascribed to the one who was known already as the transformer and ordainer of the world order, the earliest and oldest character in mythology.

We have encountered quite often either a conflict between the High God as Creator and the Trickster-Fixer, or else a confusion in the minds of the people as to whether the Trickster-Creator is or is not identical with the High God. The reason for the conflict and confusion is now apparent: both the Supreme Being and the Trickster-Fixer can, with logic become earth makers.

Which one receives the honor will depend upon the relative strength of the mythic and shamanistic world views in a given culture. If the High God wins out, then the Trickster probably will become a demiurge or marplot, and a dualist system will evolve. In Central California, for example, we find all the major alternatives: Coyote as Creator (Pomo), as the assistant to the High God (Yuki), and as counter-creator (Maidu). (See chapter xvi.)

Dualism can come about also when the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero comes into conflict with a "pure" Culture Hero or Transformer. Boas was partly right when he spoke of a development in mythology of the idea of Culture Hero and Transformer, from one who is also a Trickster to one who is a purely beneficient and heroic being. (See Introduction.) But such a development is not "progress," as Boas thought, but it is what Jensen calls a "semantic depletion" or a "degeneration from expression to application."[1] It signifies a loss of understanding of the meaning of the original "seizure" which produced the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero. The religious value of the craftiness and blundering of the Trickster has been lost, and a new figure, who lacks most or all of these human characteristics of the Trickster, rises to claim the affections of the people. All the works of this being are admirable and beneficial to mankind. He is pre-eminently a monster-slayer (like Hare among the Winnebago, or the numerous Transformers of the Fraser River and Coast Salish tribes), and he strides through the world as a youthful, god-like hero, worthy of everyone's full admiration. He lacks the well-developed characterization of the older figure, and his myth-cycle is quite flat and prosaic, the plots of the adventures showing little imagination.

When he comes into contact with Trickster, there is instant hostility and conflict, and the latter usually emerges as the loser. The Trickster tries to best his young rival with the devices that have enabled him to survive hitherto: by cheating and deceiving him. The widespread story of Trickster's sending a young rival up a magically-growing tree or cliff and abandoning him there, and stealing his clothes so as to take his place, is perhaps the best example of this type of story. Another widely-told tale is that of the hero-boy who shoots an arrow at a menacing bird at the same time as the Trickster and hits it; but Trickster claims he was the killer, and for a while gets away with his deception. In both stories, after a short period of apparent victory by the Trickster, the heroic youth, by virtue of his supernatural power, brings the Trickster to humiliation and ruin. In the Southeast, Hare is bested by a youth in a series of magic feats which the Trickster cannot duplicate. All these myths show the Trickster-Hero fighting for his life--and losing. He is driven out of town in the end, typically; banished forever. He loses his position as the central myth figure of the people. They have become too "good" for him now. They prefer a god-like man, an idealist hero, one who conforms to the standard of the shamans, who has sought and obtained spiritual power! The result of the rise of such a figure or figures may be simply a profanation of the Trickster and his stories (as in the Plains and the Southwest), or, as in the case of the Iroquois, the Klamath, and perhaps the Mandan-Hidatsa, a splitting of the original character into two: a good and an evil or foolish Creator-pair.

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[1] Jensen, pp. 4-5, 324.

The essential elements in the structure of the myth figure who is the subject of this study, then, are these: He is a Trickster, a worldly being of uncertain origin who lives by his wits and is often injured or embarrassed by his foolish imitations and pranks, yet who never takes himself too seriously and never admits defeat; he is a Transformer, a being of the myth times who goes about doing things which set the form and pattern of things for all time, usually acting without apparent plan or forethought, and leaving the world as it is today, having thus prepared it for mankind; and a Culture Hero, who unassisted risks his life and limb in daring engagements with supernatural powers in order that the world may be a better place for those who are to come. All these elements are integrated into one character, who is none other than man.

The Religious Significance of the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero

I have referred repeatedly to the Trickster-Fixer as a "religious" figure, and to the apprehension of reality which he represents as religious. I have said that the stance in the world which the Trickster takes is a religious stance. I have partially explained what I mean by this usage of the term in the Introduction, but I believe that further amplification of this usage is now called for. In the process of explaining the religious significance of the Trickster, I shall propose a definition of religion which is somewhat broader than that usually accepted.

It is obvious that the Trickster is not, properly, the object of worship. He is not a spirit or a god, but a myth-figure, a person of the mythical age, the primordial era. His present status is indefinite in most Indian mythologies, and is variously given. In general, we can say that he has "gone away" and no longer has any direct influence on mankind. Even more than the High God, the Trickster is otiose. Like the Dema deities, he has no "presence" in the world, except in the order of the world itself, as he made it. Like an ancestor, he lives on earth in his descendants--mankind--and otherwise he exists perhaps "far away" in the place of the dead who have gone before. Only exceptionally and aberrently is the Trickster held to be a spirit or a god. These instances have been noted and analyzed when and where they were encountered in the body of the paper.

The Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero is the leading figure of the myth age, until his place is taken by heroes and gods, in "higher" mythologies. Trickster himself is not held in awe, but, significantly, his myths are. They are surrounded by taboos: they can be told only at night, only in the winter, etc. The myths are sacred because they explain and establish the reality of things. We might almost say that the Trickster is not worshipped, but his myths are. Not the person of the Trickster, but his deeds and what they reveal about man and the world, are the sacred reality. This is because Trickster is Man himself, while his actions as related in the myths disclose man transcending himself. What the myths reveal is an experience of the self-transcendence of the human mind. Unlike the animals, man considers himself and his situation objectively. He transcends his environment, and even his own body and mind, in his thought. The myths of the Trickster testify to no higher experience of transcendence than this one: the transcendent mind of man.

And what, in essence, is this transcendence? It is a desire, yes, a compulsion, to know. Man is not content, as are the beasts, just to exist. He must ask questions about his existence (think), change the conditions of his surroundings (act), and thereby become master of all he surveys. This is precisely what the Trickster-Fixer is doing, continually.

Van der Leeuw[1] has seen this. He has seen also that the goal of all man's strivings is power. Man experiences a powerfulness in himself, and also power in the world about him. He wishes to master and harness all power for himself, but much of the power around him is mysterious. He may adopt one or more of several possible methods to attempt to remove the mystery and make that power his own, but chiefly he does one of these two: either he bows down to the powers, worships them, tries to appease them and win their aid and cooperation so that they become his powers; or else he assaults them in a frontal attack, and tries to overcome them by his own strength and mental prowess. The first way, obviously, is that of the shaman, the priest, and the pious worshipper. The second is the way of the Trickster-Hero. The former attitude often assumes that it is the only "religious" one, and that the other is irreligious because it is anti-god. Such an opinion is understandable from the viewpoint of the man who believes that life must be augmented by supernatural graces if it is to be lived most fully. But in the study of the history of religions we may not look at man from one vantage point only. Is it not possible to speak truly of a "religion of man," of a "worldly religion," for which the only sacred reality is the self-transcending mind of man and its accomplishments?

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[1] G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 339-340, 543-547, etc.

Such a definition of religion as implied here requires a second look at the "idea of the Holy" as set forth in classic statement by Rudolph Otto.[1] Otto speaks of the Holy as that which is beyond us, yet manifests itself to us as an alien, numinous presence, a mysterium both tremendum and fascinosus. Man's response to this "religious experience" is both to withdraw from it in fear and to be drawn to it with a sense of dependency. Indeed, there are abundant witnesses in the history of the race bearing testimony to such an experience, and the formal religions can be described as varieties of responses to it, in which both dread and love are mingled in varying degrees.

But is this dual response the only possible one (save indifference) that can be made to the Great Unknown? (I call it the Great Unknown, for what is this Wholly Other but the apprehension in man's mind of the great fund of potency in the universe over which man has no control because he does not understand it?) Cannot the mind of man respond to the experience of "the holy" by challenging it, by demanding that it yield up its secrets to him, by commanding it to submit to his own powerfulness, and thus be no longer mysterious and "other"? And is this not also a "religious" response, since it is a "total" response and since its object is "God"?

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[1] Rudolph Otto, The Idea of the Holy (Galaxy Books, New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), see pp. 5-40.

The various religions are really, in many respects, attempts to reduce the fearfulness of the Unknown by understanding it, regulating it, manipulating it through rites and ceremonies, formulas and prayers, and thus appropriating its power to man, the worshipper. As Van der Leeuw so vividly puts it:[1]

> Like the child, then, man pushes his barrow, but his sense of alienation causes him to apply some fixed standard to his activities, so that dread my be silenced and he may feel at home therein. Then he places his god in it: and now he pushes Power itself! But he can also pause, and kneel before the god in the cart of his life.

Ignorance of the unknown gives rise to the experience of the "beyond" and the "other," and ignorance is equivalent to powerlessness and helplessness. Religion, as the term usually is used, seeks to reduce the fear by replacing ignorance with knowledge: knowledge of God (sacred myths and theology) and knowledge of how to approach him (rituals). Thus, religion's unrecognized goal is to make itself unnecessary. Its goal is to remove its cause, awe, by explaining that which is awesome, and thereby gaining control over it.

But there is another way by which man has sought the same goal (mastery of the unknown through understanding), and that is directly, by conquest. Like the Trickster who ventures into the very camp of the Unknown Powers to steal fire, so man, in various ways, asking the help of no supernatural agency, has sought to wrest from the universe all its secrets so that many may be in complete control, and may know all. This way of worldly knowledge has always existed side by side with the other, "religious" way, and in fact has usually coexisted in the same persons, with only a few choosing this way exclusively.

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[1] Van der Leeuw, p. 340.

Shamanistic and priestly religion, in which man submits to the gods and beseeches them to aid him and bless him with power and understanding, is the abandonment too early of the quest to know and thereby control. It is a short-cut method, in which man bows before the inscrutible and ungovernable powers, personifies them, and asks them to help him and give him what he wants, even though he cannot compel them (although religious rituals become something of a way of forcing the gods to do man's will). The way of the Trickster-Hero, the way of "titanic insubordination" (Van der Leeuw), the way of worldly religion and "science," never reaches the goal of the complete conquest of the Unknown, but it does not delude itself that it has found all the answers and acquired all power by calling the Unknown "God" and worshipping it.

The Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero is man being religious in "the other way," the godless way of humanism. He is man, muddling through some of life's problems, discovering his own powers of mind and body, and using them, sometimes wisely, sometimes foolishly. Trickster refuses the way of the fideists, and prefers to make his mistakes by himself, and take the consequences for them. He is downed--and frequently--but never defeated. He remains true to the original impulse that started man on the mental pilgrimage that has produced all his culture--the instinctual confidence that the transcendent mind of man can conquer the universe with all its powers and mysteries. The real religious quest of man is to obtain omniscience and omnipotence through knowledge. The various "religions" of the world are so many indirect pathways to that goal; the way of the Trickster-Hero is the direct path. Trickster does not yield to the temptation to turn aside to worship strange gods, but he holds sacred only the struggle itself and the sum of his victories: culture, the world-as-it-is, the world as it has been arranged and understood by man.

For such a religion, "man is the measure." Trickster, as we have seen, is the personification of all the traits of man raised to the highest degree. Man is sexual: Trickster is grossly erotic. Man is driven by hunger: Trickster will do anything to obtain a meal. Man is slow to learn from his mistakes: Trickster repeats the same blunders again and again. Man's lot is hard in this world, yet life has its pleasures and joys also: Trickster is continually buffeted about, but he also has his fun and he always comes up laughing.

Laughter plays an important place in the life of man; it is truly one of his saving graces. Trickster is the embodiment of humor--all kinds of humor. He plays tricks on others, he ridicules sacred customs, he breaks the taboos, he boasts when he should blush, he is the world's greatest clown, and he can laugh at himself. For the religious viewpoint which Trickster represents, laughter has a religious value and function. In laughing at the incredible antics of the Trickster, the people laugh at themselves. The Trickster enabled the Indians to laugh off their failures in hunting, fighting, romance, and in combatting the limitations imposed upon them by their environment, since they saw in Trickster how foolish man is, and how useless it is to take life too seriously. Death even becomes laughable, for after Trickster had ordained it his decision backfired, and his own child was the first to die. (Trickster has made death bearable also by ordaining mourning rites.)

These values which appear to me to be religious, account for the continued popularity of this myth-figure among the common people long after the more sophisticated religious elite and their followers have renounced him and his coarse humor. He meets a human need directly, by enabling them to endure the burden of the failures of their lives in self-forgetful laughter. The telling of his tales is a kind of liturgy, and the laughter of the people is a sort of ritual response. They laugh at him until they are laughing at themselves. He endures their ridicule like a suffering savior, and in the end he saves them, through their laughter. When the religious values of humor have become lost or forgotten, heroic religion is deprived of one of its principal techniques for meeting life's defeats, and in its place tragedy enters, and despair, if heroic religion does not give place to faith.

Because the Trickster in the beginning established the world-as-it-is, this world as it is perceived and ordered by the mind of man becomes the sphere of sacred reality. Not the transcendent realm, but this world, not the confined space of the dance ground or temple, but the whole earth is sacred. Not simply the time of the ceremonials, but all times are sacred, if one lives according to the patterns laid down by the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero in the beginning, and accepts gratefully the world that he has left to his "children." For this reason and others we may term this viewpoint a "worldly religion," meaning a religion for this world.

This religion exists in tension between two poles: the acceptance of the world-as-it-is, and the belief that man can change the world, even as the Trickster did before him. That is to say, this point of view acknowledges, even as Trickster is forced to do, that there are limits to the possibilities open to man. Some of these are imposed by "nature," some by the environment man has made for himself in the world. Within these limitations each man has a life to live, which he is to live with all his powers, and, by dint of struggle, he is to win from the powers of the universe all the goods of this life that he can. At the same time, he must not take life or himself too seriously, or he will miss the fun that is to be had in expressing one's personality. (Trickster certainly is not inhibited!) The myths seem to say that human nature never changes, although it matures; and certain facts of life are immutable and must be accepted; but what man can do in his own power alone "eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard."

The tension between the "given" and the "possible" focuses sharply in the myths about the origin of death, and Trickster's part in that event. As the one who ordained things in the world to be as they are, Trickster usually is held responsible for the permanency of death. In the Far West the most common story is that he simply decreed death, against the wishes of some other, more "benevolent" being, or against the wishes of the people. Usually the Trickster-Fixer gives some practical reason for his decision, such as that it is necessary lest the world become overcrowded. Sometimes he rules for death because he says he wants to see people "enjoy themselves" at funerals! But after the fatal sentence has been uttered, Trickster's child is the first to die. Now Trickster regrets his decree, and begs to have it reversed, so that his dead child may return, but it is too late. Trickster weeps, and often at this time institutes mourning customs. But when the period of mourning is past, he is off to some new adventure, his sorrow forgotten.

What does this myth disclose about the nature of man and about life? It is frankly realistic about death. Death is final and cannot be avoided, nor can the dead return. Death is necessary, but it is also sad, and Trickster who established it knows well its pangs. Death is not a positive good, as it seems to be for Jensen's archaic planters, who celebrate the first death that brought food plants and further life into the world. But neither is it a positive evil. Death is sad, but in a world where sex has been established (Trickster usually has a hand in this, too), death is necessary lest the world become overfilled with people.

The myth stresses that Trickster decided for death, and even though he later wants to reverse the decision, we have the impression that he knows it is best in the long run. That is to say, I think, that the apprehension of reality and the world view which Trickster embodies, is that man must accept death and affirm it as his ultimate fate. He might as well! Yet the goal of much of the religious striving and longing of man has been to circumvent his mortality, and to become immortal, like the gods. But for the Trickster, who has rejected all supernatural aid and has elected for freedom, there is no hope for immortality. He must accept the fact of his mortal nature, and even choose it, as Trickster did, for the good of the human race as a whole.

(To a different type of mind, Trickster's decision for death, as well as his other "hard" creations, are viewed as evil. From such a point of view, the Trickster comes to be considered a marplot and a villan, the spoiler of the purely "good" plan of the beneficent Creator God. We have seen numerous examples of this development in North America, the best of which probably is that found among the Maidu.)

Of course, the Trickster of the myths never dies, or, more precisely, whenever he dies he rises up again. This is because he is a symbol of Mankind, the race, which, according to this mythic apprehension, is unconquerable and immortal. But individual men must die, and the Trickster's child, who represents us, dies and does not return. Trickster's only remedy for death is tears, followed by laughter. He cannot save us from our mortal destiny, but he does something better: he gives us a purpose for living. He says that this life is good, that it is to be grasped with enthusiasm and enjoyed to the hilt! He ridicules the shaman and the priest, and mocks the gods they serve, and he is not punished for his impiety. For what can the gods do to the man who does not fear them, and who knows that they exist not to be served but to be conquered?

LANGUAGE TABLE OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Based on Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, Table 5

I. Algonkian-Ritwan-Kutenai

- A. Algonkian-Ritwan
    - 1. Algongian
    - 2. Ritwan (Californian groups)
- B. Kutenai

II. Mosan

- A. Salishan
    - 1. Columbian
    - 2. Tillamookan
    - 3. Comoxan
    - 4. Bella Coolan
- B. Chimakuan
- C. Wakashan

III. Na-Dene

- A. Haida
- B. Tlingit-Eyak-Athabascan

IV. Uto-Azteco-Tanoan

- A. Uto-Aztecan
    - 1. Basin Shoshonean
    - 2. Tubatulabal
    - 3. Luisenan
    - 4. Hopi
    - 5. Piman
    - 6. Tarachitan
    - 7. Coran
    - 8. Aztecan
- B. Tanoan
- C. Kiowa

V. Yukian

VI. Hokan-Coahuiltecan

- A. Hokan
    - 1. Achomawi
    - 2. Shasta
    - 3. Karok
    - 4. Chimariko
    - 5. Yana
    - 6. Pomo
    - 7. Washo
    - 8. Esselen
    - 9. Salinan
    - 10. Chumash
    - 11. Yuman
    - 12. Seri
    - 13. Tequistlatecan
- B. Coahuiltecan
    - 1. Coahuiltecan
    - 2. Comecruden
    - 3. Karankawa
    - 4. Tonkawa

VII. Gulf

- A. Atakapan
- B. Tunican
- C. Chitamachan
- D. Natchezan
- E. Muskhogean
- F. Timucuan

VIII. Siouan-Yuchi

- A. Siouan-Catawba
    - 1. Siouan
    - 2. Catawba
- B. Yuchi

IX. Penutian

- A. Chinook-Tsimshian
- B. Coos-Takelman
    - 1. Coosan (Alsea, Suislaw, Coos)
    - 2. Takelman (Takelma, Kalapuya)
- C. Klamath-Sahaptin
- D. California Penutian
    - 1. Yokuts
    - 2. Miwok-Costanoan
    - 3. Maidu
    - 4. Wintun

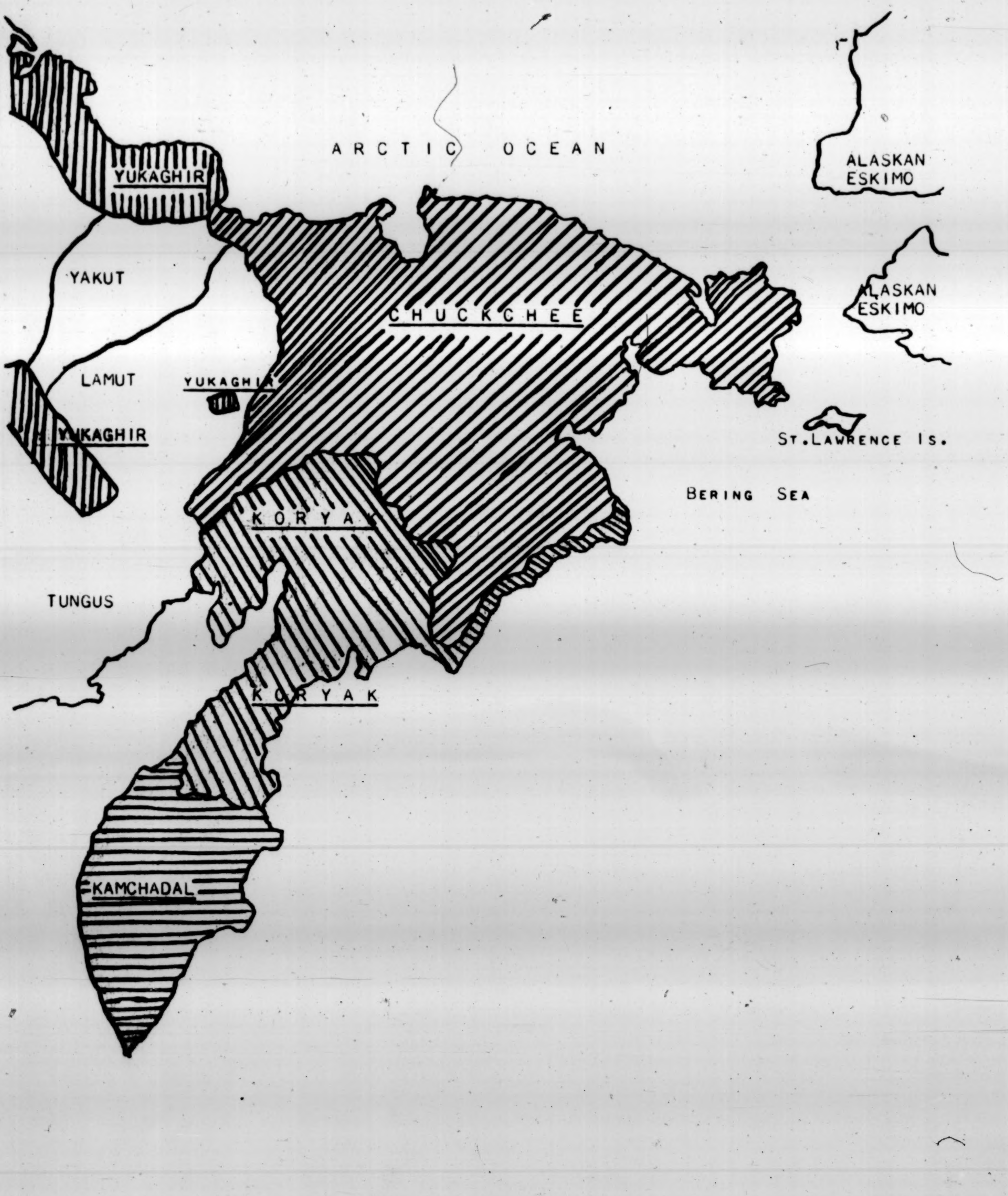
X. Iroquois-Caddoan

- A. Iroquoin
  - 1. Iroquoian Proper
  - 2. Cherokee
- B. Caddoan
  - 1. Caddo
  - 2. Pawnee

XI. Keres

XII. Zuni

Fig. 1.--Tribes of Eastern Siberia (after Jochelson and Bogoras, Jessup North Pacific Expedition).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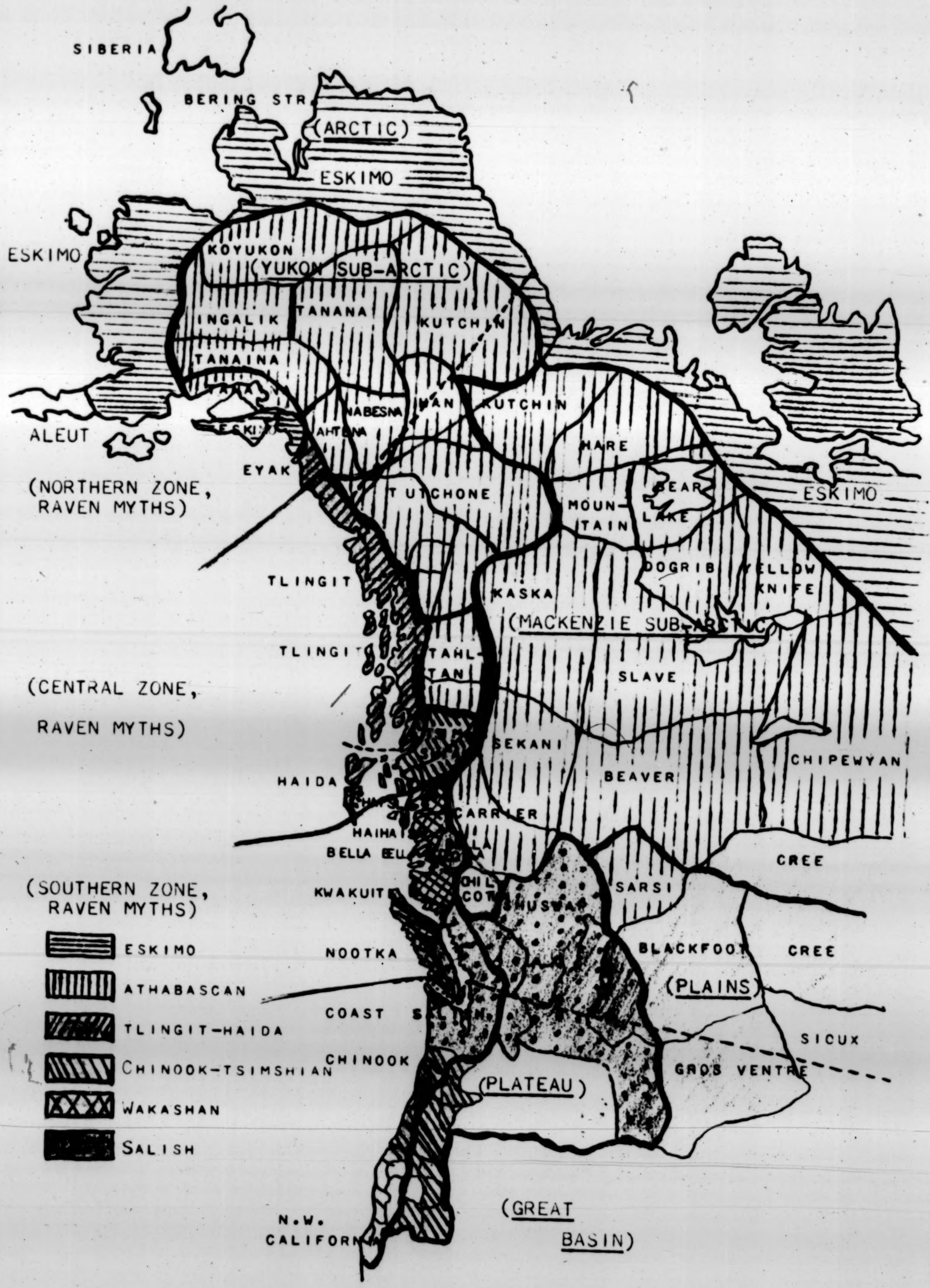
ALASKAN ESKIMO
YUKAGHIR
YAKUT
CHUCKCHEE
ALASKAN ESKIMO
LAMUT
YUKAGHIR
YUKAGHIR
ST. LAWRENCE IS.
BERING SEA
KORYAK
TUNGUS
KORYAK
KAMCHADAL

Fig. 2.--The Northwest (after Driver, Indians of North America). Heavy lines indicate Culture Areas.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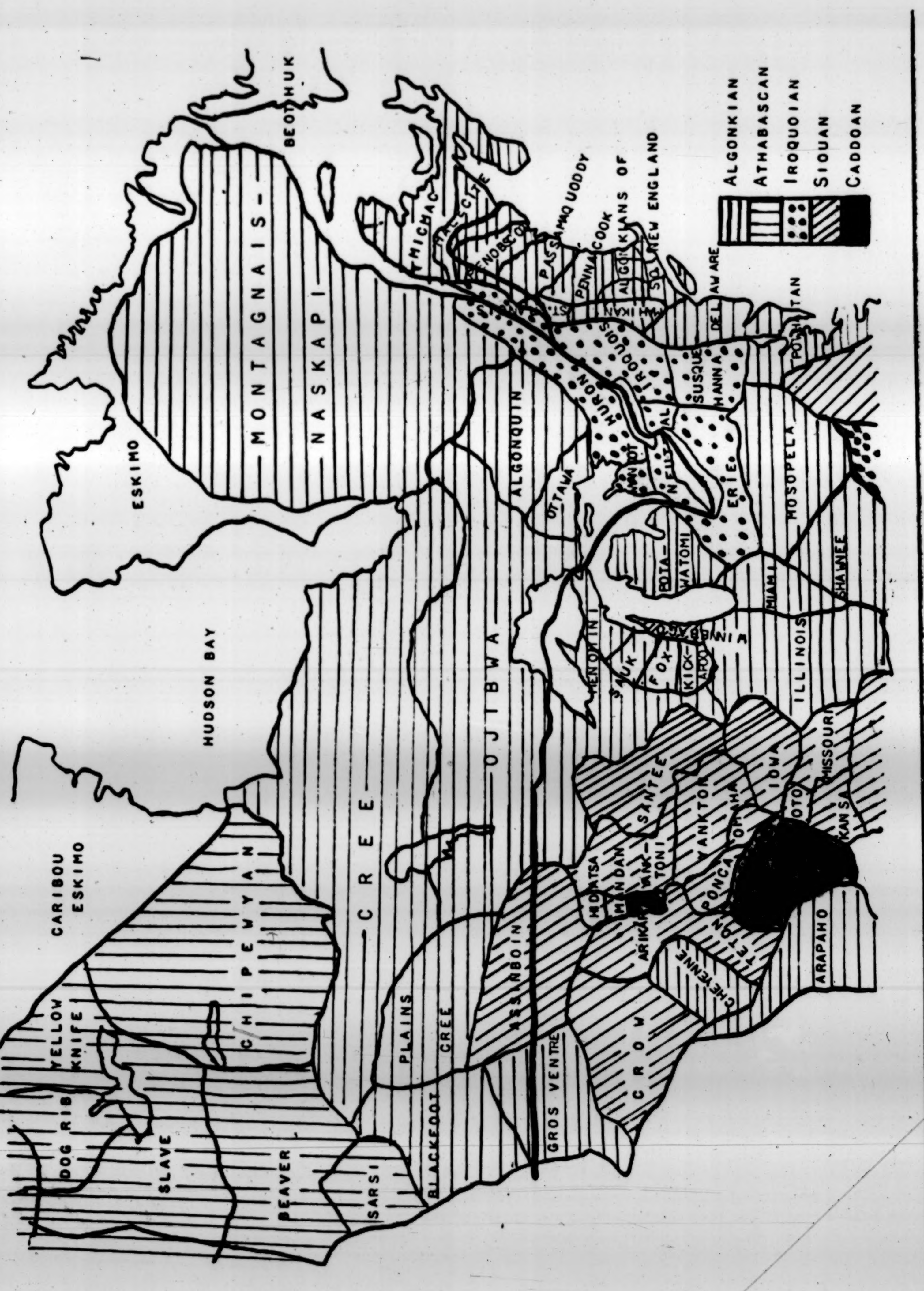
BERING STR
(ARCTIC)
ESKIMO
ESKIMO
KOYUKON
(YUKON SUB-ARCTIC)
INGALIK
TANANA
KUTCHIN
TANAINA
NABESNA
HAN
KUTCHIN
AHTENA
ALEUT
EYAK
(NORTHERN ZONE, RAVEN MYTHS)
TUTCHONE
HARE
BEAR LAKE
ESKIMO
MOUNTAIN
DOGRIB
YELLOW KNIFE
TLINGIT
KASKA
(MACKENZIE SUB-ARCTIC)
TLINGIT
TAHLTAN
SLAVE
(CENTRAL ZONE, RAVEN MYTHS)
SEKANI
CHIPEWYAN
HAIDA
BEAVER
CARRIER
HAIHAI
BELLA BELLA
CREE
(SOUTHERN ZONE, RAVEN MYTHS)
KWAKUITL
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAP
SARSI
ESKIMO
ATHABASCAN
TLINGIT-HAIDA
CHINOOK-TSIMSHIAN
WAKASHAN
SALISH
NOOTKA
BLACKFOOT
CREE
(PLAINS)
COAST SALISH
SIOUX
CHINOOK
GROS VENTRE
(PLATEAU)
N.W. CALIFORNIA
(GREAT BASIN)

Fig. 3.--Tribes of the North and East (after Driver, Indians of North America).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MONTAGNAIS-
NASKAPI
MICMAC
MALECITE
PENOBSCOT
PASSAMAQUODDY
PENNACOOK
ALGONKIANS OF
SO. NEW ENGLAND
MAHICAN
DELAWARE
POWHATAN
SUSQUEHANNA
HURON
IROQUOIS
NEUTRAL
ALGONQUIN
OTTAWA
ERIE
MOSOPELA
POTAWATOMI
MIAMI
SHAWNEE
MENOMINI
WINNEBAGO
SAUK
FOX
KICKAPOO
ILLINOIS
HUDSON BAY
OJIBWA
CREE
SANTEE
IOWA
MISSOURI
OTO
OMAHA
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KANSA
WAHPETON
HIDATSA
MANDAN
ARIKARA
TETON
CHEYENNE
ARAPAHO
CROW
ASSINIBOIN
PLAINS CREE
GROS VENTRE
BLACKFOOT
SARSI
BEAVER
SLAVE
DOG RIB
YELLOW KNIFE
CHIPEWYAN
CARIBOU ESKIMO
ALGONKIAN
ATHABASCAN
IROQUOIAN
SIOUAN
CADDOAN

Fig. 4.--Tribes of the Plains, Southwest and East (after Driver, Indians of North America).

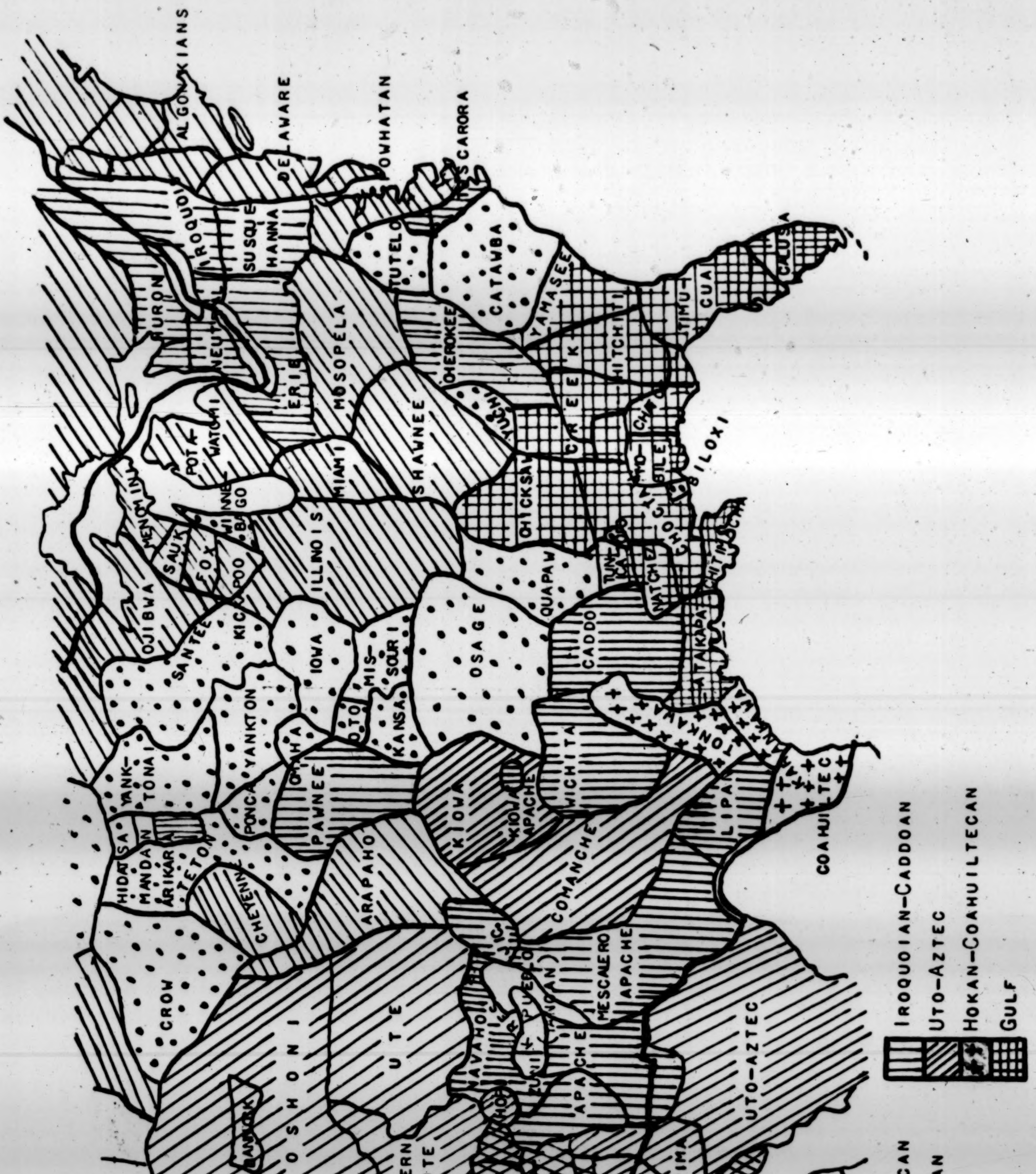
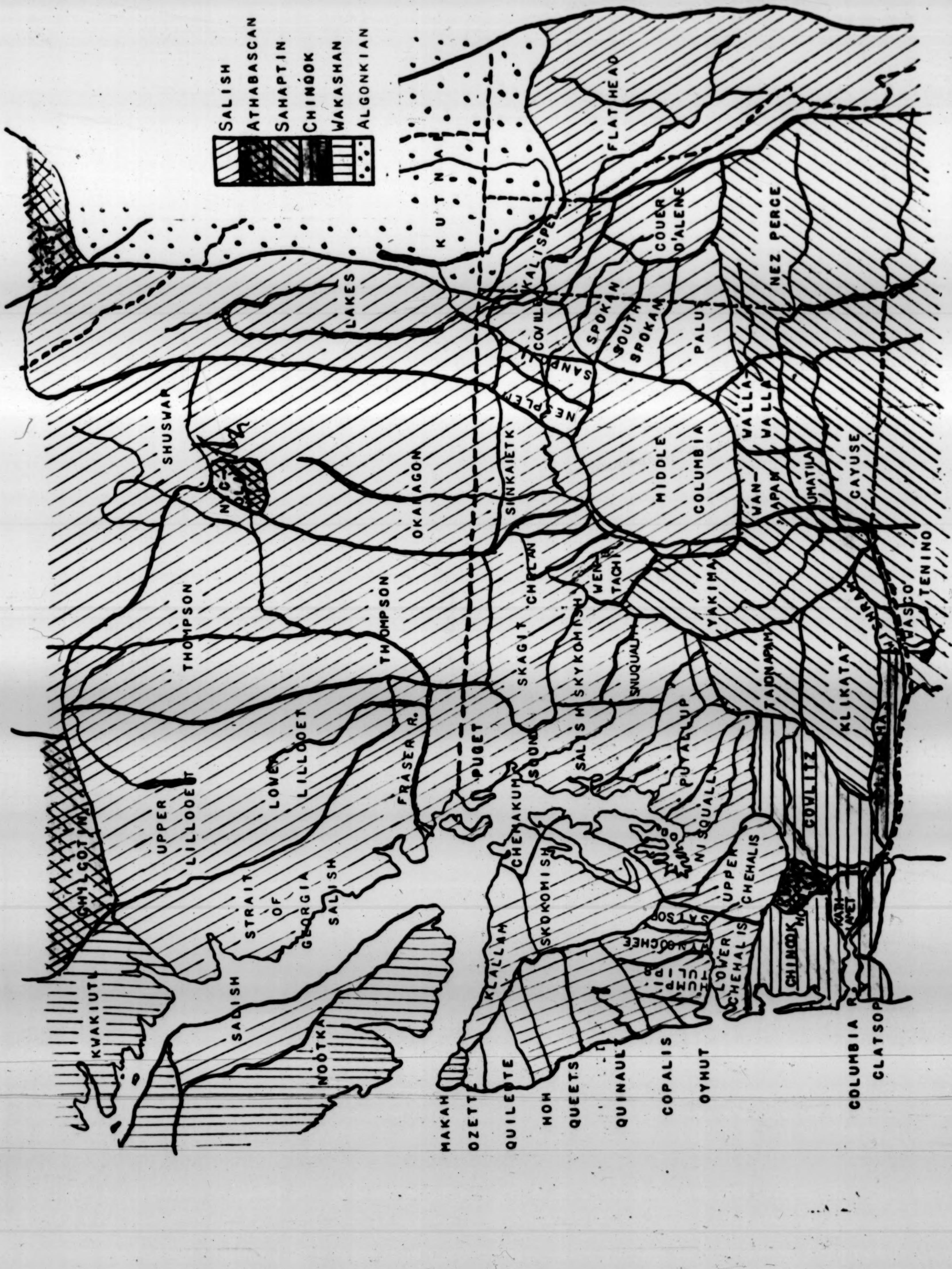

ALGONKIANS
DELAWARE
POWHATAN
TUSCARORA
IROQUOIS
SUSQUEHANNA
TUTELO
CATAWBA
YAMASEE
TIMUCUA
CALUSA
HURON
NEUTRAL
ERIE
MOSOPELA
CHEROKEE
CREEK
HITCHITI
SHAWNEE
POTAWATOMI
MIAMI
CHICKASAW
CHOCTAW
MOBILE
BILOXI
MENOMINI
WINNEBAGO
SAUK
FOX
KICKAPOO
ILLINOIS
QUAPAW
TUNICA
NATCHEZ
CHITIMACHA
OJIBWA
SANTEE
IOWA
MISSOURI
OSAGE
CADDO
ATAKAPA
KARANKAWA
TONKAWA
YANKTONAI
YANKTON
OTO
KANSA
OMAHA
PONCA
PAWNEE
HIDATSA
MANDAN
ARIKARA
TETON
CHEYENNE
ARAPAHO
KIOWA
KIOWA APACHE
WICHITA
COMANCHE
LIPAN
COAHUILTEC
CROW
SHOSHONI
UTE
BANNOCK
NORTHERN PAIUTE (PAVIOTSO)
SOUTHERN PAIUTE
CHEMEHUEVI
MOHAVE
NAVAHO
HOPI
ZUNI
PUEBLO (TANOAN)
APACHE
MESCALERO APACHE
UTO-AZTEC
PIMA
ATHABASCAN
ALGONKIAN
SIOUAN
YUMAN
IROQUOIAN-CADDOAN
UTO-AZTEC
HOKAN-COAHUILTECAN
GULF

Fig. 5.--Tribes of Fraser and Columbia River (after Spier, Tribal Distribution in Washington).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ATHABASCAN
SAHAPTIN
CHINOOK
WAKASHAN
ALGONKIAN
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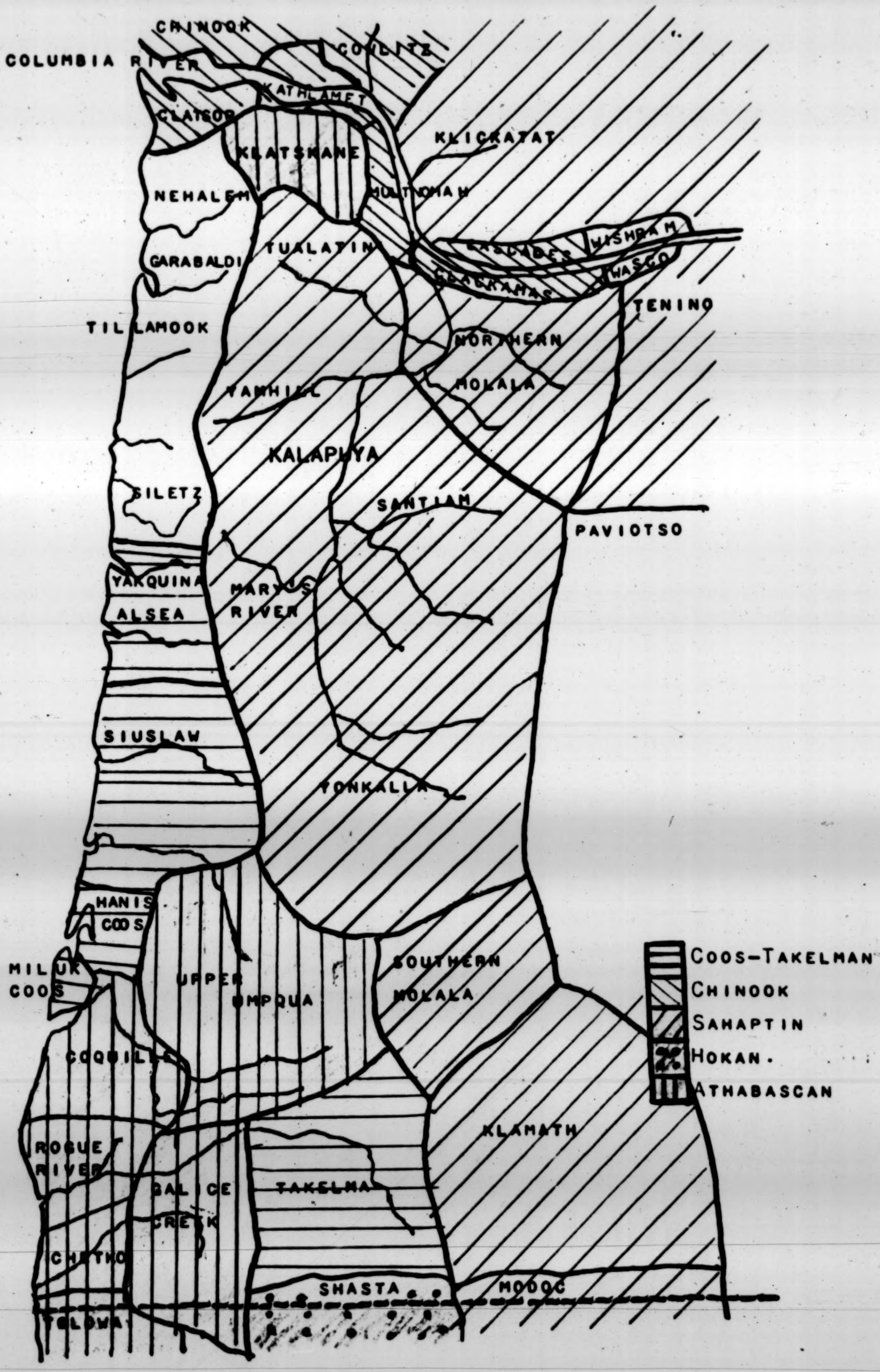
LOWER LILLOOET
THOMPSON
THOMPSON
SHUSWAP
NICOLA
LAKES
KUTNAI
FLATHEAD
KALISPEL
COUER D'ALENE
NEZ PERCE
COLVILLE
SPOKAN
SOUTH SPOKAN
PALUS
SANPOIL
NESPLEM
SINKAIETK
OKANAGON
MIDDLE COLUMBIA
WALLA WALLA
WANAPAM
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
TENINO
WASCO
KLIKATAT
TAITNAPAM
YAKIMA
WENATCHI
CHELAN
SKAGIT
SNUQUALMI
SKYKOMISH
SALISH
PUYALLUP
NISQUALLI
UPPER CHEHALIS
COWLITZ
CHINOOK
WAH-NET
LOWER CHEHALIS
SATSOP
WYNOOCHEE
HUMPTULIPS
KLALLAM
CHEMAKUM
SKOKOMISH
PUGET SOUND
FRASER R.
STRAIT OF GEORGIA
SALISH
SALISH
NOOTKA
MAKAH
OZETT
QUILEUTE
HOH
QUEETS
QUINAULT
COPALIS
OYHUT
COLUMBIA R.
CLATSOP

Fig. 6.--Tribes of Western Oregon (after Jacobs, Kalapuya Texts, p. 154).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KATHLAMET
CLATSOP
KLICKATAT
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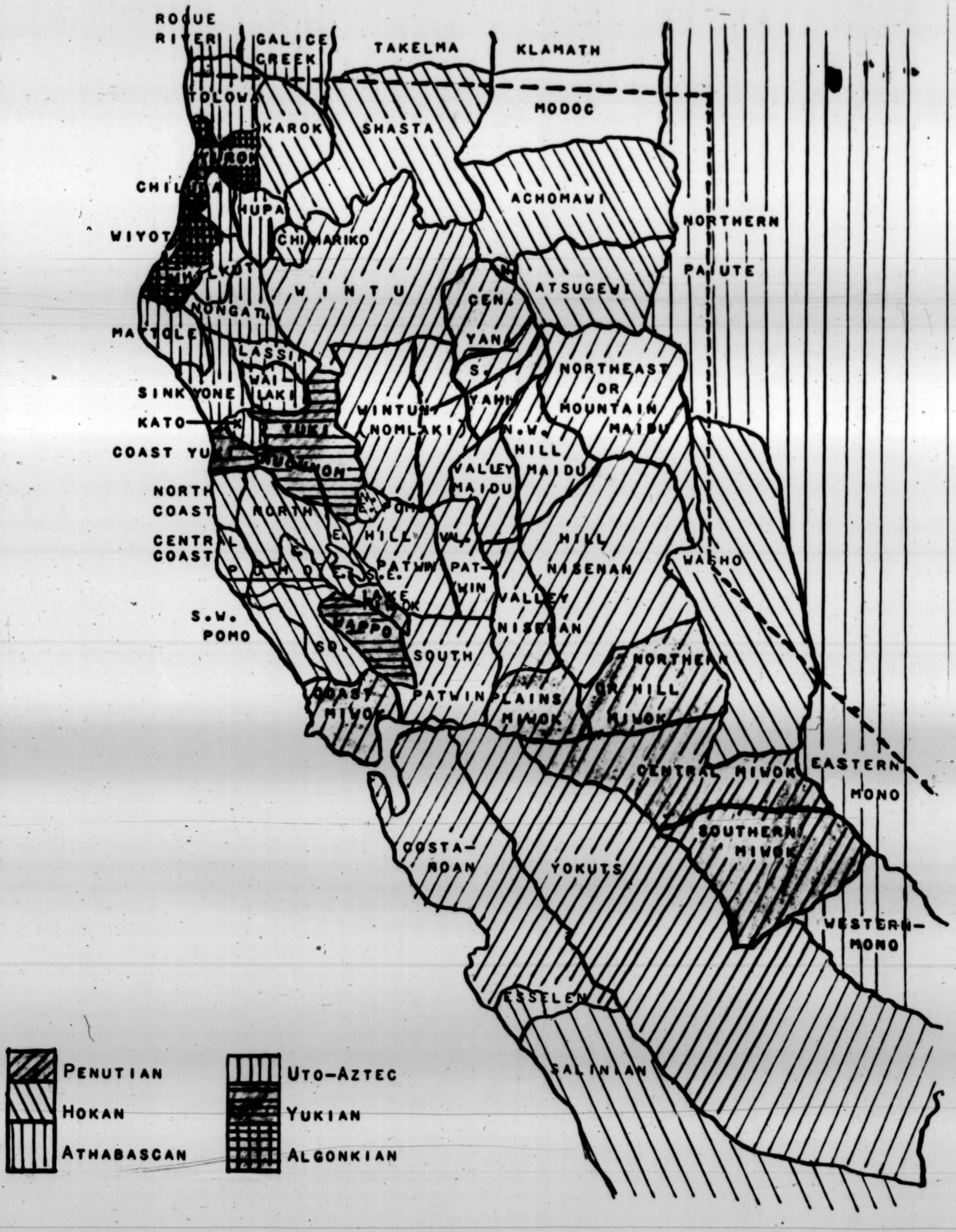
NEHALEM
MULTNOMAH
WISHRAM
TUALATIN
CASCADES
GARABALDI
CLACKAMAS
WASCO
TENINO
TILLAMOOK
NORTHERN
MOLALA
YAMHILL
KALAPUYA
SILETZ
SANTIAM
PAVIOTSO
YAKQUINA
MARY'S
RIVER
ALSEA
SIUSLAW
YONKALLA
HANIS
COOS
MILUK
COOS
UPPER
UMPQUA
SOUTHERN
MOLALA
COQUILLE
KLAMATH
ROGUE
RIVER
GALICE
CREEK
TAKELMA
CHETKO
SHASTA
MODOC
TOLOWA
Coos-Takelman
Chinook
Sahaptin
Hokan.
Athabascan

Fig. 7.--Tribes of Northern and Central California (after Kroeber, Handbook of Indians of California).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GALICE CREEK
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MODOC
KAROK
SHASTA
YUROK
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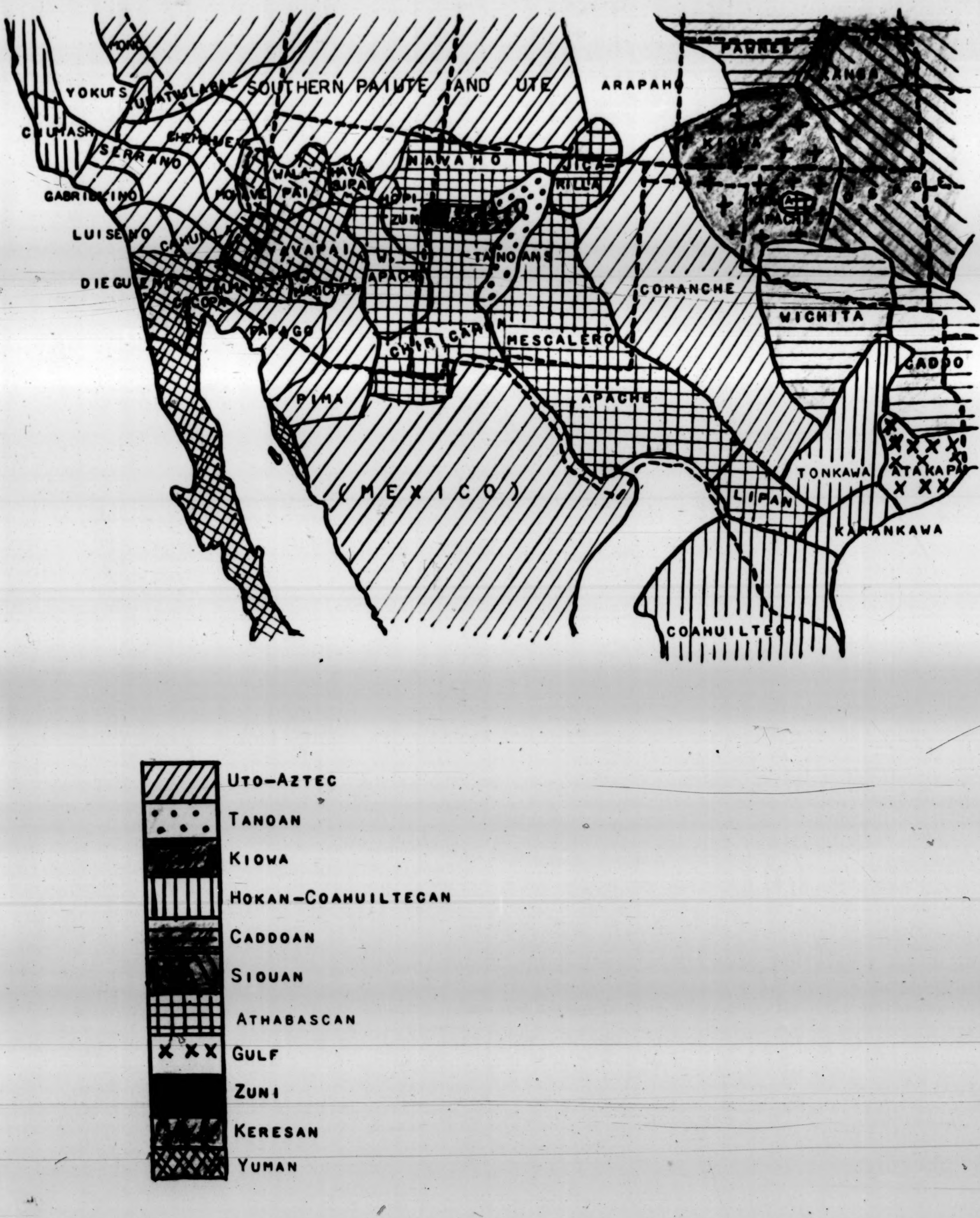
WIYOT
CHIMARIKO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
WHILKUT
WINTU
ATSUGEWI
NONGATL
CEN. YANA
MATTOLE
LASSIK
S. YAHI
NORTHEAST OR MOUNTAIN MAIDU
WAILAKI
SINKYONE
WINTUN (NOMLAKI)
KATO
YUKI
N.W. HILL MAIDU
COAST YUKI
HUCHNOM
VALLEY MAIDU
NORTH COAST
NORTH
N.E. POMO
E.
HILL
VAL.
HILL NISENAN
CENTRAL COAST
C.
POMO
S.E.
PATWIN
PATWIN
WASHO
LAKE MIWOK
VALLEY NISENAN
S.W. POMO
WAPPO
SO.
SOUTH PATWIN
NORTHERN HILL MIWOK
COAST MIWOK
PLAINS MIWOK
CENTRAL MIWOK
EASTERN MONO
SOUTHERN MIWOK
COSTA-NOAN
YOKUTS
WESTERN MONO
ESSELEN
SALINIAN
PENUTIAN
HOKAN
ATHABASCAN
UTO-AZTEC
YUKIAN
ALGONKIAN

Fig. 8.--Southwestern Tribes (after Driver, Indians of North America).


MONO
YOKUTS
TUBATULABAL
SOUTHERN PAIUTE AND UTE
ARAPAHO
PAWNEE
KANSA
CHUMASH
CHEMEHUEVI
SERRANO
WALAPAI
HAVASUPAI
NAVAHO
JICARILLA
KIOWA
OSAGE
GABRIELINO
MOHAVE
HOPI
ZUNI
KIOWA APACHE
LUISENO
CAHUILLA
YAVAPAI
TANOANS
DIEGUENO
YUMA
MARICOPA
APACHE
COCOPA
COMANCHE
WICHITA
PAPAGO
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO
CADDO
PIMA
APACHE
ATAKAPA
TONKAWA
LIPAN
KARANKAWA
(MEXICO)
COAHUILTEC
UTO-AZTEC
TANOAN
KIOWA
HOKAN-COAHUILTECAN
CADDOAN
SIOUAN
ATHABASCAN
GULF
ZUNI
KERESAN
YUMAN

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